

MSB 0003

Untitiled and un-numbered: Series MF "A"  
(Anglo-Indians)

Sources on labour (Slave trade) [44]

Easter Island, References to In Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Jr.

- (1) Eyraud, E., 1864. Lettre au T.R.P. Supérieur général de la Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Jésus et de Marie. - Valparaiso décembre 1864. Ann. Assoc. Propagation de la Foi, vol.38, pp.52-71, pp.124-138. Lyon, 1866. P.54.
- ? 1867 (2) Olivier, P., 1864. Lettre du R.P. Pacôme Olivier ... au T.R.P. Supérieur général ... 22 Dec. 1866. Ann. Assoc. Propagation de la Foi, vol.39, pp.250-259. Lyon, 1867. P.50.
- (3) Lapelin, T. de, 1872. L'Ile de Pâques. Rev. maritime et coloniale, vol.35. Paris. Pp.543-544.
- (4) Croft, T., 1874. Letter of April 30, 1874 from Thomas Croft, Papeete, Tahiti, to the President of California Academy of Sciences, California Acad. Science, Proc., vol.5, pp.317-323. San Francisco, 1875. P.320.
- (5) Jaussen, T., 1894. L'Ile de Paques. Historique et écriture. - Mémoire posthume rédigé par Ildefonse Alazard d'après les notes laissées par le prélat. Bull. Géogr. Hist. et Descriptive, no.2, pp.240-270. Paris. P.242.
- (6) Powell, W.A., 1899. Detailed Report upon Easter Island, or Rapa-nui. Roy. Geogr. Soc. Australia, Proc, vol.3, pp.138-142. Adelaide. P.141.
- (7) Routledge, K., 1919. The Mystery of Easter Island. The Story of an Expedition.. London. Pp.205-207.

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- ? 1866 (8) Olivier, P., 1864. Lettre de R.P. Pacôme Olivier, vice-provencial de la Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs de Jésus et de Marie, à Valparaiso (Chile), au T.R.P. Supérieur général de la même Congrégation à Paris. Dec. 1864. Ann. Assoc. Propagation de la Foi, Vol.38, pp.44-52. Lyon, 1866.

PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

References taken from the Index to Le Messager de Tahiti, by Raoul Teissier, in the Bulletin de la Société d'Études Océanienne, vol.IX, no.6 (no.107), June 1954, pp.261-74.

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1863: nos 9,10,11,13 - Traite des indigènes dans nos ~~XXXXXXX~~ îles par les bateaux péruviens.

17 - Extraits de presses péruvienne et chilienne concernant cette traite.

26 - Affaire du brig péruvien "Misti" concernant la traite.

26 - Tournée du Commissaire Impérial aux Iles Tuamotu [?].

26 - Naufrage du trois-mâts-barque chilien "Conception" sur l'île de Tahaa [?].

1864 9 - Enlèvement des indigènes en Polynésie par les bateaux péruviens. ✓

1867 26 - Rapport sur l'île Rapa, par le Lt. de Vaisseau A. Quentin [?]. ✓

35 - Rapport sur l'île Rapa, par le Lt. d'Artillerie de Marine Méry. (Ainsi que les Nos 37 et 38). [?]. ✓

42 - Notes sur l'île Rapa par le Lt. d'Artillerie de Marine Méry [?]. ✓

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References taken from the Bibliographie de Tahiti et de la Polynésie française, by Patrick O'Reilly and Édouard Reitman (Paris, 1967).

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1245 - Parker, Rev. Benjamin Wyman, Missionary voyage to Marquesas islands; or report of Rev. B.W. Parker, delegate of the Hawaiian Missionary Society, in The Friend (Honolulu) Jan. to March, 1864, p.5; 13-14; 18-19.

Indigènes kidnappés par les Péruviens de l'Empressa.

6892 - Enlèvement d'indigènes par des bateaux péruviens venus de Callao, in the Messager de Tahiti, 12e an., 21 et 28 févr., 7, 14, 21, 28 mars, 25 avril, 23 mai, 20 et 27 juin 1863.

Affaire d'enlèvement d'indigènes de l'Océanie française par les bateaux péruviens Cora, Empresa, Guillermo, et Mercedes A. de Wholey. Relation d'incidents et documents divers: enquête aux îles Marquises, Tuamotu et Rapa, procès-verbaux du tribunal criminel des îles de la Société, interrogatoires de l'équipage des bateaux capturés, plaidoirie

de M. L. Langomazino, opinion de la presse péruvienne, etc.

6893 - Langomazino, Louis, Affaire du brig péruvien Mercedes A. de Wholey. Discours prononcé, au nom de la partie civile, devant le tribunal criminel des îles de la Société, par M. L. Langomazino. Papeete, impr. du gouvernement, 1863. 28p. 23,5 cm.

Enlèvement de 152 indigènes des îles Puamotu par ~~XXX~~ des "blackbirds" péruviens, en 1862. Plaidorie réimprimée du Messager de Tahiti, cf. no précédent.

6894 - Kidnapping South-Sea Islanders. Nautical Magazine (London), vol.32, 1863, p.606-613.

Traite d'esclaves par les bateaux péruviens, cf. nos précédents.

