

I am very glad ^{to have this opportunity of} ~~to be so~~ ~~honored~~ ~~and~~ ~~privileged~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~address~~ ~~you~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~University~~ ~~today~~ ~~—~~ ~~firstly~~ ~~because~~ ~~it~~ ~~happens~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~the~~ ~~50th~~ ~~anniversary~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~year~~ ~~in~~ ~~which~~ ~~I~~ ~~first~~ ~~came~~ ~~to~~ ~~work~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~islands~~ ~~and~~ ~~around~~ ~~because~~ ~~the~~ ~~story~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Peruvian~~ ~~slave~~ ~~trade~~ ~~in~~ ~~Polynesia~~ ~~has~~ ~~never~~ ~~, to~~ ~~my~~ ~~knowledge~~ ~~, been~~ ~~told~~ ~~before~~ ~~, for~~ ~~the~~ ~~simple~~ ~~reason~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~facts~~ ~~have~~ ~~only~~ ~~recently~~ ~~come~~ ~~to~~ ~~light.~~

And where better to hold the world premiere than the University of the South Pacific, which has students from most of the islands visited by the Peruvian raiders who came sailing in from the east during the fateful years 1862 and 1863, striking ^{the islands} ~~them~~ with the force of one of your hurricanes.

The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864

The Peruvian slave raids of 1862^{and 1863} struck the islands of Polynesia with the force of ^{a hurricane} ~~one of the region's~~ tsunami: the great seismic waves which from time to time bring death and devastation to her scattered communities. Westwards from the Peruvian port of Callao - the epicentre, as it were, of the disturbance - ships sailed through the island groups of Oceania from the Kermadecs in the south to the Gilberts on the equator and as far west as Rotuma, and like the tsunami themselves caused most damage on the coral atolls and unprotected low islands, while leaving most of the high volcanic groups virtually unscathed.

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

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

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 intention, this was not a labour trade or even a government-sponsored immigration scheme - 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 ~~XXXXXXXX~~ 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.

To understand how it all began we must first know something about conditions in the Republic of Peru at the time. Peru had gained her independence from Spain in 1824 ^{and} but owing to the topography of the country, and especially its bad land communications, it was difficult to impose an efficient centralized administration outside Lima, the capital, and Callao, its port.

✓ Racially the country was divided into Spanish, American Indian, negro, and mixed-blood, or mestizo, components: ^{separate} ~~disparate~~ ethnic groups between which there was little in common other than a disinclination to engage in manual labour if it could be avoided.

The country's agricultural exports were mainly grown on large plantations, or haciendas, situated in some thirty coastal valleys, and producing sugar, cotton, cochineal, olives, grapes and various grains. For labour the hacendados were initially dependent on an inadequate force of about 25,000 negro slaves. After 1854, however, when the decree abolishing slavery was enacted, they had to look for alternative sources of supply.

In 1849, therefore, the Peruvian Congress passed a general immigration law, directed in particular to the recruitment of Chinese as bonded labour. These were brought to Peru under appalling conditions in overcrowded ships, often called 'floating hells', and those who survived the voyage were sold in Callao to the highest bidder by a transfer of their contracts, the average price being about 400 pesos per head. 'Once in Peru', says the historian Pike, 'their status was essentially that of slaves', ^{but} and in 1856 ^{it} the law was suspended.

The combined result of negro emancipation, Indian tax exemption and the curtailment of Chinese immigration was a drastic decline in agricultural production and a ~~concomitant~~ ^{consequently} increase in food prices during the late ^{1850's} fifties. Pressures from the larger plantation owners ~~thereupon~~ induced the Peruvian Congress to enact the law of 15 January 1861, once again permitting the introduction of so-called 'Asiatic Colonists'; and at this point a newly-arrived Irish adventurer, ^{Joseph} J.C. Byrne, enters on the scene, with his smooth tongue and ready wit, and a reputation as an expert on emigration.

~~Byrne had in fact managed an emigration scheme which brought out 3,300 people from England to Natal before it went bankrupt and he had to leave for Australia 'without bidding his friends good-bye', according to a newspaper report. He then tried unsuccessfully to interest the French Government in a land development and colonization scheme in ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ New Caledonia and the Belgian Government in a proposal to found a colony in the New Hebrides, but his mounting debts in Victoria eventually made it desirable for him to leave for Peru, where the new proposals for reviving the Chinese coolie trade had just been passed. With him he took as partner an American hotel-keeper, B.D. Clark, 'whose last appearance in public', says the Melbourne Age, 'was in the Insolvent Court'.~~

→ In Lima Byrne claimed to have ^{taken} settled more than 3,000 colonists from the New Hebrides ^{to} ~~in~~ New Caledonia and he soon persuaded the government of President Castilla, which had always been opposed to the Chinese coolie trade, that an easily obtained supply of more ^{suitable} tractable and preferable labourers ^{than the Chinese} lay nearer to hand, who could be brought willingly to Peru without the drawbacks associated with the coolies ~~trade~~.

He was accordingly granted a Licence to introduce colonists from the South West Pacific Islands on 1 April 1862, and formed a company in Lima for the purpose. On 15 June the 151-ton barque Adelante left with Byrne for the New Hebrides fitted, we are told, 'more like a Man-O-War than a merchantman', with iron grilles over the hatches and the hold divided into compartments, swivel guns mounted to sweep the deck and a ^e plentiful supply of ~~miscellaneous~~ firearms ~~and other weapons~~ for the crew and the four extra guards. ~~carried~~.

Now by an extraordinary mischance for Polynesia | while the Adelante was sailing west Byrne decided to stop-over at Tongareva in the Northern Cooks to investigate the commercial possibilities of its lagoon, which was known to contain bêche-de-mer and pearl-shell; and thus he discovered 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.

There was no longer any need to engage in a long and expensive voyage ~~to Malasia~~ to procure a cargo of ^{melanesians} truculent savages when ~~gentler~~ Christianized Polynesians were available for the asking. Plans were accordingly changed and they had more than a full ship

within nine days, returning to Callao with 253 recruits (83 men, 83, women, 30 boys, 19 girls, 49 male and ³⁸ 19 female infants).

It was a happy voyage with the 83 families, excited at the adventure ahead, being allowed the run of the ship, since it was soon found that far from being truculent they were courteous, inoffensive and anxious to please. / On arrival at Callao the men were sold for \$200 each, with \$150 for the women and \$100 for the boys. From the British merchant Watson at Valparaiso we learn that the sales resulted in a profit of \$40,000 on an outlay of \$10,000, or 400% for approximately 3½ months work. Byrne had clearly struck a bonanza.

There were plenty of speculators in Lima or Callao waiting for just this kind of news and it started a veritable gold 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:~~ 'to hunt Indians', as one owner-captain put it.

It is impossible in a talk like this to detail the movements and recruiting operations of the 32 vessels which engaged in the trade at one time or another, which in the course of their 37 voyages called at 44 islands, including every inhabited group in Polynesia with the exception of Hawaii, as well as the Gilberts in Micronesia. Within three weeks of the Adelante's arrival ~~no less than~~ five Peruvian and two Chilean ships had left Callao, including we are told 'several crazy old vessels that had long been laid up as hulks, but which in the enthusiasm of the speculators have been equipped as good enough for the service'.

~~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 so some vessels went on to other islands in the Northern Cooks: Manihiki, Rakahanga and Pukapuka. Here they found the islanders were not interested in recruiting because they were starving as on Tongareva but that they were predisposed in favour of it as all knew, by experience or repute, of the happy one or two years of working on the coconut plantations at Fanning Island under contract to Henry English, who had been employing Manihiki and Rakahanga families since 1852.~~

^{The} ~~Thus~~ potential recruits were interested primarily in the locality, nature and terms of their intended work and the Peruvian recruiters, advised by beachcombers such as Ben Hughes on Tongareva and Peter Cooney on Pukapuka, were only too willing to promise whatever they wanted to hear. Thus the schooner Genara ^{said that she was recruiting} recruited ^{the Tongarevans} them for collecting bêche-de-mer at Titimatarangi, or Christmas Island, only a few miles from Fanning Island, while the Rosa y Carmen ^{the people of Pukapuka} was taking them to make coconut oil on nearby Palmerston Island for the well-known merchant Brander of Tahiti and on Rakahanga it was agreed, on the insistence of the ariki, that all recruits would be engaged on light work only, gathering cotton or planting sugar-cane, and ^{be} repatriated within a year. Only on Manihiki the ariki and mission teacher considered that as so many were working on Fanning Island the remaining population should not recruit for anywhere else but stay to take their places when they were repatriated.

