

Chapter 10

See page (10)

P. 91/15

One of them, the 198-ton Argentine Marganita, left Callao on 26 January and seems to have vanished without trace: she may have been captured and scuttled by the people of Meka in Tinje (see Chapter 11). Perhaps we shall know her fate some day, but all that we can say at present is that she apparently failed to obtain any recruits before dropping.

P. 92/3

the Polinesia, which had left Callao on 14 February and the Honorio which left on 1 March, both evidently also by the northern route.

The General Pizarro, also was on her second voyage, left Callao a day after the Honorio, but somewhere along her route came into contact with

P. 92

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

✓ (2)

✓ P. 95/5. Delete 'The best estimate that can be made ... on the Polynesian'

✓ P. 95/9. It appears that one ship, with Rose now on board her, ...

✓ P. 97/4 ... Tom Day, who was notoriously unreliable. The barge would appear to have been the Ugarte and Santiago Adelante, en route from Callao to Peru in the Southern Gulchito (see Chapter 12).

✓ P. 97/14-16. change adelante to Honorio; ... late in May 1863, delete 'and Nanumea'.

✓ P. 97/16. If any ship from Peru called at the other five inhabited islands in Tumahu, apart from the Adelante at Nanumea, they made no contact on ...

✓ P. 98/7. ... barges visited Nuhufetou, there is little doubt that they all sailed south ...

✓ P. 97/18 ... from the Tumahu group, including Nanumea, was ...

✓ P. 101/18 change '449' to 428.

✓ P. 101/19 1 from Nukufetau and 3 from Rotuma. The

Harris arrived at Colloa on 27 July with 110 (32 men, 40 women and 38 children), the Dolores Carolina on 14 August with 130 (55 men, 43 women and 32 children) and the Polinesia on 16 August with 113 (63 men, 40 women and 10 children). The ships thus landed a total of 353 islanders out of the 428 estimated to have left Rotuma: a loss of 75 (or 17.52%), which would not appear unreasonable since food, and probably water, was in short supply. It was fortunate

✓ P. 265 Derpick Note 20. Gallo 1976: 80; Expire 9 July 63: 5.

✓ P. 262 Derpick Note 1. Gallo 1976: 79; Murray 1976: 375-80;

x P. 99/3. ... on 2 June, a date which we can fortunately confirm as the Polinesia arrived at Callao on 16 August after a passage of 74 days from 'Rotumah': she would therefore have left there on 3 June. One of the ships was apparently at anchor, ...

x P. 99/19. Change Hannia to Adelante and delete 'and had not been heard of since'

x P. 100/11 delete 'and to avoid the heavy beat ... late in October'

x P. 100/18. Change '447' to ~~426~~ 427.

447  
21  
---  
426

Chapter 11

✓ P. 106 / last line but 1. Delete 'on the Honou'; and in the last line delete 'and 1 March 1863 respectively'.

Chapter 12 ✓ P. 109/2. Change 'Adelante' to Honou.

✓ P. 109/11. . . . . to get her easting . 4

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

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

Naval Museum.

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

The Adelante returned to Callao with 172 recruits and after deducting the 21 Nonumeans we have listed the remaining 151 as coming from Beve. This is quite <sup>possible</sup> ~~likely~~, since <sup>we know that</sup> the population pressure on Beve at the time made the inhabitants as eager to be recruited as the Tongarevans had been on the Adelante's <sup>two</sup> previous voyages. It is <sup>certainly</sup> quite possible, however, that some

of them could have come from Orotoa or Tokomou, or other neighboring islands, <sup>as island</sup> ~~some~~ mission records south of Tobiteua did not commence until 1870.

As in the case of the ...

✗ P. 109 / last 2 lines. Thus the 312 recruits taken by two ships became the thousands taken by a Peruvian fleet.

✗ P. 266, note 5. The information on the voyage of the Adelante was obtained by Wilma Despuet Geller from unpublished naval records, by permission of Vice-Admiral Mario Castro - Despuet Geller 1976: 80; Missionary Herald (August 1864): 224;

Delete from: 'There is always the possibility the Margarita ...' to the end of the note.