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- (1) Feb 7, 1863 (12<sup>e</sup> année, no 6), p. 22, col 2  
'Nouvelles locales'
- (2) Ditto, p 24, col 1. "Nouvelles locales"
- (3) Feb 14, 1863 (12<sup>e</sup> année, no 7), pp. 26 & 27.  
"Nouvelles de l'étranger. Pérou"
- (4) Feb 21, 1863 (12<sup>e</sup> année, no 8), p. 30, col. 1.  
"Partie non officielle"
- (5) Ditto, col 2 & p 31, col. 1. "Nouvelles locales"
- (6) Feb 28, pp 33-40. (no 9)
- (7) March 7, pp 42-44 (no 10)
- (8) March 14, pp 45-52 (no 11)
- (9) March 21, p 53 "Partie non officielle" (no 12). col 1 & 2
- (10) Ditto, pp. 54-63
- (11) March 28, pp 65-74 (no 13)
- (12) April 4, p 77, col 2 (no 14) "Administration de la Justice"
- (13) April 11, p 81, col 1 (no 15) "Administration de la Justice"
- (14) April 25, pp 88 & 89, col 1.

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see message for 30<sup>th</sup> March, 1862

and the Proclamation of the General to the Chiefs of the Towns  
(quoted in 24 March, 1863, p 53)

- (15.) May 23, pp. 103-5 col. 1, no. 21
- (16) June 20, pp. 121-2, no. 25 (lists of shepherds in slave trade, Sept./Dec. 1862)
- (17) June 27, pp. 125-7, no. 26.
- (18) July 18, p. 140, no. 29 (quoted from Stm Herald of 15 April 1863).
- (19) Oct. 3, p. 185, col. 1 no. 39 (refers to Stm Herald of 11 and 19 June).

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London Missionary Society South Seas Journals quoted by Hooper & Huntsman

- (1) Gill, George, and P. Gould Bird, 1863. Journal of Third Missionary Voyage to the Tokelau or Union group of Islands, January 1863.
- (2) Murray, A.W., 1868. Report of a Visit to the Outstations of the Samoan Mission in the Tokelau Group in the month of August 1868.
- (3) Vivian, J.C., 1871. Voyage in the "John Williams", starting from Tabiti to Sydney calling at numerous Islands en route.
- (4) Powell, T., 1871. Report of a Visit, in the "John Williams", to the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Groups ....
- (5) Turner, George, 1876. Missionary Voyage in the "John Williams" to the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Islands, May and June 1876.
- (6) Turner, George, 1878. Report of a Missionary Voyage through the Tokelau, Ellice and Gilbert Groups, in the "John Williams", during 1878.

Catholic Mission Reports quoted by Hooper & Huntsman

- (1) Elloy, Monsiigneur, 1879. 'Rapport de ... à MM. les Membres des Conseils centraux de l'Oeuvr de la Propagation de la Foi. III. Iles de Tokelau'. Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, 51:70-76. (P.75).
- (2) Poupinel, P., 1882. 'Au Réverend Père Mayet. En mer, le 23 décembre 1861'. Annales des Missions de l'Océanie 2:160-174. [This volume of Annales is entitled Annales des Missions de la Société de Marie]. [P.167].
- (3) Dolé, E., 1885. 'Lettre ~~aux~~ ... au R.P. Procureur des Missions de la Société de Marie. Apia, le 10 juillet 1882'. Annales de Mission de l'Océanie, 5:392-402. [This volume of Annales is entitled Annales des Missions de la Société de Marie].



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PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE, said

OUT-LETTERS

M.L. Anst 1935, Set 24, Vol 10 (Out-letters 1854-64)

- X (1) Miller to Major James H. Woodhouse, Consul Panama,  
(Permit) of 25.11.62.
- X (2) Miller to Earl Russell, W. 18 of 29.11.62.  
(enc. Toliver got Proclamation to the Chiefs of the Tuaranite  
Islands of 24.11.62).
- X (3) Miller to Consul Woodhouse, Panama, of 1.12.62
- X (4) Miller to W. I. Pritchard, Consul, Fiji, of 1.12.62.  
(duplicate of (3) - not with copying).
- X (5) Miller to J. C. Williams, Consul, Samoa, of 1.12.62  
(duplicate of (3) - not with copying)
- X (6) Miller to W. W. F. Smythe, Consul-General, Honolulu, of 1.12.62  
(duplicate of (3) - not with copying)
- X (7) Miller to William Bousle, H. 2 Consul, Valparaiso, of 9.12.62
- X (8) Miller to Charge' d'Affaires, Lima, of 1.12.62
- X (9) Miller to S. 20, Callao, of 2.12.62.
- X (10) Miller to Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Maitland, of 1.12.62
- X (11) Miller to Charge' d'Affaires, Lima, of 15.12.62
- X (12) Miller to Col. See, Sydney, of 15.12.62.
- X (13) Miller to C. in C., Australian Station, of 15.12.62

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PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE, contd.