Other ships - the Chilean Bella Margarita and Eliza Mason, and the Peruvian General Prim - had the good sense 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 spheres of influence; it contained a population of over 4,000, all of whom were unevangelised and illiterate; and it was by far the nearest inhabited ~~XXXXX~~ 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.

✓ The Bella Margarita returned first, ^{from Easter Island} with 142 men and 12 women, apparently obtained without ^{force} coercion, who were sold at an average price of about \$300, thus grossing a sum in the region of \$46,000, ^(worth probably over a million today) a lucrative speculation indeed when one considers that it was almost all profit and that the venture took less than two months to complete.

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.

^{The}
~~Eight~~ ships left Callao together on this new co-ordinated plan, designed to increase profits by reducing unnecessary time spent in recruiting, and ^{when they} arrived at Easter Island ~~in time to warn~~ Captain Sasuategui of the Eliza Mason to leave the vicinity at gunpoint. ✓ On the night of 22 December all captains agreed to combine in an armed expedition against the Easter islanders, under the command of the one-eyed Spanish buccaneer Captain Marutani of the 400-ton ~~clipper-built~~ barque Rosa y Carmen.

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

As arranged Captain Marutani then fired his revolver in the air, whereupon the armed crews followed suit with a simultaneous volley. The crowd fled in all directions, shouting and screaming: some threw themselves into the sea while others clambered up on the rocks and tried to hide as best they could; at the same time a large number were caught and securely tied by the sailors who, leaving the beach, combed the area around for any still in concealment. About a dozen were killed in the operation but over 200 were netted by the ^{sailors} ~~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,

after being
~~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 western Polynesia 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; ^{but most} ~~while some~~ of the other vessels ~~apparently~~ preferred a distinctive mark ~~ing~~ tattooed on the forehead.~~

~~The six ships left departed for Rapa, where it was proposed to water and hopefully obtain provisions and more recruits. In the event water was all they got for the terrain proved quite unsuitable for rounding-up operations, while a Spanish-speaking negro who met a reconnaissance party on the beach warned them that the woods and thickets were full of armed 'Indians'.~~

~~So the Rosa y Carmen and her tender the Micaela Miranda moved on to Rakahanga and Pukapuka, while the Rosa Patricia and the Guillermo left for Mangaia, Atiu and Niue; later their routes crossed again in the Tokelaus. ^{Many recruiting ships called at Rapa on their way to or from Western Polynesia and while the schooner Cora was there} ~~The Jose Castro decided to return to Easter for a second shot at kidnapping a cargo while the schooner Cora arrived after the others had gone, having called in at Mangareva; and when a Rapan called Marioto was told by a Samoan member of her crew that there was a captive Easter Island boy on board, he organized a raiding party of Rapans who captured the ship, took the captain prisoner and invited the crew to come ashore as guests of the islanders. Marioto had gained a medal for bravery in the French army, and with a beachcomber James Connor as captain, ^{and} the carpenter and cook of the Guillermo - who had deserted because they objected to an old woman from Easter Island being thrown overboard as unsaleable - ~~and seven Rapans,~~ they sailed the Cora to Tahiti, where they caused a sensation.~~~~

~~The four ships which called at Niue found that the forbidding coastline precluded any attempt to land but the islanders were accustomed to paddle out in their canoes to visiting ships; and once on board many of the young men proved willing to sign on in the hope of adventures abroad - some had already been to Samoa and a few even farther afield.~~

~~The Trujillo, ^{(at Niue, where she obtained 50 recruits to add to the} which was the first to arrive ~~with~~ 42 on board from Rakahanga, had therefore no difficulty in obtaining ^{while} another 50 at Niue; ^{another} and the Rosa Patricia took ^{who} 40, though the latter were simply kidnapped when they came off to trade. The Rosa then made for Apia where her American supercargo Pitman explained that he was working for the English merchant Higginson of Callao who had a contract to obtain 10,000 South Sea islanders. Pitman offered members of the European community \$10 a head for Samoans and \$1,000 if he was taken to an island 'where he could obtain a goodly number'.~~

The Samoans, however, had been warned in advance to beware of the kidnapers and, as the L.M.S. Mission reported, were 'prepared to defend their liberties'; and though several ships prowled round the group trying to ~~run~~ run-down fishing canoes no more than seven Samoans were ^{taken} impressed by the end of the trade.

The Rosa Patricia, finding no one willing to embark as a recruiter, made for Olosenga ^{in the Tokelaus}, where Eli Jennings who had settled on and ~~claimed~~ the island as his property agreed to act as a recruiter ~~in the Tokelaus~~. Described as 'cruel' and 'exceedingly brutal' he spoke the Tokelauan dialect and was trusted by the islanders. In the Tokelaus the Rosa Patricia was joined by the Rosa y Carmen from Pukapuka and the two made quick hauls by kidnapping, continuing their Easter Island tactics by either inviting the people on board to trade and then closing the hatches on them or else, armed with guns and swords, rounding them up ashore. The people of Fakaofu, who were suffering from a virulent epidemic of dysentery brought from Samoa, soon spread the disease on board, the Rosa y Carmen losing 56% of her 290 recruits and the Rosa Patricia 59% of her 102.

~~Meanwhile, a few ships had left Callao for the French protected screen of eastern islands facing Peru and extending for 4,000 miles from the Marquesas in the north, through the Tokelaus, to Mangareva in the south; ^{but} It was a hazardous venture and though undertaken by seven reckless or hopelessly naive captains only one, on the Empresa, got away with any recruits. Most of them were effectively dealt with by the French authorities who, under Governor de la Richerie at Papeete, showed a commendable zeal in combating their activities.~~

~~The Serpiente Marina, trying to recruit at Mangareva, got into immediate trouble with the islanders, instigated by the redoubtable Father Laval; and left for Papeete to complain, where the ship was sequestered. The Mercedes A. de Wholey, which was the only vessel licensed to recruit for work in the Chincha Islands guano deposits, started well by obtaining 151 recruits in the Tuamotu Islands, with the help of a French insolvent debtor called Grandet, but was eventually captured by the French government steamer Latouche-Tréville and taken to Tahiti, where the captain and supercargo were put on trial.~~

36 in Peru, ^{only} The ^{to recruit in French Polynesia} successful vessel was the Empresa, which eventually landed ³⁶ mostly kidnapped Marquesans, ~~at Huacho~~. Among the highlights of her voyage was the marooning of the government agent and the supercargo on an off-shore rock at Uapou for refusing to ^{agree to} ~~countenance~~ outright kidnapping, and the exploits of Inglehart, the ship's doctor, who managed to imprison no less than eight Marquesan women in his cabin and perfected a ^{knock-out mixture} concoction of brandy and opium which ^{made the} ~~rendered~~ visiting islanders unconscious until the ship was far ~~XXX~~ out to sea.

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

~~Nevertheless a few ships continued to leave for Easter Island, where even if pickings were meagre transportation costs were low for the short haul. But in addition seven ships sought their recruits farther afield. Of these the Margarita and Honorio simply vanished without trace, though there are some clues as to what may have happened, while the Ellen Elizabeth made ~~her~~^{from} Valparaiso for the Micronesian Gilbert Islands.~~

start → The Dolores^{Carolina}, ^{the} Polinesia, General Prim and Adelante on her ~~third~~^{finally} ~~cruise~~ sailed via the Northern Cooks for ~~the Ellice Islands~~^{Tuvalu,} (now Tuvalu), the only group still untapped by recruiters from Peru. What happened to the General Prim ~~on route~~ will be mentioned shortly but the others arrived at Nukulaelae to find the people ~~singularly~~^{not at all} ~~un~~interested in being recruited.

They had been recently converted to Christianity by the Manihiki deacon Elekana after his epic drift voyage ^{by canoe} from the Northern Cooks. Elekana had just left ^{again} for Samoa to obtain a trained missionary teacher for them, first handing to each adult a page torn from his Bible; now they were anxiously awaiting his return with the means for their spiritual salvation.

Fortunately for the recruiters, however, there was an American negro beachcomber ashore who was able to suggest a ruse for attracting them. Acting as their friend ~~and stop-gap religious instructor~~ he promised to go with them to a place 'where they would be taught about God and religion' and returned after six months

with Christian teachers. The ship's boats and the island canoes were rushed as everyone sought to get out to ^{the} vessels, in many cases still clutching their most precious possession - the pages from Elekana's New Testament. The three vessels then made for Funafuti to repeat a rather similar exercise. ⁶⁵ ~~70~~% of the Nukulaelae people were ~~taken~~, ^{left} leaving ~~65~~ behind, mostly old, infirm and small children.