P. 4 / last line but one. Change 'fifty' to fifty-one.

P. 5 / lines 3-6. On only one voyage is the route completely unknown - that of the brig Margarita - and it appears possible that she was captured by Torgans.

P. 5 / 14 Change 'thirty-three' to thirty-four.

P. 194 / 12. Change '360' to 470.

P. 194 / 14 ... disputing as well, so the total number on board at any one time would never have approached that figure.<sup>39</sup>

P. 193 / 5. Delete 'and' and put a ;.

P. 193 / 6. 31 Easter Island, and on the 27<sup>th</sup> the Honorio from Tuvolu and Potuma. The 269 men were transferred, though not all at once, to the Barbara Gray...

✓ P. 201/1 of Polygons were abandoned by the captain but thirty-eight were eventually rescued by the Peruvian warship Tumbes, which was sent for the purpose, and landed at Paita 'all in good health, because the epidemic had passed'. There they presumably died or were abused. It is said that the captain of the Adelante committed suicide.

... Puna 12 Dec. 63, MFA;

✓ P. 281, note 20. (Harbour Master, Paita, to Minister for the Navy 15 Dec. 63, Instituto de Estudios Historico-Maritimos;

✓ P. 203/1 Change '899' to 1009.

✓ P. 203/3 Change '3015' to 3125; and '1106' to 1216; and '37%' to 39%.

✓ P. 203/6 Delete 'and never came to Callao'

✓ P. 203/7 Change '2887' to 2846.

✓ P. 196/10 Change 42 to 162 and 360 to 470

✓ P. 197/11-12 Change 329 to 439 and 360 to 470

✓ P. 198/10 Delete 'all for the Tumbes Group'

$$\begin{array}{r}
 174 \\
 130 \\
 113 \\
 \hline
 172 \\
 \hline
 589 \\
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 360 \\
 318 \\
 \hline
 42
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 470 \\
 318 \\
 \hline
 162
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 105 \quad 31 \\
 329 \\
 \hline
 360
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 360 \\
 31 \\
 \hline
 329
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 470 \\
 360 \\
 \hline
 110 \\
 329 \\
 \hline
 439
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 439 \\
 31 \\
 \hline
 470
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 439 \\
 16 \\
 \hline
 455 \\
 15 \\
 \hline
 470
 \end{array}$$

Chapter 2

✓ P. 15 / 11 from end. Delete 'belonging' to the reputable firm of Legate y Santiago,

✓ P. 17 / 6 from end. Delete 'of the voyage'

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Chapter 8

✓ P. 77 / 10. Change 'Adelante' to Honorio.

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Chapter 9

✓ P. 81 / 6 from end. Change 'Adelante' to Honorio.

✓ P. 84 / line 11. Change 'Adelante' to Honorio.

✓ P. 88 / 8. ... chiefs.'

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Chapter 10

✓ P. 91 / 15. One of them, the 198-ton brigantine Bargante, left Callao on 26 January and was to have vanished without trace; she is thought to have been scuttled by the people of Ukha or Taya (see Chapter 11), though she may have been lost at sea or left her boxes on some coral reef. Perhaps we shall know her fate one day, but all that we can say at present is that she does not appear to have obtained any recruits before disappearing.

✓ P. 92/3 ... on 14 February and the Honoro, which left on 1 March, both evidently <sup>also</sup> by the northern route.

✓ P. 92/5 The Ugarte of Santiago Bay General Prin, which was on her second voyage, sailed from Callao a day after the Honoro and presumably for the same destination, but somewhere along her way (probably <sup>also</sup> near Pukopuka) she came into contact.

(For remaining alterations see page 1).

✓ P. 39/1-3 Delete 'but although ... the latter went.'

✓ P. 118/18 Change 'escape capture' to avoid capture.

✓ P. 119/9 'in the Managers'

✓ P. 141/3 'If a few succeeded ...' 19

✓ P. 273/note 22 For recent citations of the story as being factual see Peruvul 1967:31 and DePaul Gallo 1976:69.

✓ P. 278/note 22 <sup>Add</sup> The best summary of proceedings in the Esperu case is in DePaul Gallo 1976:66-8, quoting Causas Criminales Comunes, 2 May 1863, and Vol. 139 'Entrada de Buques', 1863-67, Peruvian Naval Museum.