- X (14) Miller to Rev. General Sir Thomas Mitchell, of 15.12.62.
- X (15) Miller to Earl Russell, No 19, of 15.12.62.
- X (16) Miller to Charge' d'Offices, Lima, of 3.3.63.
- X (17) Miller to S.O., Callao, of 3.3.63.
- X (18) Miller to Earl Russell, No 5, of 3.3.63.
- X (19) Miller to C in C, Australian Station, of 4.3.63.
- X (20) Miller to Charge' d'Offices, Lima, of 28.3.63.
- X (21) Miller to Earl Russell, No 7, of 28.3.63.
- X (22) Miller to S.O., Callao, of 28.3.63.
- X (23) Miller to C in C, Australian Station, of 2.4.63.
- X (24) Miller to Rev. W. W. Gill, of 23.4.63.
- X (25) Miller to Earl Russell, No 12, of 30.4.63.
- X (26) Miller to Charge' d'Offices, Lima, of 30.4.63.
- X (27) Miller to S.O., Callao, of 30.4.63.
- X (28) Miller to Charge' d'Offices, Lima, of 4.5.63.
- X (29) Miller to Major Wedekind, Rosario, of 16.6.63. (Peru)
- X (30) Miller to Charge' d'Offices, Lima, of 26.6.63.
- X (31) Miller to Rev. W. W. Gill, of 15.10.63.
- X (32) Miller to Earl Russell, No 24, of 3.11.63.

PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE

Material in Tahiti British Consulate Papers, 19L Decat 1955,  
Set 24, Item 8 (Vol 5, 1857-66).

IN-LETTERS

- X (1) Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Maitland, <sup>alias</sup> to Consul Miller, ~~alias~~ of  
9.1.63  
and of Miller to Senior British Consul Office, Callao, of 3.3.63<sup>x</sup>.
- X (2) Charge d'Affaires, Santiago, to S20, Callao, of 17.10.62.
- X (3) S20, Callao, to Charge d'Affaires, Callao, of 3.11.62.
- X (4) S20, Callao, to Sir Thomas Maitland, of 28.11.62.  
(see List of Vessels sailed from Callao to the South Sea Islands)
- X (5) S20, Callao, to Sir Thomas Maitland, of 3.1.63.  
(see List of Vessels sailed from Callao to the South Sea Islands)  
[Ents red ink annotation to List]
- X (6) H.M. Commissioner, Havelock, to Miller, of 10.1.63.
- X (7) S20, Callao, to Consul Miller, of 10.2.63.
- X (8) H.M. Charge d'Affaires, Lima, to Miller, (Private) of 27.2.63.
- X (9) Rear Admiral John Kingcome to Miller, of 3.3.63.
- X (10) Ditto to ditto, of 11.3.63.

X set in Item 8

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PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE, contd.

- X (11) H<sup>2</sup> Clangé d'Offences, Lima, to Miller, (Pland) of 13.2.63
- X (12) S20, Sydney, to Miller, of 16.4.63
- X (13) Master, "John Williams", to Miller, of 21.4.63  
 (Copies to FO in D. 2012 of 1863; to H<sup>2</sup> Clangé d'Offences, Lima, 30.4.63; to S20, Callao, 30.4.63)
- X (14) Rear Admiral Kerguelen to Miller, of 4.5.63
- X (15) S20, Sydney, to Miller, of 27.6.63
- X (16) S20, Callao, to Miller, of 27.6.63
- X (17) Mr J. Deesman, Lima, to Miller, of 29.6.63
- X (18) Mr J. Murray, FO, to Miller, No. 2 of 21.8.63
- X (19) Rev W. W. Gill, Mangasa, to Miller, of 2.11.63
- X (20) Earl Russell, FO, to Miller, No. 4 of 3.11.63

OUT-LETTERS

ML Great MSS, Set 24, Vol. 10 (out-letters 1854-64).

(See page 3)

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## PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

- (1) Unfortunately the key letter (or one of them) on the Peruvian labour trade is Eldredge, Charge d'Affaires, Lima, to Wyllie of the 25th May, 1863, and this is not in the file.
- (2) In Eldredge's letter of the 11th May, 1863, he says, "It would afford me great satisfaction to have your Excellency's opinion upon the course I have pursued in this matter (of Polynesian immigration), as well as of my opinions about it at present" and someone (presumably Wyllie) has pencilled in the margin "His conduct was approved of and he may be informed".
- (3) From Wyllie to Eldridge of 28th March and 7th April, 1863, and Eldridge to Wyllie of 27th June, 1863, it appears that Sr. Soldan had sent the Eldridge letter to him with the objection to translation and that Wyllie himself re-translated it and found the original in the main reasonably correct. It is clear from the correspondence that Eldridge was identified as the supporter of M. Lesseps, the French Minister, in the eyes of Soldan, and that he felt a strong grievance against the attitude taken by both.
- (4) Wyllie and the Hawaiian Government evidently took little interest in the fate of the Polynesian immigrants, as witness Wyllie's evident desire to placate Soldan at all costs and his omission to send the Charge d'Affaires the approvals asked for. The key may lie in the fact that Wyllie was personally involved in a case before the Peruvian Supreme Court concerning a vessel, the 'Petronda', in which he stood to lose some \$30,000.
- (5) Further examination of the correspondence shows that Wyllie's real anxiety was to propitiate Soldan: he keeps on asking Eldridge to explain his actions re the Petronda. He could not, in fact, have cared less about the fate of the Polynesian labourers at that particular time.

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PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

*For copy of note from Saldan to Min. of For. Rel. see  
in file to FO, 11/22/62, FO 11/204 (all ne)  
This is a copy in file 11/22/62 (part) - all ne*

Haw. Charge d'Affaires, Lima, to Min. of For. Rel, 8.12.62. FO & Ex.

.....