To revert to the story of the General Prim: the Tasmanian ^{ship} ~~whaler~~ Grecian was on a whaling voyage in the South Seas when, after ~~embarking a mainly Maori and Portuguese crew in Wellington and the Chatham~~ ^{Islands} ~~Islands~~ the captain ~~headed for the islands, where he~~ announced his intention of entering 'on the slave trade as being more profitable', adding that 'the islanders could easily be sold on the South American coast'.

~~Nine refused to serve on a slaver and were landed at Tutuila and Levuka, whereupon~~ ^{Eleka} ~~The captain~~ called at Ata, the isolated southern outlier of the Tonga Group, where 144 were invited on board to trade and treated to a meal laid out between decks; while they were eating the hatches were closed on them. A further 30 were taken from the northern outlier of Niuafo'ou and the Grecian made for Peru.

It appears that, probably off Pukapuka, she encountered the General Prim on her way to the Tuvalu Group, and sold her Captain ~~Eleka~~ the 174 Tongans on board; ~~a bargain for both of them as the~~ Grecian had no Peruvian licence to recruit and the General Prim could now return to Callao without further ado.

~~Before leaving this brief sketch of the Peruvian recruiting operations in the Polynesian islands perhaps there is time for just one of the many first-hand accounts which we have of the techniques employed. I have chosen the Rosa Patricia's abduction of 35 men from Atafu in the Tokelaus as being given by two eye witnesses sent ashore from the ship as ~~being~~ too old and weak~~

and written down by Maka, the mission teacher, the same evening, After recounting how the captain laid out cloth to purchase the island produce - red cloth, and shirts and trousers, and white and blue calicoes - some being on deck but the best in the hold:

Then the captain said to the men, 'look to the cloth on deck and that in the hold, and see which to choose'. Some of the people were looking at the cloth in the hold, then all went below. The captain told them to go below, and all went down. Then one of the crew gave them wrappers and shirts, and trousers and hats to put on. So the men rejoiced that they had got such clothing to attend worship in. But some of the crew were hidden in the hold, armed with cutlasses. They were hidden so that the people did not know that they were there. All these things the captain had arranged. None remained on deck except the chief; he continued on deck. He called down to his people to return to the deck, and not remain below lest they should injure anything in the vessel. The chief was standing over the hatchway, when some of the crew seized him and threw him down into the hold, and he fell into the middle of the hold. Then the hatchway was immediately closed down upon them all. These two men also told me they saw one of the people struck down by the crew with a sword. They saw the blood flow like water. They do not know if he was killed for the ship hastened off.

As to those left ashore Maka writes:

All that now remain here are women and children, and six male adults. It is most piteous to witness the grief of these women and children. They are weeping night and day; they do not eat, there is none left to provide food for them, or to climb the cocoanut trees. They will perish with hunger. ... The wife of the chief, in her misery, she prematurely gave birth to a child. She felt no pain from the intensity of her grief for the loss of her husband, her son, and her people. ... There is

~~There is nothing that we do now but mourn and weep for our island is destroyed.~~

From the records obtained ^{for the most part} ~~from island sources, for the most part written by the island teachers (except for the still unevangelised Easter Island, where they are taken from Peruvian Government sources),~~ we find that a total of 3,483 men, women and children were taken from the islands: 1,407 from Easter Island, 1,915 from the rest of Polynesia, and 161 from the Micronesian Gilbert Islands; ~~but of these 8 were released or escaped before leaving Polynesia and 156 were freed and repatriated by the French.~~

They came from 33 islands, ^{but} ~~and~~ the majority ^{were} from Easter Island, Niue and the eight Central Pacific Polynesian coral atolls in the Northern Cook, Tokelau and Tuvalu Groups; the percentage of the total population taken varying ~~from 83% on Tongareva and 79% on Nukulaelae down to 2% on Niue and even less on the high volcanic islands.~~

So much for the island side of our coin: let us turn to see how the recruits fared on the voyage to Peru. All accounts agree that the initial shock of finding themselves helplessly trapped and realising, perhaps for the first time, that they were being carried away as captives to an unknown destination ~~and an unknown fate~~ resulted in a feeling of utter hopelessness and desperation. Perhaps the following first-hand account obtained from men of Avatele on Niue who escaped after a night on board the Rosa Patricia gives an insight into what it must have been like after a typical recruit: *and I quote -*

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

and then taking the ship in and, when the natives were all safe on shore, untying the crew and letting them go; but the old men overruled this lest any of the foreigners should be killed in the affray. Two white men, armed, guarded the hatch-way, which was shut down and the ^{men} ~~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.

The Niuean Taole, who later escaped from Peru, tells us of shipboard routine on a ~~typical~~ recruiter:

Twice a day our gaolers lowered food and water to us, ship-biscuit and vessels containing cooked rice, and buckets of water. After the first day we were allowed to come on deck for a while, not more than five at a time; but for this we would have died. We had no chance of escape, for there was no land to be seen; everywhere around us the ocean.

... The great heat and the stifling air of the hold, the close confinement and the scant and unaccustomed food killed many of ~~the~~ the slaves.

~~The near starvation conditions reported appear to have been due to the parsimony of the speculators and their expectation that captains would be able to purchase, barter for or, better still, commandeer supplies in the islands. But hell ships were the exception: like the Ellen Elizabeth, where we are told that ~~the~~ 'one of the greatest pleasures of the captain was to cover the women with tar, pull their hair and have them beaten by seamen', while the men died from starvation, overwork at the pumps and exposure to the cold without clothing.~~

Probably the worst voyage was that of the Rosa y Carmen which left Fakaofu overcrowded, with scarcely any drinking water left and food so scarce that rations were reduced to half ~~a popo~~ ~~an old coconut~~ every two days. Attempting to obtain water at Tutuila the Samoans discovered that she was a 'man-stealing ship' and seized the casks; whereupon ^{with dysentery raging} Captain Marutani realized that unless he could refresh at some island few of his recruits would make Callao in saleable condition, if indeed they were still alive.

He consequently made for Sunday Island in the Kermadecs: ideal for his purpose in that its population at the time consisted of only four families, ~~numbering twenty-two men, women and children in all, who were engaged in growing quantities of potatoes and other vegetables in the fertile volcanic soil, and raising cattle, pigs and fowls, for sale to the whalers who were accustomed to call there for supplies.~~

The first priority was to clear the ship of ^{her} ~~its~~ involuntary passengers to enable the filthy and ^{stinking} ~~malodorous~~ holds to be ^{cleaned} ~~cleansed~~ and at the same time ~~XXXXXX~~ 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 words:

... 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 ^{when it rose.} As soon as some of the others gained a little strength, and were able to move about, they eat almost anything that came in their reach and the consequence was that 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 strowed all over the beach and allowed to remain as the tide left them.~~

About 156 died at or near Sunday Island, the remainder being saved by the ^{what was} ~~cattle, pigs, fowls, vegetables and everything else useful~~ pillaged by the captain from the settlers, who left the island on the Emily. ~~Even so, when the Rosa visited Pitcairn on her way to Callao the islanders spoke of their terrible state confined in a stifling hold, many entirely naked and all with countenances which 'bore the trace of much sorrow, and had a look of hopeless misery'. By the time she had reached Peru some of them had been in the hold for over 6½ months; imprisoned without adequate light, air or sanitation, starved and naked, and subject to a virulent dysentery, followed by pulmonary troubles.~~

Taole was on the Rosa Patricia, whose passengers also suffered from the dysentery brought on board at Fakaofu and he tells us that 'day after day dead men were hoisted up from the hold and cast overboard'. But he had a quicker journey - only 2½ months - when he says: 'At last the dreadful voyage came to an end. The ships reached a far-stretching land, with great mountains rising inland, a vast bare land, in no way like our islands of the ocean'. 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'.

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, or made a mark on, a transferable contract - or someone had done it for him - to serve as a 'cultivator, gardener, shepherd, a servant, or labourer in general' for a specified monthly wage and for a stated period of years sufficient to enable his employer to recoup the cost of acquiring his services. On the expiration of the contract period he was in theory free to return to his island if he so wished, subject to some means of transport being available and to his having saved sufficient money to pay for his passage. Alternatively, and as the government hoped, he could continue to live in Peru as a free citizen.~~

There was nothing like a slave market in Callao and prospective buyers went on board visiting ships. Antonio Guerra, for instance, stated that when on board a labour ship he 'saw dealers selecting natives and paying 3,000, 2,000 and 1,500 francs for them according to their sex, age and strength'.