P. 201/10. Delete 'as the great ... other recruiting areas'.

P. 208/last line but 6. Change 'factory' to 'factory-craft'.

P. 215/1-2 ... now called by the mining Pratt 'the notorious make' -

P. 227/8 Change 2968 to 3078

P. 227/19 Change 899 to 1009

P. 231/last line, Uruceta y Ramos: add Uzubarreren con as caption.

P. 265/note 21. ... possibility that the Mangrove was at Potoma. Delete remainder of note.

P. 270/note 8 Anti-Slavery Reporter 3 Dec. 63:277;

P. 285/note 12. ... Bay of Callao'; for the Heronio from Paucaran naval returns quoted by Desfil Gallo 1976:79; for the Barbara Gentry.

P. 288. Anti-Slavery Reporter, Sept., Oct., Dec., 1863, Jan, June, 1864.

P. 290. X DERPICH GALLO, Wilma, 1976. Introducción al Estudio del Trabajador Coolie Chino en el Perú del siglo XIX. Tesis. Lima

P. 276 / note 28. ... Parsony 1964: 13, and for British action  
see Anti-Slavery Reporter Jan. 1864: 22-3. In fairness  
to Jefferson ...

✓ Table 2, p 2

Adelante (3)	1.3.63	Tomumea - Bern	16.8.63	174	
Hororio	1.3.63	Nukunon Route - Nukualofa - Fuaofu - Poteva	27.7.63	110	

✓ Table 3, p 2

Gilbert Islands	Bern	151 [after Tahitena]	= 312
Missionaries		= 312	

Total sales of Pacific Islanders recruited for Peru = 3,634

✓ Table 4

Hororio	Held on board at Callao	110
	Total held on board at Callao	1,009

✓ Table 5

Taken direct from recruiting ships		1,009	
			<u>1,216</u>
Rescued from Hororio	110	470	
Died before ship sailed	152	446	
Deaths during repatriation	1,028		
			<u>1,216</u>

P. 222, para 3

As far as the Great Powers were concerned the Polynesian  
Colon trade had become merely a matter of collecting  
claims.

P. 262, now become Chapter 22

(as in separate sheet marked (61)).

except in the islands themselves

- except in Polynesia itself. Throughout the vast region on many an atoll or island

✓ p 269

but they occurred

✓ p 227

as time passed the Polynesians in the lagoon areas ceased to live in constant expectation . . . but they remained content as to what

✓ p 230

Delete 'myo' line 24 §

~~✓~~ p 272 - derived and distorted

✓  
P. 181, line 5 from end; 194, line 3 ✓

Edmond

✓  
(57)

✓  
P. 188, f. 17.

✓  
Q. 18, f. 17.

(58)

Add: That the indignation of de Lesseps was not a diplomatic pose  
is evident from his letters to his family in France:

News abstracts suggested . . . thirst for justice. Edmond  
to Charles de Lesseps, 13 May 1863, Conte Roland de Lesseps,  
pers. comm. 28 April 1980.

✓  
(59)

P. 200, last line

Add: 'Don't worry', he wrote to his cousin Charles in Paris,

'the measures I have taken make it unlikely that  
I shall be caught unawares. The Government have been  
warned that if these gentlemen care to talk with me I  
shall reply with revolver shots.'<sup>15</sup>

✓  
Lesseps, 29 July 63, Conte de Lesseps pers. comm.

28 April 1980.

✓  
P. 317, f. 12 15

✓  
Add: ; Edmond to Charles de ✓

stalled, and clear up a diplomatic situation? Because an agent of France who respects himself does not leave behind his nationals, their existence and their interests threatened, about all when he bears our name....' - Conte Roland de Lesseps, pers. comm. 28 April 1980.

✓ (55)

P. 221, line 12

... handed over in Paris...

P. 194, line 15

✓ (56)

... was willing to sign:

The Diplomatic and Consular ... (etc, as on p. 286)

... justice, and humanity.