Mr. Paz Soldan has expressed some displeasure at a note I addressed to his predecessor on the 9th of October last, upon the subject of the introduction into Peru of the natives of the Polynesian islands to serve on plantations, or elsewhere, for the term of eight years at four dollars per month, with cloaths & food. In the indicated note I protested against any of H.M. subjects being brought to Peru under such arrangements, upon the ground that the laws of Hawaii did not permit the natives to leave their country except for a very limited term & under heavy bonds to be returned to their country at the expiration of said term: already more than twenty vessels have sailed in all directions in search of islands from which natives may be abducted, even by fraud or violence; & no doubt any means, however obnoxious, if necessary, will be resorted to in order to return with full cargoes. The first vessel that returned procured two hundred men, women & children from an island Penrhin, which apparently embarked voluntarily owing in a great measure to a famine on that island: a native missionary came with them & returned again to the island in the first return vessel: these people appeared to be well satisfied, their contracts were transferred conjointly so as not to separate families. A few days ago another vessel arrived with one hundred & fifty, which it is feared were procured at some of the Marquesas group. The French Minister is making enquiries about this & will make reclamations if they prove to belong to any island under the protection of the French government. He also protested against any men being brought from

PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

such islands & is likewise subjected to the displeasure of Mr. Paz Soldan. I shall be careful that no unfriendly feeling shall grow out of my correspondence with this minister & will send a copy of it, so soon as it is concluded, for your Excys. consideration.

Though I do not apprehend that any vessels for the present, will go so far north as the Hawaiian group, yet it might not be amiss to prepare the authorities at every island for such an event & more particularly for those on the islands lately taken possession of by H.M.

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Marginal note by Wyllic - Mr. Syngé and Mr. Harising are requested to make no official use of this information that can compromise Mr. Eldridge with the Government of Peru. R. C. W.

PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

R.C. Wyllie to T.R. Eldridge. 17.4.63. F.O. C., vol.VI,  
p.121. (Foreign Office C., vol.VI. Hawaiian Officials  
Abroad).

.....

..... H.B.M's Commissioner Mr Lynge, bred to Diplomacy, latterly holding a high place in the Foreign Office in London, an erudite scholar, and a ready and eloquent writer, concurs in my opinion that the replies of ~~Dr~~ Sr. Soldan, display very great ability, a high toned courtesy to you and to your French Colleague, and certainly a plenary and satisfactory indication of the literal, just and humane policy of His Government, worthy of every reliance.

As regards this Kingdom you are to assure His Excellency that the King my Sovereign, is perfectly satisfied, with the explanations and assurances given by Sr Soldan to yourself; and that he expects nothing from the government of Peru, but a continuation of that friendship, kindness and courtesy with which it has invariably treated the Hawaiian Government for more than thirty years.

It is only just to yourself, to say that it is highly gratifying to His Majesty to know from the ~~same/evidence~~ sure evidence of all your Despatches and private letters, that in your person He has as His Representative near the Government of Peru, a Gentleman, who is the sincere friend of that Government, and who knows how to reconcile the most loyal and faithful duty to Himself with the utmost respect to the Government to which he is accredited.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obdeient humble servant,

(Signed) R.C. Wyllie.

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PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

(1) Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Bonthard to Secretary of Admiralty  
(12.1.63) says -

"I have requested H.M. Consul General at the Sandwich Islands  
and the Consul at Tahiti, to endeavour to ascertain  
whether these notices are heeded."

F.O. 61/204 (2) H.M. Consul Miller to the Senior British Naval Officer at Callao  
(3.3.63) is the reply to (1). It encloses 2 issues of the  
'Messenger de Taite' (21.2.63 and 28.2.63)

(3) a further letter from Miller, re the son of the King of Mangasa  
abducted to Peru, is dated 30.4.63. The reply to Miller  
is dated 27.6.63

(4) Captain Richards, of H.M. Surveying Ship 'Hecate', writes to Rear  
Admiral Kyrle on 8.5.63 that he has received "from Mr  
Sydney H.B.M. Commissioner and Consul General at the Sandwich  
Isles copies of a correspondence between H.M. Charge d'Affaires  
in Chile and the Naval Officers in this Station" re the Peruvian  
slave trade

DONE

Try to trace the whole correspondence in the Consular Archives at Honolulu

PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

(1) Barten, H. n. ag. Charge d' Affaires, Peru, to Rear Admiral  
Sir Thomas Whitland (13.12.1862) says -

"The French Charge d' Affaires, as also the Charge d' Affaires  
of the King of Hawaii have remonstrated with the Peruvian  
Government on this traffic and have protested against it..."

(2) Ditto, & also Ward's notes state that the replies of the Peruvian  
Government were published in the Official Gazette "El Peruano"  
for 19.11.62.

Try and trace the whole correspondence in the Archives of Hawaii.

DONE

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Letter from Mr. Bingham, October 20, 1863, in the Missionary Herald  
for August, 1864, p.244.

.....

"Islands Depopulated - Slavers.

... .. But sadder yet has been the partial depopulation of  
Tapitenea, and of some other Islands in the southern portion of this  
group, by so-called "slavers" from Chile or Peru, or perhaps from both.  
Capt. Weiss reports having fallen in with four of the fleet at ~~Tapitenea~~  
Rotuma. He judged that there were at least four hundred natives on  
the vessel nearest him, and thinks thousands must have been taken from  
our group. Capt. Fairclough confirms the statements respecting  
Tapitenea. It seems almost incredible; but our prayer is, that God  
will avert the evil from this people, in whose welfare we feel a special  
interest. The matter seems to be attracting the attention of British  
authorities."