A comparatively few specially selected men and women were destined for domestic service in Lima and Callao households, hotels and similar establishments and had not far to go, while the greater number were taken by coastal craft or on foot to the larger country estates. Initial reactions to the new colonists were favourable and they were considered 'superior, physically and morally, to the Chinese'. But it was soon found that Polynesians were not, in fact, attuned to the life of an urban domestic or a rural labourer, so completely the opposite in its inflexible routine to everything they had known before.

The daily routine of manual work on a Peruvian hacienda was, in fact, strenuous and physically exhausting; the working hours were long, the food inadequate and unsuitable and the discipline harsh, with beating and other punishments inflicted at the discretion of the owner or overseer.

So they began to die - at an ever-increasing rate, which neither kindness nor medical care could arrest. The ease and rapidity with which they sickened and wasted away from what appeared to be melancholia, without making any effort to continue living, astonished the Peruvians and exasperated their employers; indeed it must have been provoking to have spent good money on purchasing labour who, to quote the Chilean Consul at Callao, 'often let themselves die in captivity and ^{thus} caused their owners grave losses'.

By far the most detailed account of the condition of the Polynesian labour on the coastal plantations is to be found in the report of Eucher Henry, who went looking nominally for French-protected islanders, in the hope of persuading their owners to allow them to be repatriated. He found them: Ivi Peto, 'thrown into a pig-sty and left there without food to die'; 10 others 'stretched on a filthy manure-heap, tormented by vermin and reduced to the most extreme misery'; three more 'in a state of indescribable sickness and weakness'; 12 more given inadequate rations and whipped with lashes to make them work.

~~But why go on:~~ The French Chargé d'Affaire, who travelled to Ancon to receive 18 described them as 'human skeletons dried up by hunger, illness, running sores and abuse and scarcely alive'. To quote from the report of Dr Bon, the naval surgeon who accompanied Henry:

We did not expect to find in utter misery, barely clothed, barely fed, weakened by the illnesses for which they never received the least care, these same islanders whom Peru had

invited to revive their agriculture, promising them in return the attentions which all civilized people should give to independent and free men. ... What smiles one saw ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ when the name of their island was suddenly mentioned; and on the wan, emaciated faces, barely human, what rays of unspeakable joy!

It may have been guessed from the mention of Eucher Henry and de Lesseps, the French Charge d'Affaires, that foreign powers were taking an interest in the Peruvian labour trade. ~~At its commencement the French and Hawaiian representatives at Lima protested and reserved the right to secure the return of any French or Hawaiian subjects or protected persons, while the British Charge d'Affaires was instructed to watch and report on developments as 'it is not improbable that the system ... may degenerate into the slave trade in disguise'.~~

Paz Soldan, the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply, pointed out that it was up to France and Hawaii, and not Peru, to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, but that Peru would be glad to hear of any specific abuses on which it could take legal action. But the Peruvian Government had been itself shocked at the way in which the Adelante's recruits had been disposed of and the Prefect of Callao was ordered to hold an enquiry and to stop all infractions of the Law of 14 March 1861.

After further publicity had been given to sales of Easter ~~Islanders~~ islanders following on the Bella Margarita's recruit there, a Decree was proclaimed in December ordering a Committee composed of the Prefect, Mayor and Recorder of Callao to satisfy themselves in each instance that the provisions of the 1861 law had been observed. When eight more ships with 1,363 immigrants arrived during January and February renewed concern was expressed by France and Britain and new legislation was enacted by Decree dated 20 February to control abuses. But all these well-meant measures proved ineffective, since some members of the Callao

supervisory committee were themselves interested in the trade.

In March, ^{Governor} ~~however~~, de la Richerie in Papeete sent de Lesseps ^{detailed} further information on the activities of the recruiters, which in de Lessep's view removed the Polynesian question from the diplomatic field to that of ^{sheer} crime. In a blistering condemnation of the trade on legal, moral and humanitarian grounds addressed to Peru's Foreign Minister, de Lesseps, ~~covered in detail the activities of the~~ Serpiente Marina at Mangareva, the Mercedes A. de Wholey in the Tuamotus, the Adelante, Manuelita Costas and Eliza Mason in the Marquesas and the treatment of the Tahitian Ocoa on board the Teresa. ~~He~~ ended by stating his confidence that the Minister's own views on the true nature of 'this scandalous trade in human flesh' must have changed, ~~since his last note written in November,~~ now that Peru had witnessed for over four months 'these unfortunate people snatched by force or by trick from their homes, from their families, from an ~~indolent~~ life free and carefree, dragged violently to the haciendas, then hunted by the police and their masters when they were trying to escape by fleeing, dying decimated by nostalgia, illnesses and bad treatment'. ~~And on 27 April he followed this~~ ~~by further documentation on the kidnapping of French protected~~ ~~Marquesans by the~~ Empresa.

It was the beginning of the end for the trade since public opinion both in Peru, where it was led by the influential newspaper El Comercio, and abroad was becoming increasingly hostile to what was now generally recognized as a slave trade apparently condoned, if no longer encouraged, by the Government.

How is it, asked El Comercio, that 'the blood shed in torrents in a popular revolution to restore the laws of national sovereignty, to shatter the chains of the slave and the shameful servitude of the Indian, has not been enough to put an end to the vile and degrading traffic in men.'

~~In a letter to the Minister of Government, the new Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ribeyro, wrote that: 'the Government of Peru, which always attempts to fulfil its high mission for the honour of the country and the approbation of civilized nations, must prohibit the introduction of Polynesian settlers ...', and Under new Regulations dated 28 April no labour ship could disembark crew or passengers without a special licence; 'which would only be granted after it had been made evident that the labourers had been freely contracted and that no crimes had been committed during the voyage'.~~

~~and~~ On 15 May the members of the diplomatic and consular corps met to convey their 'satisfaction at the suitable measures taken by the Government of Peru' to prohibit the labour trade; ~~and~~ to most of them the whole distastful incident was now over. ^{But} For the warm-hearted Frenchman Edmund de Lesseps, ~~however~~ it was only a step in a battle to achieve the liberation and repatriation of the Polynesians ^{already} in Peru who he considered to be essentially ~~human~~ 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. They had been engaged for the most part through false ~~promises~~ promises and their contracts, with signatures or signs verified by agents paid by the licencees, were almost all void. Legation figures suggested that of approximately 2,150 islanders who had entered the country by the end of April only 800 still survived.

~~De Lesseps requested the setting up of a Franco-Peruvian Commission with wide powers of examining contracts and hearing evidence, with a view to placing all islanders found to have been illegally recruited under proper care pending repatriation. Not surprisingly this suggestion was rejected as being contrary to Peru's Constitution and in any case likely to prove less effective than legally permissible methods.~~

Peru's Foreign Minister, Ribeyro, *plantation owners* considered that the ~~haciendados~~ had acquired a

legitimate right to the services of Polynesians who had arrived in Peru, in the absence of any legally valid proof to the contrary; and that only islanders 'in complete liberty' or voluntarily surrendered without compensation could be repatriated. ~~General Freyre, the Minister of Government, sent a letter to the local authorities throughout Peru saying that these could be sent to Callao so that they might be repatriated in 'a commodious and safe vessel'.~~ Later a financial inducement of 50 pesos was permitted to be paid for each contract ~~surrendered.~~ *cancelled.*

~~When Ribeyro heard that labourers under contract were being contacted by Eucher Henry and his party he objected strongly and de Lesseps in turn demanded to see the Vice President to complain about Ribeyro's note. The upshot was that de Lesseps declined to correspond with Ribeyro except through Jerningham, the British representative in Lima, pending instructions from France.~~

The ~~Meanwhile Polynesians delivered up by their owners were~~ *now began*
trickling into Callao by coastal shipping; ~~and the~~ and the first ~~ship~~ *recruiting vessel* to arrive after the enactment of the new regulations, the Barbara Gomez, was chartered to repatriate them, ~~together with the 23 recruits she had brought from Easter Island,~~ at 32 pesos a head, with victualling at the owner's expense.

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 began to strike them down. The disease was more or less endemic in Peru but this particularly virulent strain was brought by the crew of the American whaler Ellen Snow, who were allowed out of quarantine too soon, with

the result that from early in June Lima and Callao suffered one of the worst epidemics in decades.