The wording is perhaps

the Penman's Government. 29

terfaced reward but was moved rather by the selfless  
fity of the Good Samaritan. Had his persistent pleas  
been heard in time many hundreds, if not most, of the  
the islanders in Peru would have been repatriated  
safely and without fatal delays to their homes  
and kindred.

P. 223, Chapter 21, p. 7

✓ (54)

Add: Edmund, Prosper de Lesseps, was born in Paris on 28  
July 1815 — a cousin of <sup>the</sup> Ferdinand de Lesseps  
who built the Suez Canal. After holding various government  
positions in Paris and as a Consul in the Near East he  
was appointed Charge' d'Affaires in Lima on 20 July  
1860 when he became a personal friend of President Pizarro  
Castilla. With the conclusion of the Franco-Peruvian  
settlement he considered his mission ended and awaited  
his replacement — <sup>Charles, the eldest son of Ferdinand,</sup> in a letter to his cousin dated  
10 June 64 he writes: 'Why do I stay? Why not leave  
a position where all we has to do is to wait to be

Polymer. Doubtless he was made an official obligation to defend  
any French subjects' army

////  
////  
////

P. 73, lines 7-8

and add English of p. 285 to text ✓

Delete: 'and reproduced in Appendix 6' ✓

P. 121, line 5

Edmond de Lesseps ~~de~~ Edmond  
194 & ✓ 197, line 2 & para. 4; 220, line 6; ✓  
P. 195, para. 2; 206, para. 1; 221, para. 3; 223, para. 3; 132, para. 3 ✓

✓ Upper case 'De' ✓

P. 223, line 3

H.P. ✓  
Edmond de Lesseps had not long to live himself for on 18 May 1868 he died in Lima of yellow fever at the early age of 52. He was a man of infinite kindness and compassion who deserves to be held in greater honour by his countrymen - yet how much more is he deserving of affectionate remembrance by the people of Polynesia. Doubtless he would on official obligation to befriended any French subjects among the unhappy recruits in Peru, <sup>but</sup> he went far beyond the call of duty to succour all, regardless of their political affiliation, who so desperately needed understanding and help in their hour of ~~obscure~~ extremity. In this work he looked for no

GBP 1864; 4-10,

Jennings to FO 28 Jan 63, FO 61/210, quoted in GBP  
1864: 4-10, 9 Feb 63, FO 61/210;

P. 82, f'm 8

✓ (48)

Add paras on 278-9.

P. 105, f'm 6

✓ (49)

This agrees substantially with Labou's estimate - see  
Mushy 1872:163 - but the question of ... (etc.,  
as in H. 279-81) ... at the other islands. By  
1898 local oral tradition ... Korel Nanyoa  
January 1899.

P. 160, line 2

✓ (50)

... named in detail. One printed in Spanish and English  
by the British Consul d'Alfonso, for example, stipulates  
that a ... not exactly, sufficed. A more laconic  
account between the captain of the Eloya Mason and an  
Easter islander named Mapa y Parca, still no  
~~fact~~ of a Spanish, founder for the ... low into  
themselves. <sup>3</sup>

✓<sub>3</sub> as in Appendix 6, f'm 1 ✓

P. 306, Chapter 13, f'no 1.

✓ (43)

For biographical sketches see O'Reilly and Tessier 1962:172-3  
and O'Reilly 1980:149.

P. 231, para. 3

✓ (44)

No accents on Teresa-Ramos in English, as one in Spanish.

P. 226, Chapter 22.

✓ (45)

Change 'Epiloge' to 'after the storm'.

P. 230, line 1

✓ (46)

From the one who did escape.

P. 33, line 4

✓ (47)

New f'no 1 as in H 276-8.

✓ Remember remainder or analyze any f'no 2 and 3 ✓

P. 267, line 16

✓ (40)

... descendants still live. The evacuees was a ...  
abducted to Peru; and <sup>later</sup> as for Niwafou'ou, which was  
later evacuated owing to volcanic action, many of the  
'ata people on 'Ewa were still anxious to return home  
when I made enquiries in 1941 - and they may  
well still be. <sup>9</sup> As stated in Chapter 9, fifteen  
inhabitants of ... in any case were returned. <sup>10</sup>

✓ (41)

P. 269, line 13

... did they occur on Niue ...