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PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE

Tahiti British Consulate Papers. Inward Letters file 1857-66.

Report by G. Reid, Commander H.M.S. Naiad, to Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Maitland, dated 88.11.62 [sic], on Peruvian Slave Trade.

Says some vessels armed.

Lists 10 ships leaving Callao within one month (Sept.-Oct., 1862) for this trade.

Wm. Thompson, head of Brit. Legation at Santiago, says last load of 200 natives of Penrhyn sold in Callao for \$50,000, i.e. \$250 each.

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Wyatt Gill. "A Voyage through the outstations of the Hervey Group".  
9th August [?]. L.M.S. - South Sea Reports.

Says Penrhyn has no chief as the chiefs perished in Peru in 1862. "As there is now no chief (the chiefs perished in Peru in 1862) their teacher is their natural head".

Information by Ron Crocombe.

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PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

ATA

Gifford: Tongan Society.

(283) 'The population of Ata had its maximum with about two hundred individuals, one hundred of which were children according to modern informants. In fact at the time of removal to Eua it was said that there were one hundred school children.

About 1860 a serious disaster overtook the islanders. The following account of what happened was obtained from Tupouata who was at the time twelve or thirteen years old. Another informant, Julia Ukulolo, was eight or nine years old and was in school at the time that the disaster befell. The disaster was in the form of kidnapping by a Peruvian ship. Julia's older brother was taken away by this raider. Tupouata also laid the trouble to the treachery of a Tongan named \_\_\_\_\_ educated in Sydney during a sojourn of \_\_\_\_\_ ed to have been appointed mayor of Ata. Ata people were already Christians

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ider appeared she was black with  
upon her sides to make her look  
Vehi went aboard and presumably  
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aboard with provisions to sell.  
selling on shore, and furthermore  
ships was to take place below  
ta people were aboard they were  
ms to select the goods they wanted  
r entering the rooms the doors  
how many were kidnapped I could  
men who were waiting in boats

beside the ship escaped, for one of them perceived  
what had happened. They were however pursued by  
the ship's boat.

When King George I heard about the raid he sent the three schooners Sialeataongo, Elenoa, and Tupou to bring the people away from Ata, lest more of them be kidnapped. The schooners sailed to Eua, but were unable to land the people on account of the heavy sea. They were therefore taken to Nukualofa and lodged temporarily at Pangai, the site of the present wireless station. Large quantities of food were furnished the refugees by the king. Later they were transported to Eua where they and their descendants now live.'

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Real name 'ata, meaning 'reflection'. One town only, called KOLOMAILE.

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PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

ATA

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(283) 'The population of Ata had its maximum with about two hundred individuals, one hundred of which were children according to modern informants. In fact at the time of removal to Eua it was said that there were one hundred school children.

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When the Peruvian raider appeared she was black with white doors painted upon her sides to make her look like a man-of-war. Vehi went aboard and presumably arranged the kidnapping. When he returned ashore, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ he made a proclamation that each family was to send a good-looking man aboard with provisions to sell. There was to be no selling on shore, and furthermore the selling on the ships was to take place below decks. Once the Ata people were aboard they were sent to various rooms to select the goods they wanted in exchange. After entering the rooms the doors were locked. Just how many were kidnapped I could not learn. Eight men who were waiting in boats beside the ship escaped, for one of them perceived what had happened. They were however pursued by the ship's boat.

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*Real name 'ata, meaning 'reflection'. One town only, called KOLOMAILE.*

Entered

The Peruvian Barque Adelante and the Kanaka Labor  
Recruitment

by

James B. Richardson III  
Associate Professor  
Department of Anthropology  
University of Pittsburgh

This brief article is prompted by McCall's recent discussion of the Polynesian labor recruitment by the Peruvian Government, particularly as it relates to Easter Island.<sup>1</sup> McCall notes that in the British Consular documents there is a reference to the first Peruvian vessel to leave and return from securing Polynesian natives for employment on Peruvian haciendas. In 1862, the Peruvian Government contracted with Joseph Charles Bryne, an Irishman, to recruit laborers from the Pacific region in the 151 ton barque Adelante. The Adelante returned to Callao on September 13, 1862, with 266 men, women and children from the island of Tongareva who were sold for \$200 per adult male, \$150 per woman, and \$100 for boys.<sup>2</sup>

During the course of our research on the impact of the American whaling industry of western South American ports, we noted several pertinent documents to the Adelante and the Kanaka labor recruitment in the United States Consular Dispatches from the Peruvian ports of Paita and Callao.<sup>3</sup>

On December 31, 1862, Dr C.F. Winslow, the United States consul in Paita sent a copy of a letter written by John Davis, the first mate of the Adelante, to Secretary of State William H. Seward in Washington. John Davis had addressed the letter to Captain John L. Dorman of the whale ship Balaena in Paita. Dorman apparently thought that its contents were of such a nature that the United States Consul in Paita should be appraised of the beginning of what seemed to be blatant slavery during the period when the American Civil War was raging. The Balaena was a whale ship from New Bedford, Massachusetts which had made many Pacific Ocean voyages between 1818 and 1870. From October 5, 1858, to July 26, 1863, the Balaena, captained by John Dorman

was whaling the Pacific from the Galapagos Islands to Talcahuano, Chile.<sup>4</sup> It appears that John ~~XXXXXX~~ Davis was a good friend of Captain Dorman's for he ends his letter by asking the captain to give his regards to several of the Balaena's crew. Davis's letter was written from Callao on June 12, 1862, just as he was about to leave of the Adelante, the first Peruvian vessel to recruit labourers in the Pacific.<sup>5</sup> The major portion of the letter is as follows:

.... I got a chance to go (as) mate of the barque Adelante of Callao, Capt. August Grassman, a countryman of mine, and I thought it was better for me to earn a little money, than going for nothing to California and then not find a good chance there. If I had the money I should have taken passage in the steamer when (I) first arrived, but that was out of the question. My wages are but 45 per month. This is not much, but better than nothing. We are bound on a voyage having a charter to go to the New Hebrides and get a cargo of Kanakas. This is a new experiment the Peruvian Government is trying, having about enough of Chinamen in the country and they think Kanakas will answer better but I doubt that, however this is none of my business. The ship is chartered by a party of American men acquainted with the business and (with) the natives, having lived amongst them and carried some from the New Hebrides to New Caledonia. This company has a contract to deliver 2000 Kanakas within a year after we come back if the trip is successful, this being the trial trip and if everything turns out satisfactory, I have the promise of a ship for they intend to employ a half dozen ships. It is rather a risky thing and a number of acquaintances tried to persuade me not to go, but it suits me, risk or no risk. I joined the ship six days ago and (have) been busy since, taking on stores and nicknaks. Cargo we have none, merely a little balast and water and provisions, having the upper half of the hold fitted up to receive the passengers. The charter party is going with us and likewise four men to guard the hatches day and night, so you see I have nothing to do with the Kanakas but look out for the ship and myself. We have iron gratings over the hatches and iron gratings divide the hold into three compartments. Two swivels are mounted by the after hatch to sweep the deck, two more are placed on top of the poope, there are two dozen muskets in complete order - besides three blunder busses and our revolvers and bowieknives, cutlasses and ammunition in abundance and to tell the truth she looks more like a Man-O-War than a merchantman. So you see we are well prepared in case of accident. We expect to be gone about five months and if we live to get back, I will write you an account of our voyage which I will direct to Talcahuano, as it will be too late to write to Paita. ....

I am sorry to say that this American  
citizens were engaged in this inhuman traffic.



John Davis gives his return address as Larragoyto Company, Callao, which must have been the name of the contracting company backed by the Americans mentioned in Davis's letter.

Winslow's cover letter to the Secretary of State, states that Davis's letter clearly '...exposes the character of the infamous traffic ... which in all its aspects is not surpassed by the horror of the slave trade.'<sup>6</sup> He adds that the Adelante was successful and that 300 natives of all ages and sex were brought to Callao bringing the contractors between 40,000 and 50,000 dollars. He further adds that '... this success has stimulated this infamous business to an appalling extent, parties interested seemingly to be wild in their greed for gold, from this system of slave trade.'<sup>7</sup> Winslow also says that a Peruvian vessel in a leaky condition is outfitting in Paita to go to Easter Island to recruit natives. He was very disturbed by the fact that the ship (un-named) was captained by an American.<sup>8</sup>

The United States Consul in Callao, John E. Lovejoy, also wrote in his report to the Secretary of State on October 1, 1862, that a ship (most probably the Adelante) had arrived in Callao with a human cargo from Polynesia and in his brief and general discussion of the Polynesian labor recruitment he says that '... several vessels are fitting out for this trade and the appearances are that it will be quite extensively carried on. This may differ from the African slave trade, but it has very much that appearance, only the subjects of the trade are of considerably lighter complexion than the negro.'<sup>9</sup> In his report to Secretary of State Seward on September 30, 1863, Lovejoy states that the Polynesian recruitment scheme had been terminated by the Peruvian Government when it was learned that most of the Polynesians:

... instead of coming voluntarily, those unfortunate people in many <sup>instances</sup> cases were stolen by being ~~XXXXXX~~ induced on board the vessels by deceitful promises and then retained by force. The grant has been revoked and quite a number of them have been re-purchased by the government and sent back to their native islands. Large numbers of them died after arriving in this country and they <sup>were</sup> found to be perfectly useless laborers. I am sorry to say that some American citizens were engaged in this inhuman traffic.<sup>10</sup>

The Adelante was one of two vessels to take the Polynesians <sup>back</sup> to their native islands. The Adelante, with its cargo of 482 Kanakas was wrecked on Cocos Island off the coast of Panama sometime prior to December of 1863, and it appears that there were no survivors.<sup>11</sup> 700 40/

The consular records for Talcahuano, Chile, do not contain a letter from Davis to Captain Dorman and we are now in the process of trying to locate the log of the Balaena to see if Captain Dorman mentions the Kanaka trade and to determine his relationship with Davis. Although short lived, the Kanaka recruitment generated widespread criticism of the Peruvian Government and it is ~~XX~~ hoped that McCall's study of the impact of this recruitment on the Easter Island population will be followed by an indepth study of the Peruvian Kanaka labor recruitment between 1862 and 1863.