The Government now proceeded to place 360 repatriates on board the Barbara Gomez, with the result that she soon became no better than an overcrowded and insanitary pest-house filled with victims of smallpox, and before long dysentery as well. ~~'Many of these poor men and women', wrote Jerningham, 'were in a state of complete nudity', which 'certainly ought not to have been permitted in the Port of a nation claiming to be civilized like Peru'.~~

On 18 August the Barbara Gomez made for Easter Island, with 42 islanders already dead, to drop 100 repatriates; but by the time she got there only 15 were ^{still} alive to land. The infection soon spread ashore, resulting in the death of approximately 1,000 islanders. From there she made for Rapa, by which time 329 out of the 360 embarked had been thrown overboard, ~~allowing for the fifteen~~ ~~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', ^{sent a message} The captain ~~said~~ 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'. ^{So the Rapaes took them into their homes, and} ~~Nine survived to marry Rapaes but~~ approximately two-thirds ~~of~~ ^{of} the island's population died, ~~from dysentery which followed the smallpox.~~

Actually the French despatch-steamer Diamant had left Callao a month before the Barbara Gomez with 29 repatriates, ~~mostly from the Marquesas and Southern Cooks.~~ It was hoped that all had escaped infection but smallpox broke out soon after her departure and 14 died on the journey to Nukuhiva, where the survivors were quarantined. Unfortunately their friends and relatives soon broke into the quarantine area to greet the new arrivals and as a consequence ~~about~~ 1,560 Marquesans died (960 on Nukuhiva and 600 on Uapeu-

~~out of an estimated population of 3,800).~~

^{Recruits on}
~~None of~~ the eight ships to arrive after 28 April were permitted to disembark their passengers, those from the first three (including her own) being kept on the Barbara Gomez and those from the Dolores Carolina, Polinesia, General Prim and Adelante, almost entirely Tuvaluans and Tongans, were kept on the Adelante, which left for the islands on 2 October with 429 of her 589 passengers still alive, ~~even this reduced number amounting to nearly three times her legal complement.~~

Three weeks later the survivors were discovered by the New Bedford whaler Active marooned on uninhabited Cocos Island off the Central American coast and eventually the 40 still left were ^{brought back to Peru.} ~~landed at Païta in northern Peru, where they disappeared, presumably into the local labour force.~~ The captain of the Adelante was later said to have been mentally unbalanced by the scenes on board his ship, to have wrecked her on Cocos and finally committed suicide.

The last repatriation ship was the Ellen Elizabeth, which had brought 128 out of 161 Gilbertese recruits ~~safely to Lambayeque~~ and after some three months was directed to return them to their homes ~~at the standard rate of 50 pesos compensation and 32 pesos repatriation payment a head.~~ They were unique in not being exposed to smallpox or dysentery in their northern port and after an abortive attempt to maroon them - probably on uninhabited Eïoa in the northern Marquesas - 111 survivors were landed at Tongareva, where some were later recruited for work in Tahiti ~~and~~ on Fanning Island and eventually reached their homes, while others married ~~into~~ and merged into the population of Tongareva, Manihiki and Rakahanga.

~~Without wishing to be unduly censorious, It is difficult to excuse the Peruvian Government for not having the islanders immunized~~ ^{from small-pox} 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. 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 deplored the fact that the immigrants had arrived in the country in exceptionally bad health; an enquiry would have revealed the fact that most had ~~been~~ left their islands in excellent health but had been half-starved during the voyage to Peru. The repatriation contract practically guaranteed that any survivors would return home in a similar, or even worse, condition: thus when disease struck they were in no state to resist it.~~

→ But perhaps we can conclude best not in emotional terms but by drawing up a cold statistical balance sheet, remembering of course that most figures are approximate rather than exact. 3,483 Polynesians were recruited for Peru of whom 164 were released, freed or escaped in Polynsia itself, and 304 died on the voyages, making 3,015 who reached Peru. Of these 2,116 were landed and 899 held on ships for repatriation. To the numbers held for repatriation we must add 207 taken from the recruits released ashore, making a total of 1,106.

↓ ~~and~~ ^{actually left Polynesia} ~~now~~ of the 3,319 who ~~went~~ for Peru, 304 died on the voyage there, 1,840 died in Peru and 918 during the repatriation proceedings, ~~making~~ making a total of 3,062 deaths directly attributable to the Peruvian recruits. But this is not all, for 960 died from smallpox on Nukuhiva, 600 on Uapou, 1,000 on Easter Island; while 240 died on Rapa from dysentery and 150 in the Leeward Islands, making 2,950 deaths indirectly attributable to the Peruvian recruits; or a grand total of 6,012 deaths in all.

These figures must naturally be related to the population of the Polynesian islands in the mid-nineteenth century: a time when the 6,000 who died from the ~~Peruvian~~ ^{whole} Peruvian recruiting venture were not far short of the population of Tahiti, the main island

of Eastern Polynesia, including Papeete; and were half as much again as the entire population of ^{all} the 15 Central Polynesian atolls. in 1871 (the first year in which a complete enumeration was made):

For Polynesia as a whole, therefore, the Peruvian slave trade constituted a decimation of an order never seen before or since in her history; while on many islands the deaths represented social disaster of catastrophic proportions. Nukulaelae lost 79% of its population, Tongareva and Rapa 66%, Easter Island 57%, Uapou 55%, Nukunonu and Funafuti 54%, Fakaofu 53%, Ata 41% and Nukuhiva 36%, to mention the worst afflicted.

But what of the survivors. Well we know that of the 1,106 on the four repatriation ships, 13 were landed alive on Nukuhiva, 15 on Easter Island, 9 on Rapa and 111 on Tongareva, though not all these lived for very long, which gives us a total of 148. A further 9 are said to have escaped after repatriation ceased and in 1866 the Peruvian Government estimated that about 100 were still alive in Peru, making a grand total of 257.

257 alive and 6,012 dead ^{these are} mere statistics: ^{I know:} but the figures enshrine what the writer James Cowan has called 'the trickery and violence, and the murders, the crime and sorrow, which make as sorry a tale of sin and suffering as anything in the shocking history of the African slave trade'.

.....

The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864

The Peruvian slave trade ... at an unknown destination ^(p. 12)

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 intention, this was not a labour trade or even a government-sponsored immigration scheme - the Polynesians taken to ^(pp. 13-14) ... in their future destiny.

To understand how it all began we must first know something about conditions in the Republic of Peru at the time. Peru had gained her independence from Spain in 1824 but owing to the topography of the country, and especially its bad land communications, made it difficult to impose an efficient centralized administration outside Lima, the capital, and Callao its port.

Roughly the country ^(p. 18-19) being about 400 fms.

The natural result ^(p. 19) the demand for labour.

As a result of promises ^(p. 20) of so-called 'Aristic colonies'; and at this point a well-known Irish adventurer, J.C. Byrne, enters on the scene, with his smooth tongue and ready wit and a reputation as an expert on emigration.

Byrne had in fact managed an emigration scheme which brought out 3,300 people from England to Natal before it went bankrupt and he had to leave for Australia 'without bidding his friends good-bye', according to the newspaper. He then tried unsuccessfully to interest the French Government in a land development and colonization scheme in New Caledonia and the Belgian Government in a scheme for founding a colony in the New Hebrides, but his mounting debts in Victoria eventually made it desirable for him to leave for Peru, where the new proposals for reviving the Chinese coolie trade had just been passed. With him he took as partner an American hotel-keeper called B.D. Clark, 'short last appeared in police,' says the Hillman Age, 'was in the Woodcock Court'.

In Lima Byrnes claimed to have settled more than 3,000 colonists from the New Hebrides in New Caledonia and soon persuaded the government of President Castilla, which had always been opposed to the Chinese coolie trade, that an easily obtained supply of well treated and preferable laborers lay nearer to hand, who could be brought willingly to Peru without the drawbacks associated with the coolie trade.

He was accordingly granted a License to introduce colonists from the South West Pacific Islands on 1 April 1862, and formed a company in Lima for the purpose in which the profits were to be divided into three shares: one each for himself, Clark and the owner of the ship. On 15 June the 151 ton brig Adelante left with Byrnes for the New Hebrides fitted, as we told 'me like a Man-o-War than a merchantman', with iron galleys ... extra grounds covered.

Now by an extraordinary mischance while the Adelante was sailing west Byrnes decided to stop-over at Tanageroa in the Northern Leeches to investigate the commercial possibilities of its lagoon, which was known to contain beche-de-mer and pearl-shell; and thus he discovered the real island ... (9 Beche spots).