✓ (42)

P. 339, Bibliography

Add: O'REILLY, Patrick, 1980. Calédoniens:  
répertoire bio-bibliographique de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.  
2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris, Société des Océanistes.

P. 147, beginning of para. 2

✓ (36)

If some new members, allegedly including the celebrated Ross  
Linn, recruited for Robert Towns in the Greenland labour  
trade, were asked to master the profession of  
'blabbering' while working in the <sup>shops</sup> Peninsular, others did what little

✓ Add to P. 147 " : Docker 1970: 42-43 ✓  
DOCKER

✓ (37)

P. 71, new para. 2

Eriakina, who was employed ... with patched sails. 21 ✓

P. 59, line 5

✓ (38)

then demand for what would be described today as  
a 'robbery' of four seals.

P. 60, line 12

✓ (39)

a well-known and respected trader.

P. 56, end of para. 1 (see 32).

SMH 14.4.63:5.

f. 259.

4/ Villegas, the Peruvian Foreign Minister, suggests his intention: in fact of fact, the relatively few Peruvians who were seamen by profession usually preferred to remain in the white-run coastal trade - EL Comercio 12.5.63

Remember remaining footnoted in Chapter 5.

P. 64, line 7 from end

... their liability to serve up to ten years hard labour under Chilean law

P. 26, f'z 5 on f. 289.

These Tongarevan boats were

They were the first of many Polynesians to serve as slaves on the recruiting vessels, where they were valued for their knowledge of the islands and as interpreters; most of them were Cook Islanders, with at least one Samoan, and were engaged at Callao after being discharged from whaling and trading ships.

Villegas was a failure, not being able to understand the Tongarevan dialect - EL Peruano 30 Mar 63.

P. 14, Telle 1

Carcano.

✓ (29)

P. 46, line 18

Alexander Saco, who was on board to represent the interests of the owners; and even more so.

✓ (30)

P. 296, Chapter 6, p. 5

On analysis of the crew list ... (etc, as on p. 259)  
... Spain and Java. MT 27.6.63: 125-26; Fried  
2.11.63.

✓ (31)

P. 56, para. 1

As was quite usual on Calcutta trade vessels there were no  
Punjabis on board, the crew comprising 4 English, 4 Italian,  
2 Spanish, 2 Chinese, 2 Americans and 1 each Greek,  
Portuguese, French and Maltese. <sup>4</sup>

✓ (32)

✓ 4 as in (33) ✓

P. 69, para. 2.

✓ (27)

... to salvage everything possible; this was left in charge of the mission teacher at Tokhona with a letter signed by Captain Green of the Apuirac:

Nov. 14th. 1862

By the missionary (etc, art 261)

Hoppey's Island. 2, plus 19, plus (28)

By the time the Trujillo

✓ (28)

P. 297, Chpt 7, 6<sup>th</sup> n<sup>o</sup> 2

Add: Miguel Green was one of only four Peruvian captains in the Polynesian labor trade, the others being Corcuera, first-captain of the Musela Miranda; master of the Carolina; and Garcia of Garcia of the Honorio. He lived to become perhaps the greatest of Peru's naval heroes, dying in command of the sloop Huáscar while engaged in hopeless odds against the Chilean fleet in the 1879-83 war of the Pacific. By extent at least one of the expatriate captains was said to have been formerly engaged in the African slave trade. 18, plus 16. ✓

✓ (24)  
P. 209, end of para 1

Add: Eight months earlier, when she last visited Tahiti, she had been officially described as very old and leaky, and the British Consul had concluded that 'such suffering awaits the infatuated natives crowded into such inefficient ships' - evidently she had not improved in the interval.

✓ Add footnote referenced at 8 on p 256 to 39 on p. 209. ✓

✓ The 4 vessel, Isara, which had chartered the Barbara Gasey to carry 200 . . .

✓ (25)  
P. 289, Ch 2, p'n 4.

El Penasco 30 3.63; MT 21. 3.63. 56. While it is true . . . (etc, as in p 258) . . . - matter to their operations - (refs as in 13). The Mangroves were on . . . a mt.

✓ (26)  
P. 190, end of para. 2.