The United States consular dispatches from west coast South American ports are an invaluable resource for Pacific history, for in addition to the extensive correspondence relative to the American whaling industry, there are lengthy discussions of the Guano trade, the British west coast steamship line, of geographic and cultural conditions and lists of imports and exports, which should prove to be a valuable resource to historians, anthropologists and geographers. The fact that much of this consular correspondence is published on microfilm by the United States National Archives makes this data readily accessible.<sup>12</sup>

- 1) Grant McCall, 'European Impact on Easter Island: response, recruitment and the Polynesian experience in Peru.'. The Journal of Pacific History, XI (1976), 106-121. *96-105*
- 2) Ibid, 94, 95.
- 3) James B. Richardson and Elena Decima Zamecnik, 'The Economic Impact of Martha's Vineyard Whalers on the Peruvian Port of Paita.' The Dukes County Intelligencer, 18 (1977). Quarterly publication of the Dukes County Historical Society, Edgartown, Massachusetts, 1-40.
- 4) Alexander Starbuck, History of the American Whale Fishery (1878), 558, 559.
- 5) Dispatches from the United States Consuls in Paita, Peru, 1883-1878, United States National Archives Microfilm Publications, T600, Microfilm Roll No.2, June 30, 1851, to December 31, 1864, letter of December 31, 1862.
- 6) Ibid.
- 7) Ibid.
- 8) Ibid.
- 9) Dispatches from the United States Consuls in Callao, Peru, 1854-1906, United States National Archives Microfilm Publication, M155, Microfilm Roll 4, January 1, 1861, to October 11, 1864, letter of October 1, 1862.
- 10) Ibid, letter of September 30, 1863.
- 11) ~~XXXXXX~~ McCall, Ibid, 98-99.
- 12) Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications (1974), Publications Sales Branch (NEPS), National Archives (GSA), Washington, D.C.

Boston Daily Journal, 8.8.1865: 32,4,5.

.....

Four Years among the Cannibals

Thomas Ross, a coloured man, one of the crew of the gunboat Tioqa, called upon us yesterday and gave ~~XX~~ an interesting account and showed us some of the effects of a four years' compulsory residence among the cannibals of the Pacific Islands. The vessel in which he had shipped from Sydney, Australia, was wrecked off one of the South Pacific Islands, known as Mitchell's group, lat.8, lon.179<sup>0</sup> E. Himself, the captain and five seamen, escaped to the island, where they were immediately seized by the natives thereof, stripped of their clothing, and at once inducted into the modes and ways of life peculiar to that people. No harm was done them, but they were compelled to adopt all the fashions of the natives. The result of one of these Mr. Ross still bears on his person. Their ears were perforated, and rings of cocoanut, half an inch in diameter, inserted to the number of thirty in each ear. The effect of so much weight was to stretch the lower part of the ~~XX~~ ear until it became ali<sup>o</sup>ged with the chin. Mr. Ross still wears a number of these rings. The wide aperture thus made is usually stuffed with bunches of flowers, giving to the wearer a grotesque appearance. Vessels occasionally passed the island during his enforced residence there, but the natives at such times kept a strict watch on their captives, and never permitted their presence to become known on shipboard. Ross and a companion escaped by swimming off to a vessel one dark night. Their companions, for aught he knows, are still on the island. Corn, pumpkins, yams and oranges were abundant, and required but little cultivation. The natives were frequently at war with a neighbouring tribe. Going forth to battle, they confined

their captives in a stockade, releasing them on their return. In all particulars they were treated as equals and brothers. Many other interesting particulars were communicated, which we have not space to communicate. - Bangor (Me.) Whig, Aug. 4.

.....  
modern "gold mines" - the guano mines on the islands of the coast. Peru, which had abolished slavery some years before, had found the importation of Chinese coolies necessary. She, therefore, about the middle of 1852 an enterprise (p. 295) brought from the Pacific Islands some two hundred and eighty men, women, and children, and sold them at a high price, under the fiction of payment for passage money, their sale being a flurry of speculation. Companies chiefly financed by foreign business men were formed at Lima, and they hurriedly sent out any hulks available, each vessel equipped with the necessary touchstones to turn them from slaves to respectable emigrant ships - a goodly supply of labour contracts in Spanish. Several of the first fleet thoughtlessly began their operations among the Cashier and Pomote groups, which were under French protection. A French war steamer, commanding the "Marsouff de Whaley" with one hundred and fifty-one islanders on board, captured the agents to five years and a heavy fine, and the pilot-interceptor to ten. Since there was no authority to interfere with the traffic on islands not under French protection, reports soon began coming in from consuls and naval officers telling of natives decaying on board or kidnapped, and of islands with only the useless aged and the children left.

This Peruvian traffic virtually disappeared within a year, for two reasons.<sup>10</sup> One was the hardness of the "colobates" to survive homelickness and the change of climate and food. The other was the energetic representations against the traffic made by the British minister and the French minister, particularly the latter, who not only paid numerous visits to the Peruvian minister of foreign affairs

Entered

Brookes, Jean Ingram. International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1941.