It was a happy voyage with the 83 families allowed the run of the ship since it was found that far from being truculent savages they were courteous, hospitable and anxious to please. On arrival at Callao the men were sold for \$200 each, with \$150 for the women and \$100 for the boys. From a British resident Watson in Valparaiso we learn that the sales resulted in a profit of \$40,000 on an outlay of \$10,000, a 400% for approximately 3 1/2 months work. Byrnes had struck a bonanza.

There were plenty of speculators in Lima and Callao waiting for just this kind of news and it started a veritable gold rush to Peru small companies ... had left Callao 'to hunt Indians', as we were aptly put it.

It is impossible in a talk like this to detail the reverses and recruiting operations of the 32 vessels which engaged in the trade at one time or another,

which in the course of their 37 voyages called at 44 islands, including every inhabited group in Polynesia with the exception of Hawaii, as well as the Galapagos in America. Within three weeks of the Ordre's arrival no less than five Peruvian and two Chilean ships had left Callao, including one we told 'several crazy old vessels that had long been laid up as hulks, but which in the enthusiasm of the speculators had been equipped as good enough for the service'.

Though probably no one in Peru appreciated the exceptional circumstances which prevailed on Tagarua it stood to reason that the human resources of a small atoll would hardly provide a couple of good shepherds and so some vessels went on to other islands in the Northern Cooks: Manihiki, Rukohanga and Pukapuka. Here they found the islanders were not interested in recruiting because they were starving as on Tagarua but that they were predisposed in favour of it as all knew, by experience or report, of the happy one or two years of working on the coconut plantations at Fanning Island under contract to Henry English, who had been employing Manihiki and Rukohanga families since 1852.

These potential recruits were interested primarily in the locality, nature and terms of their intended work and the Peruvian recruits, advised by leaders such as Beni on Tagarua and Peter Conroy on Pukapuka, were only too willing to pursue whatever they wanted. Thus the schooner Gorona recruited them for collecting black-deer at Tatumatungu, a Christmas Island, only a few miles from Fanning Island, while the Bessa of Camer was taking them to make coconut oil on nearby Palmyra Island for the well-known merchant Brander of Tahiti and on Rukohanga it was agreed, on the instance of the ariki, that all recruits would be engaged on light work only, gathering cotton or planting sugarcane, and repatriated within a year. Only on Manihiki the ariki and minor leaders considered that as so many were working on Fanning Island the remaining population should not recruit for anywhere else but stay to take their places when they were repatriated.

Other ships - the ^{Chilean} Bella Margarita and Eloya Narcon, and ^{the Peruvian} General Pizarro - had the good sense to make would be small.

The Bella Margarita returned first with 142 men and 12 women, apparently obtained without coercion, who were sold at an average price of about \$300, thus grossing a man in the region of \$46,000, a lucrative as a one operative basis.

Eight ships left Callao together on this new co-ordinated plan, designed to increase profits by reducing unnecessary time spent in recruiting, and arrived at Easter in time to warn Captain Sacramento of the Eloya Narcon to leave the vicinity at once. On the night of 22 December all captains agreed to combine in an armed expedition against the Easter Islanders the following morning, under the command of the one-eyed Spanish buccaner Captain Montano of the 400-ton clipper-built barque Rosa y Carmen.

At 7.30 the next morning about 80 men assembled on the beach when the Rosa's captain explained the plan of campaign. Part of the force tattooed on the forehead.

The six ships left departed for Pofu where it was proposed to water and hopefully obtain provisions and some recruits. In the event water was all they got for the terrain proved quite insurmountable for landing - of operations, while a Spanish-speaking negro who set a reconnaissance party on the beach warned them that the woods and thickets were full of armed 'Indians'.

So the Rosa y Carmen and her tender the Mascota Maravilla and Palepaha moved on to Pachabanga while the Rosa Patricia and the Guillermo left for Nangai, after which their routes crossed again in the Todelous. The Jose Castro decided to return to Easter for a second shot at kidnapping a cargo while the salvador Corra arrived after the others had gone, having called in at Nangarewa; and when a Pofu called Marrator was told by

a Samoan member of the crew that there was a captured Easter Island boy on board he organized a raiding party of Papans who captured the ship took the captain prisoner and invited the crew to come ashore as guests of the islanders. Taniato had gained a medal for bravery in the French army and with a becherka Tanco Comar as captain, the carpenter and cook of the Guillermo - who had deserted because they objected to an old woman from Easter Island being thrown onboard as invisible - and other Papans, they sailed the Gu to Tahiti, where they caused a sensation.

The forbidding coastline of Niue prevented any attempt to land but the islanders were accustomed to paddling out in their canoes to visiting ships and one on board many of the young men proved willing to sign on in the hope of adventures abroad; one had already been to Samoa and a few were farther afield.

The Tuzello, with 42 on board from Pohnonga, had therefore no difficulty in obtaining over 50 at Niue and the Rosa Patricia 40, though the latter were simply kidnaped when they came off to trade. The Rosa then made for Apia where the American seaman Peteron explained that he was only for the English seahunter Higginson of Callao who had a contract to obtain 10,000 South Sea islanders. Peteron offered natives of the European community about \$10 a head for every Samoan induced to recruit and \$1,000 to be taken to any island 'where he could obtain a goodly number'.

The Samoans, however, were warned to beware of the kidnapers and as the L.N.S. Nisum reported were 'prepared to defend their liberties'; and though several ships prowled round the group trying to run-down fresh canoes none so far then with Samoans were impressed by the end of the trade.

The Rosa Patricia fresh so are willing to embark as a recruiter, made for Olesoga where Eli Domingo who had settled in and claimed the island as his property agreed to act as a recruiter in the Tokelaws. Described as

'cruel' and 'exceedingly brutal' he spoke the Tahelanian dialect and was trusted by the islanders. In the Tahelans the Rosa Patricia was joined by the Rosa y Carina from Pukapuka and the two made quick hauls by kidnaping, continuing their Easter Island tactics by either inviting the people on board to trade and then closing the hatches on them or else, armed with guns and swords, rounding them up at will. The Fakaofoans, who were suffering from a violent epidemic of dysentery brought from Samoa, soon spread the disease on board, the Rosa y Carina losing 56% of her 290 recruits and the Rosa Patricia 59% of her 102.

Meanwhile a few ships had left Callao for the French protected series of eastern islands facing Peru and extending for 1,000 miles from the Marquesas in the north, through the Tuamotus, to Mangarua in the south. It was a hazardous venture and although undeterred, even reckless or hopelessly naive captains only one, on the Esperanza, got away with a single recruit. Most of them were effectively dealt with by the French authorities who, under Governor de la Rubie at Papeete, showed a commendable zeal in curbing their activities.

^{N.P.} The Serpente Noire, trying to recruit at Mangarua, got into immediate trouble with the islanders, intimidated by the redoubtable Fata Laval; and left for Papeete to cower, where the ship was sequestered. The Nacador a de Whaley, which was the only vessel licensed to recruit for work in the Cook Islands group deposits, started well by obtaining 151 recruits in the Tuamotu Islands, with the help of a French insolent debtor called Grandet, but was eventually captured by the French guano steamer Lotouche-Tréville and taken to Tahiti where the captain and passengers were put on trial.

The successful vessel was the Esperanza de Lisa which actually laded 36, mostly kidnaped Marquesans, at Huachao. Among the highlights of her voyage were the narrowing of the guano net and the passengers in an off-due rock at Napou for refusing to countenance outright kidnaping, and the exploits of Hyleant, the ship's doctor, who managed to inspire no less than eight Marquesans with his cabin and perfected a concoction of brandy and opium which reduced nearby islanders unconscious until the ship was far at sea.

Soon after the emigrant of 1863 it became clear to the consul
(7 116) that further recruiting ventures.

Nevertheless a few ships continued to leave for Easter Island, since even if
freights were higher transportation costs were low for the short haul. But
in addition some ships sought their recruits farther afield. Of these the
Marguerite and Harvor simply rounded without trace, though there are clues for
these ships detect these ends, while the Ellen Elizabeth made for
Valparaiso for the Incaian Southern Gallato.

The Dolores Cardosa, Pelucia, General Puri and Adelante in her third
voyage sailed via the Northern Leaks for the Ellue Islands (now Tarawa)
the ship's crew still enticed by recruits for Peru. What happened to the
General Puri en route will be mentioned shortly but the others arrived at
Nukuhale to find the people singularly uninterested in being recruited.