. . . in influencing public opinion

as we would expect . . . (etc, as in p. 258) . . . they cared about'. 12 ✓

Chile had been against . . .

✓ Add p'n 12 on p 325 to p'n 21 on p. 314. ✓

P. 150, para 1

✓ (20)

... over 300 tons - but 'a beautiful clipper barge of the true slider type', heavily armed and remarkably fast.

✓ Add reference at 7 on p. 256 to 'on p. 150.' ✓

✓ (21)

P. 122, add to end of para. 1

... of fresh water. She was described as being 'fitted like a slider' with, ... (etc., as on p. 256) ... her expected passengers'.

✓ Add footnote reference in 8 on p. 256. ✓

✓ (22)

P. 120, line 2

Add: special fittings for carrying recruits were discussed on board the Barbora Goebel but they had not yet been installed.

✓ Add footnote reference in 8 on p. 256. ✓

✓ (23)

P. 121, line 2 from end

... temporary plank benches, ...

P. 28, last para.

✓ (18)

... ships had left Callao. <sup>call-ties</sup> These 'speculators', as they were called, were for the most part interested solely in maximum profits 'from the collection of South-Sea Islanders'; and as a consequence

✓ (19)

P. 29, after para. 1

True then we if the ships was rumored to have been an African slave, while the Compe Expressa was famous on the China coolie run and those may have required no special fittings for the trade. But the Adelante became the prototype for most of the recruiting fleet and her adaptation was evidently studied and copied by other shipowners and charterers who had no knowledge themselves of what was required. Her fittings and a plentiful supply of arms became the norm and if the Adelante differed from many of the ships which followed her hopefully from Peru it was mainly in being seaworthy, which many of them were not: 'arrived ... (as on p. 255) ... for the service'. To sum up ... (as on p. 257) ...

African slave trade. 6

P. 56, last line but one

... a Melanesian woman of unstable character called Christina who had tried unsuccessfully to join the Manuelita Cortao and stayed on board the Espera at her own request to serve as an interpreter.

P. 25, last para.

Byrne had never, in fact, shipped a single recruit from any Pacific Island, but he had learned enough about the reputation of Melanesians to equip the well-found buque Adelante, belonging to the reputable firm of Legante and Santiago, 'one like a Man-O-War than a merchantman', to quote the words of her mate, John Davis. The bold had been ... (etc., as on p. 255) ... day and night.

add to chp 10, p 1.

✓ 12

on returning to the states he joined the U.S. Navy.

✓ 13

add to chp 7, p 15

.. death: 'we cannot wonder', says Stendhal, 'that the judgement of God should seem to cleave in one stroke to this sort of scoundrel' - Stendhal 1874:50.

✓ 14

Substitute in Chapter 10, p 1.

.. Rose appears to have possessed a gift for mendacity approaching genius: see, for example, the account of his arrival at, and life in, Philadelphia given in 1865 to an American newspaper - Boston Daily Journal 8.8.65:32, 34, 35, reproduced in Vard (ed.) 1967:V:261-2. On returning to the states he joined the U.S. Navy.

✓ 15

P. 89, para 2

Eli Hutchinson Jennings.

✓ (10)  
Add to form 2 on p. 57

... in business etc. If he worked with them his fortune  
was assured, as they would be making many voyages to  
collect islanders and he could act as their permanent  
recruiting agent.

The captain pointed out ...

✓ (10a)  
5 MT 28 Feb. 63:34; SMH 29 June 63:5. Phelps, ...

✓ (11)  
Add to last form on p. 73.

Cooney, 'a British subject and a notorious character',  
who had lived for years on Palafuka, as well as on Tahiti,  
Oututake, Sana, Palaeater Island, and for a short time on  
Fanning Island.

✓ (11a)  
14 Gull to Miller 2 II 63, TBCP, v. 5; Gull to LMS 18.3.63, 53L;  
- - - (as in 14).

37

Add to Table 8 on p. 244

Add at bottom of Table :-

<sup>a</sup>  
7. In the table an attempt is made to analyse in statistical form the methods adopted . . . of course be conjectured, the figures suggest that of the 3,197 islanders (including women and children) for which we have evidence some 29% may have gone voluntarily, 35% ostensibly through misrepresentation, while about 36% were probably kidnapped.

<sup>b</sup>  
7 (as in 7).

Substitute for para 2 on p. 51

✓ (8)

According to evidence given by various islanders  
Lee Knapp and Grandet offered them <sup>3</sup> ~~the~~ to <sup>4</sup> ~~the~~  
feast ( \$3.09 - \$4.12 ) a week, plus clothes, food  
and lodging, to work a ~~week~~ <sup>week</sup> of work. ~~According~~  
to being recruited <sup>part-time</sup> for dining, they were instructed enough  
to refuse to work for less than four feasts ( \$5.15 ),  
a sum which was immediately credited: probably in their  
case the amount was of little consequence, as it was not  
to be supposed that labour engaged for the Quakers would  
live to receive any wages. <sup>11</sup>

✓ (8a)

11 M.T. 14 Mar. 63: 49, 52, 28 Mar. 63: 67-68.

✓ (6)

Add to para. 3 on p. 102

... to make coconut oil, a feature which had long since become such a frequent feature of the recruits' speech that the authorities at Tahiti believed that it was an invariable one.

✓ (7)

add to para 2 on p. 27:

... and abundant 'montone'. This was the usual amount on Tahiti, but less than the \$6-\$10 paid at Farming.<sup>10</sup>

10, as at 8 to Ap. 1

P. 290

MT 27 June 63:126; Margine Guenele 1974:212;

Benjovitt n.d.; . . .

✓ (5)

Added footnotes to Table 7 on p. 238.

a  
It would be misleading to work out figures for the five Tuamotu Islands since so many of the people recruited, particularly from Motu Tunga, appear to have been temporary residents. The small numbers taken from the other islands had a lesser impact, especially on those, such as Apolahi or Rotuna, which had large populations; as will be evident from the fact that over the 109 taken from here represented only 2% of the total population in August 1862.

b  
as in previous a

c  
Two population estimates are given for Tagarera, the first excluding and the second including the 130 recruited for Tahiti immediately before the initial recruitment of the Odéaste. The first estimate is for one purpose the same accurate as the 130 was set in fact on Tagarera at the time, even though they were duly repatriated from Tahiti in July 1864 - Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No. 414, 28 Aug. 64, AN. Furthermore, had they been on Tagarera they would almost certainly have been recruited for Peru.

Substitute for last para. on p. 135.

✓ (3)  
Delete last para on p. 135

~~Before considering how they fared on the journey and after their arrival, however, it may be helpful to recapitulate in Tables 2-4 the reconstructed routes taken by each of the ships engaged in the trade; the numbers estimated to have embarked at each of the islands from which recruits were obtained; and the numbers recruited at the islands from which a quarter or more of the inhabitants were taken expressed as percentages of their estimated population before recruiting commenced.~~

✓ (4)  
Add Table 7 as Table 4 on p. 140 and On Table 9:-

O.K.	Adjust figures for Tuxera to provide 5 returns, i.e. 167 recruited
O.K.	" " " Easterl. " " 21 " , i.e. 1,386 "
"	" " " Nepea " " 3 " , i.e. 16 "
"	" " " Fakarua " " 3 " , i.e. 137 "
"	" " " Papehaha " " 2 " , i.e. 143 "

add new  $\frac{6}{7}$  Less returns. (and similar records).

From Table 1 it will be seen that at one time or another thirty-three vessels were engaged in the trade (27 Peruvian, four Chilean, a Spanish and a Tasmanian), and from Table 2 that in the course of their thirty-eight voyages they called at fifty islands, including only inhabited groups in Polynesia with the exception of Hawaii. To do this ... Easter Island and back. On only two voyages is the route completely unknown - that of the brig Margareta and the Bonaparte Hawaii - and it appears possible that one was captured by Tuzos while the other sank without trace.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Peruvian vessels ... (as on pp. 236 and 237) ... long journeys from Western Polynesia.

Add to Table 2

✓ (2a)

Maipo'oa,

The islands of Parusca, 'Ata, Minatopatapu, 'Uho, Oralau and Ono i Lau, which were visited either by the whale Greener or an unknown ship, are not included.

Add after para 1 on p 27.