They had been recently converted to Christianity by the Nukuhale
missionary Elehara after his epic drift voyage for the northern Leaks.
Elehara had just left for Samoa to obtain a trained missionary teacher
for them, ^{first} having to coach ^{adult} a young man from his Bible; now they were
anxiously awaiting his return with the news for their spiritual salvation.

Fatally for the recruits, however, there was an American seaman
Nukuhale who was able to suggest a ruse for enticing them.
Acting as their friend and step-by-step religious instructor he promised to go with
them to a place 'where they would be taught about God and religion'
and returned after six weeks with Christian teachers. The ship's boats and
other canoes were loaded as usual.

~~They~~ sought to get out to the ships, in many cases still clutching
their most precious possession - the pages for Elehara's New Testament. The
three vessels then made for the Ferozate to repeat a not dissimilar
exercise. 79 of the Nukuhale people were taken, leaving 65, mostly
old, infirm and small children.

To return to the General Penn: the Tasmanian whaler Green was on a whaling voyage in the South Seas when after embarking a party Maori and Portuguese crew in Wellington and the Chatham Islands the captain decided for the islands and then announced his intention of entering 'on the slave trade as being more profitable', adding that 'the islanders could easily be sold on the South American coast'.

He refused and was landed at Tutuila and Levea, whereupon the captain called at Atoa, the isolated southern outlier of the Toga Group, where 144 were invited on board to trade and treated to a meal laid out between decks, during which the hatches were closed on them. A further 30 were taken from the northern outlier of Niuafo'ou and the Green made for Pen.

It appears that probably off Pukapuka she encountered the General Penn en route to the Tuvolu Group, and sold her Captain Olan the 174 Togaans on board; a bargain for both as the Green had no Peruvians left to recruit and the General Penn could now return to Callao without further ado.

Before leaving this brief sketch of the Peruvian recruiting operations in the Polynesian islands perhaps there is just time for just one of the many first-hand accounts which we have of the techniques employed. I choose the Peru Patricia's abduction of 35 men from Atoa in the Tuhelows as being given by two eye witnesses out aboard for the ship was too old and weak and wither out down by Nuka, the main tender, the same evening. After reciting how the captain laid out cloth to purchase the island produce - red cloth, and shirts and trousers, and white and blue calicoes - one on deck but the best in the hold:

Then the captain . . . ship fastened off.

As to those left ashore Nuka writes:

all that now remain here are women and children, and some male adults.

It is most pitiable . . . perish with hunger . . . The wife of the chief, in

her misery faintly gave birth . . . and her people . . . There is nothing

for our island is destroyed.

From the records obtained from island sources, the most part from records made by the island mission teachers (except for the still unevangelized Easter Island, where they are taken from Plummer's journal records), we find that a total of 3,483 men, women and children were taken from the islands: 1,407 from Easter Island, 1,915 from the rest of Polynesia, and 161 from the Mexican Gallapagos; but of these 8 were released or escaped before leaving Polynesia and 156 were freed and repatriated by the French.

They came from 33 islands, and the majority from Easter Island, New and the eight Central Pacific Polynesian central islets in the Fanning Group, Tokelau and Tuvalu Groups; the percentage of the total population taken varying from 83% on Taqweva; 79% on Nukunono; 54% on Nukunono, Fuafoata and Fakaofo; 41% on Ata; 34% on Easter Island and Rikohanga; 26% on Atafu; 24% on Pukapuka; to just 2% on Niue and even less on the remaining 22 islands. It will be seen, therefore, that for 10 islands the raids constituted what can only be termed catastrophic genocide.

So much for the island side of our coin; let us turn to how our recruits on the voyage to Peru. All accounts agree (p. 195) ... dying and frozen.

The Mexican Tale, who later escaped from Peru, tells us of shipboard routine on a typical recruit:

Twice a day (p. 198) ... of the slaves.

The new structure conditions reported appear to have been due to the knowing of the speculators and their expectation that captives would be able to purchase, later for or, better still, commandeer supplies in the islands. But hell ships were the exception: like the Ellen Elizabeth, where we are told that 'one of the greatest plagues of the captain was to see the women with tar, fill their hair and have their bodies by women', while the men

dead from starvation, unsheltered at the banks and exposure to the cold without clothing.

Probably the most voyage that of the Peru y Guano which left Fokasfo surrounded, with nearly all clothing water left and food now scarce that returns were reduced to half or fofo (an old coconut) every two days. Attempting to obtain water cocks at Tutuala the survivors discovered that she was a 'man-stealing ship' and seized the cocho and with dignity saying Captain Parantoni realized that unless he could refuel at one island few would make Callao in salable condition, if indeed they were still alive.

He consequently rode for Sunday Island in the Korodess: which for his fofo in that its population ... (p. 207) ... sufficed.

The first party ... (p. 207-8) ...

300 or more men, the tide left the

About 156 died at or near Sunday Island, the remainder being saved by the cattle, pigs, fowls, myrtles and everything else useful which he pillaged from the natives who left the island in the Early. Even so, when the Peru visited Patricia on her way to Callao the wretched state of their terrible state which in a stifling hold, very entirely naked and all with contusions that 'bore the trace of such sorrow, and had a look of hopeless misery'. By the time she reached Peru she had been in the hold for over 6 1/2 months; deprived almost adequate light, air or ventilation, stoned and naked, and subject to a violent dysentery followed by febrile troubles.

Taole was on the Rosa Patricia, whose passengers also suffered from the dysentery brought on board at Fokasfo and he tells us how 'day after day dead men were hoisted up from the hold and cast overboard'. But he had a quicker journey - only 2 1/2 months - when he says: 'At least the dreadful voyage came to an end. ... (p. 215) ... his condition in life'. To this end he had signed, or made a mark on, a transferable contract - a deed had done it for him - to serve as ... (p. 215) ... a free citizen.

Antonio Guerra stated that she or board a labor ship he 'now declares selecting natives and paying 3,000, 2,000 and 1,500 francs for their currency to their sex, age and strength'.

There was nothing like a slave market in Callao and prospective buyers went on board many ships.

a relatively few ... (p. 225) ... the large estates. Initial reactions to the new climate were favourable and they were considered 'inferior, physically and morally, to the Chinese'. The workers were bought by the owners of the large coastal plantations as agricultural labourers. But it was soon found that the Polygons were not in fact attracted to the life of an unskilled domestic or a rural labourer, nor completely the opposite in its inflexible routine to everything they had known before.

The daily routine of manual work on a Peruvian hacienda was strenuous and physically exhausting; the daily hours were long, the food inadequate and unvaried and the discipline harsh, with beating and other punishments inflicted at the discretion of the owner or overseer.

So they began to die - at an extraordinary rate which neither kindness nor medical care could arrest. The case and ... (p. 226) ... 'many gave losses'.

By far the most detailed account of the condition of Polygonian labour on the coastal plantations is to be found in the report of Eusebio Henry, who went looking, mainly for French Protestant colonists, in the hope of persuading their owners to allow them to be repatriated. He found them: 'in Peter, thrown into a pig-sty and left there without food to die'; 10 others 'stretched on a filthy straw-bed, tormented by vermin and reduced to the most extreme misery'; three more 'in a state of indescribable sickness and weakness'; 12 were given inadequate rations and stuffed with lashes to make them work.

But why go on: the French chargé d'affaires, who travelled to Lima to receive 18 described them as 'human skeletons dried up by hunger, illness, weary work and slave and menial abuse'. To quote from the report of Dr. Ben, the medical surgeon who accompanied Henry:

We did not expect to find ... (p. 232) ... indefatigable and free men ... what rules we saw ... (p. 232) ... of insupportable joy.

It may have been guessed from the nation of Emile Henry and de Lessips, the French Charge' d' Affaires, that foreign powers were taking an interest in the Peruvian labor trade. At its commencement the French and Hawaiian representatives at Lima protested and renounced the right to receive the return of any French or Hawaiian subjects or protected persons, while the British Charge' d' Affaires was instructed to watch and report on developments as 'it is not improbable that the system ... may degenerate into the slave trade in disguise'.

Paz Soldan, the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in an effective reply, pointed out that it was up to France and Hawaii, and not Peru, to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories but that Peru to fear of specific abuses on which it could take legal action. But the Peruvian Government had been itself shocked at the way in which the Adelante's recruits had been disposed of and the Prefect of Callao was ordered to hold an enquiry and to stop abuses of the Law of 14 March 1861.