✓ (1)

The Polynesian labour trade, therefore, was in fact due to an accident - the apparently unperceivable desire of Byrnie to call at Togaena for a reason unconnected with his recruiting venture - and indeed had he persisted in his original scheme, as offered by the Peninsular Government, the difficulties and meagre financial returns inherent in the project might well have inhibited anyone from making a second attempt anywhere in the Pacific Islands.

But as it now transpired there was no longer ...

The labour trade had now become part history - with one exception. For years to come on any an atoll or island bereaved parents and widowed partners still scanned the horizon for sign of a visiting ship, obsessed with fears lest the rounds should slide again, but also <sup>with</sup> hope that perhaps after all their loved ones might be returning.

How had the remnants left on their home islands coped with what was, in sociological terms, a major externally induced social disaster, and how had it affected their way of life as independent self-sustaining communities? For there can be no doubt that the sudden loss of from 24% to 79% of the population of the thirteen islands listed in Table 9, whether through being removed permanently by the Pennsylvanian recruiters or through dying from smallpox or dysentery brought by the survivors from the repatriation attempts, constituted a disruption of their social structure of this magnitude and type.

on line of the atolls . . . (etc., as on p 263).

## Epilogue

### Crisis in the Atolls

My promise to friends in the atoll world of Polynesia and Micronesia since I spent the best years of my life has now been kept: for I have told as well as I am able all that I have learnt from years of research into how these falcons came to be snatched away into seeming oblivion; and what befell them.

There may be other readers, however, who are left wondering how the remnants left on the lone islands coped with what was, in sociological terms, an extremely induced social disaster<sup>①</sup>; and there can be no doubt that the sudden loss of from 24% to 79% of the population of the thirteen islands listed in Table 9, whether through being rained permanently by the Plinian eruptions or through dying from smallpox or dysentery brought by the survivors from the repatriation attempts, constituted a disruption of the social structure of this magnitude and type.

On five of the atolls . . . (etc., as on p. 264)

①, and how it affected their way of life as communities;

## Kuhlelele

Pop. 63 = 65. Span 16 years = 79. Pop. 79 = 203. Inrese = 138

$$\text{Inrese p.a.} = 8.625 \div 65 = 13.269 \%$$

Pop. 10 = 73. Pop. 73 = 200. Inrese = 100

$$\text{Inrese p.a.} = 10.00 \div 100 = 10.00 \%$$

## Fakofa

Pop. 63 = 122. Span 7 years = 70. Pop. 70 = 223. Inrese = 101

$$\text{Inrese p.a.} = 14.429 \div 122 = 11.827 \%$$

## Atifa

Pop. 63 = 103. Span 5 years = 68. Pop. 68 = 170. Inrese = 67

$$\text{Inrese p.a.} = 13.40 \div 103 = 13.01 \%$$

## Fimfati

Pop. 63 = 146. Span 35 years = 98. Pop. 98 = 250. Inrese = 104

$$\text{Inrese p.a.} = 2.971 \div 146 = 2.035$$

## Tokelau

Pop. 63 = 541. Span 35 years = 98. Pop. 98 = 791. Inrese = 250

$$\text{Inrese p.a.} = 7.143 \div 541 = 1.32$$



## Chapter 22

### Epilogue

*ments of the*

For the Great Powers concerned in the Peruvian labour trade, once the islanders had been repatriated and restitution made, those events became past history. But they were and are living history for the island peoples. For them the trade had been - and remains - a disaster, both socially and personally/

Whatever the definition of disaster in sociological literature - there are many - there is no doubt that the sudden removal of from 24 ~~per cent~~ to 79 per cent of the population of the thirteen islands (see Table 8), whether by permanent removal from their home islands by the Peruvian recruiters or by death from smallpox or dysentery brought by the survivors from the repatriation attempts, constituted a disruption of the social structure of a magnitude and type termed an externally induced social disaster.

This is not the place ....

/then follows the balance of the appendix/

were the Peruvian visits never much more than an exciting topic of conversation.

/then the present epilogue follows/

Despite the dire predictions of Europeans ~~xxx~~ from Fiji to Tahiti that no white man would in future be safe from reprisals.....