Probably after further publicity had been given to sales of Easter Islanders after the Bella Navegante's recruit there, a Decree was proclaimed ^{in 1861} ordering a Committee composed of the Prefect, Mayor and Recorder of Callao to satisfy themselves in each instance that the provisions of the 1861 law had been observed. When eight more ships with 1,363 migrants arrived during January and February further concern was expressed by France and Britain and new legislation was enacted by Decree dated 20 February to curb abuses. But all these well-intent measures proved ineffective, some see sales of the Callao recruiting committee see themselves interested in the trade.

In March, Lucea, de la Rubine in Papeete sent de Lessips further information on the activities of the committee, which in de Lessips' view, raised the Polynesian question for the diplomatic field to that of crime. In a thirty page statement of the trade in legal, and and humanitarian grounds addressed to Peru's Foreign Minister de Lessips traced in detail the activities of the Societe Navire of Naguara, the Navires a de Voloy in the Tractor, the Adelante, Tomelto, Carter and Elyza Noron in the Naguara and the travels of the Tahiti Navire or land the Teresa. He asked of what his evidence that the Minister's

was news (p. 248) and had to be followed this by false denials in the kidnapping of French protected immigrants by the Empire

It was the beginning of the end for the trade in false titles in Peru, since it was led by the influential newspaper El Comercio, and abroad was being increasingly hostile to what was now generally recognized as a slave trade apparently condoned, if no longer encouraged, by the Government.

How is it, asked El Comercio, that the blood (p. 249) culture and civilization

In a letter to the Ministry of Government, the new Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Puley, wrote that: 'the Government of Peru of Polyzanos settlers', and under new Regulations dated 28 April no person shall be allowed to disembark as a foreigner without a special license: 'which (p. 253) during the voyage'.

On 15 May the release of the diplomatic and consular agents set to carry their satisfaction at the suitable measures taken by the Government of Peru' to prohibit the labor trade, and to root out of the state the most distasteful incident was now over. ^{the non-legal French} Fa Edmond de Lempdes, however, it was a step in a ^{little} to achieve the liberation and repatriation of the Polyzanos in Peru who he considered to be essentially individual human beings (259) has not been. They had been engaged for the most part through false promises and their contracts, with signatures or signs verified by agents paid by the business, were almost all void. Lempdes figures suggested that ^{approximately} of 2,150 individuals who had entered the country by the end of April only 800 still remained.

De Lempdes requested the setting-up of a France-Peruvian Commission with wide powers of inquiry into and hearing evidence with a view to placing all individuals found to have been illegally recruited and proper and speedy repatriation. Not surprisingly this suggestion was rejected as being contrary to Peru's Constitution and in any case likely to prove less effective than legally permissible methods.

Puley considered that the hacendados had acquired a legitimate right to the services of Polyzanos who had arrived in Peru, in the absence of any legally valid proof to the contrary; and that only individuals 'in complete

ality' or voluntarily surrendered by their owners without compensation could be refitted. General Freyre, the Minister of Government, sent a letter to the local authorities throughout Peru saying that these could be set or that they might be refitted in 'a commodious and safe vessel'. Later a financial relief of 50 pesos was paid for each contract surrendered.

When Pelayo heard that Colono under contract was being extended by Ender Henry and his party, he objected strongly and de Lesseps in turn decided to see the Vice President to explain about Pelayo's note. The upshot was that de Lesseps decided to cooperate with Pelayo except through Jerningham, the British Charge d' Affaires, sending instructions from France ^{debased of their owners}.

Meanwhile Polynesian crews trickling into Callao by coastal shipping and over the Peruvian road steamer Loa; and the first ship to arrive after the outbreak of the new epidemic, the Barbara Gentry with 23 recruits from Easter Island, was chartered to refit them, together with the 29 recruits she had brought from Easter Island at 32 pesos a head, with victuals at the owner's expense.

To the islanders ... (p. 269) ... to strike them down. The disease was not a less severe in Peru but this particularly virulent strain was brought by the crew of the American whaler Elder Snow who were allowed out of quarantine too soon, with the result that for early June Lima and Callao suffered one of the worst epidemics in decades.

The Government now proceeded to place 360 refittees on board the Barbara Gentry, with the result that she soon became ... (p. 271) ... 'induced like Peru'.

On 18 August the Barbara Gentry sailed for Easter Island, with 42 islanders already dead, to drop 100 refittees; but by the time she got there only 15 were able to land. The infection soon spread widely, resulting in the death of approximately 1,000 islanders. From there she sailed for Papea, by which time 329 out of ... (p. 277) ... 'for their lives'. She arrived to many Papeans but approximately two-thirds, or 240, of the island's population died from dysentery which followed the miliary.

Actually the French despatch-steam Genant had left Colao a week before the Genant with 29 refugees, mostly from the Marquesas and Southern Cooks. It was hoped that all had escaped infection but mullux broke out soon after her departure and 14 died on the journey to Tahiti, since the survivors were quarantined. Definitely their friends and relatives soon broke into the quarantine area to greet the arrivals and as a consequence about 1,500 Marquesas died (900 on Tahiti and 600 on the way out of an estimated colored population of 3,800).

Two of the eight ships to arrive after 28 April were permitted to discharge their passengers, those from the first three (which her own) being kept on the Barbara Garey and those from the Delos Louisa, Polinisia, Good Pair and Delante, almost entirely Tuvuluan and Toga were kept on the Delante which left for the islands on 2 October with 429 of her 589 passengers still alive, even this reduced number waiting to reach their true legal captives.

Three weeks later the survivors were discharged by the New Bedford schooner Actae quarantined on uninhabited Lays Island off the Central American coast and eventually the 40 still left were landed at Paita in Northern Peru, where they disappeared formally into the local labor force. The captain of the Delante ^①

The last ship was the Ellen Elizabeth which brought 128 of her 161 Galathea survivors safely to Larangea and after one three months was directed to return them to their homes at the stated rate of 50 pesos per person and 32 pesos repatriation freight a head. They were supposed to not being exposed to mullux or dysentery in their native port and after an abortive attempt to narrow them - finally on uninhabited Ewa in the northern Marquesas - 111 survivors were landed at Toga where they were later recruited for work on Tahiti and Fanning Island and eventually reabsorbed their lives and others merged and merged into the population of Toga, Fanning and Palabanga.

① was later said to have been mentally unbalanced by the scenes on board his ship, to have wrecked her on Lays and finally committed suicide.

Without wishing to be unduly cautious it is difficult to avoid the Government ... (p. 286) ... condition to visit it.

But perhaps we can include best not in actual terms but by drawing up a cold statistical balance sheet, realizing of course that most figures are approximate rather than exact. 3,483 Polynesians were recruited for Peru of whom 164 were released, being a excess in Polynesia itself ^{and} 304 died on the voyages, making 3,015 who reached Peru. Of these 2,116 were landed and 899 held on ships for refraction. To the males held for refraction we must add 207 taken from the recruits released ashore, making a total of 1,106.

Now, of the 3,319 who left for Peru, 304 died on the voyages there, 1,840 died in Peru and 918 during the refraction proceedings, making a total of 3,062 deaths directly attributable to the Peruvian recruits. But this is not all for 960 died from muller's on Tahitiwa, 600 on Upepa, 1,000 on Easter Island, while 240 died on Rapa from dysentery and 150 in the Leeward Islands, making 2,950 deaths indirectly attributable to the Peruvian recruits; in a grand total of 6,012 deaths in all.

These figures must ... (p. 300) ... conclusion was made).

For Polynesia as a whole, therefore, the Peruvian slave trade thus constituted a decimation of an order now seen before or since in her history; while on many islands the deaths reported equal directly of catastrophic proportions. Tahitiwa lost 79% of its population, Tazuma and Rapa 66%, Easter Island 57%, Upepa 55%, Tahitiwa and Fakafo 54%, Fakafo 53%, Atia 41% and Tahitiwa 36%, to mention the most afflicted.

But what of the survivors. Well we know that of the 1,106 on the from refraction ships, 13 were landed ^{alive} on Tahitiwa, 15 on Easter Island, 9 on Rapa and 111 on Tazuma, ^{that not all these had for very long.} a total of 148, a further 9 are said to have escaped after refraction ceased and in 1866 the Peruvian Government

estimated that about 100 were still alive on the island in 1900, only a grand total of 257.

257 alive and 6,012 dead - see statistics: but for many island committees they represented not only a demographic catastrophe but also in all probability the destruction ^{not of} of their social structure and the infirmity of their cultural heritage and ethos.

- see statistics, but the figures seem to sum up what the historian J. A. R. Cook has called: 'The cruelty and violence, and the murders, the crime and sorrow, that make up some of the darkest and most suffering in the shocking history of the African slave trade'.