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P.294. The earliest traffic in island labour to arouse international concern grew out of the need for labourers in Peru's modern "gold mines" - the guano quarries on the islands off the coast. Peru, which had abolished slavery some years before, had found the importation of Chinese coolies expensive. When, therefore, about the middle of 1862 an enterprising shipmaster (p.295) brought from the Penrhyn Islands some two hundred and eighty men, women, and children, and sold them at so much a head, under the fiction of payment for passage money, there was a flurry of speculation. Companies chiefly financed by foreign business men were formed at Lima, and these hastily sent out any hulks available, each vessel equipped with the necessary touchstone to turn them from slavers to respectable emigrant ships - a goodly supply of labour contracts in Spanish. Several of the first fleet thoughtlessly began their operations among the Gambier and Pomutu groups, which were under French protection. A French war steamer, overhauling the "Mercedes de Wholey" with one hundred and fifty-one islanders on board, sentenced the master to five years and a heavy fine, and the pilot-interpreter to ten. Since there was no authority to interfere with the traffic on islands not under foreign dominion, reports soon began coming in from consuls and naval officers telling of natives decoyed on board or kidnapped, and of islands with only the useless aged and the children left.

This Peruvian traffic virtually disappeared within a year, for two reasons.<sup>10</sup> One was the unfitness of the "colonists" to survive homesickness and the change of climate and food. The other was the energetic representations against the traffic made by the British minister and the French chargé d'affaires, ~~particular~~ particularly the latter, who not only paid numerous visits to the Peruvian minister of foreign affairs

relative to the matter, but induced most of the diplomatic corps to sign a note deploring the abuses of the traffic. In the late spring of 1863 the government of Peru forbade the system, but for some time cargoes continued to be landed at obscure ~~ports~~ harbours. The next step for the protestants was to persuade the authorities to undertake the repatriation of the surviving islanders. The French charge even presented a bill for his expenses in collecting survivors among those taken from regions under French protection, and for an indemnity to go to the relatives of the dead. The attempt to restore the natives to their homes proved to be only a climax to their tragedy, as two-thirds of (p.296) them died en route and the remainder were dumped indiscriminately on the first convenient islands. Nevertheless, this gesture towards humanitarianism had won a victory in bringing about a cessation of the trade, and its prompt effectiveness made even more glaring the futile handling of the general traffic in labourers which was soon to disgrace the Pacific.

10 There are a number of despatches describing the traffic from the consul in Tahiti and from the minister in Peru, in F.O., Pacific Islands, 58/99, and in F.O., Peru, 61/211 and 212, respectively.

Thomas Pritchard, *Natives of the South Seas* (London, 1904), pp. 257-259; and Garland, *Islands of the Pacific* (London, 1903). (Lima: Imprenta la Industrial, 1903).

The grasshopper continued to depend on Chinese labourers, therefore, and by 1857 California had on the whole largely done with a forward movement employees for their maintenance and support in the entirely responsible. The traffic trade to Mexico was finally discontinued in 1854 after prolonged diplomatic negotiations. There were outbreaks of slaves along the coast in 1854: but among the grasshopper traffic, all was quiet. There was no labour market.

Entered

Levin, Jonathan V. The Export Economies: their pattern of development in historical perspective. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960.

.....

P.89. They remained at work on the islands when the guano-loading concession held by Elías in the 1850s was awarded in May 1862, after competitive bidding, to Andrés Álvarez-Calderón.

This refers to Chinese coolies on the Chincha Islands.

It was in 1862 that another group of labourers was brought to the guano islands. These were Easter Islanders seized in an armed kidnapping raid which took off about one-third of that Pacific island's 3,000 inhabitants. This proved a very temporary source of labour, however. For, because some natives were taken also from South Sea Islands which were under a French protectorate, the French, with British support, protested to the Peruvian government. In 1863 the Peruvian government banned the further importation of South Sea islanders and ordered those remaining in Peru assembled and returned to their islands. Under the ravages of smallpox, tuberculosis, and other diseases of civilization against which they had little immunity, only 100 of the 720 who had arrived in Peru remained alive. An outbreak of smallpox aboard ship reduced to 15 the number of survivors who finally reached their ~~XXXXXX~~ home island, and the infection they brought with them is reported to have carried off another 1,000 souls, leaving barely one-third the population of several years before.

P. 90

195 Thomas Dunbabin, Slavers of the South Seas (Sydney, 1935), pp. 255-257; and Garland, Alejandro, Reseña Industrial del Perú. (Lima: Imprenta La Industria, 1905).

Entered 195

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The guano extraction continued to depend upon Chinese labourers, therefore, and by 1867 Calderon had on the Chincha Islands more than a thousand permanent employees for whose maintenance and payment he was entirely responsible. The coolie trade to Macao was finally discontinued in 1874 after prolonged diplomatic negotiations. [There were uprisings of coolies along the coast in 1876: 'But among the guano-industry coolies, all was quiet. There was no labour problem.']



Private

British Legation  
Lima, 29th April 1862

My dear Sir,

Will you be pleased to acquaint Earl Russell that, since the departure of the last packet, nothing new has transpired in regard to the affairs of the Equator. Don Ribeyro appointed Thursday last the 24th instant at 2 P.M. for an interview on this subject, but between twelve and one of that day I received a note from Sr Galup, the first officer, stating that the Minister was prevented by indisposition from receiving me at the time appointed, since which date I have not heard from H.E.

An Englishman of the name of Byrne has succeeded in obtaining from the Peruvian Government a decree, permitting him to introduce into Peru colonists from the Islands in the South West Pacific, for the purposes of agriculture.

Mr Byrne is still here, but so unwell that I have not been able to see him, as soon as possible I will furnish his Lordship with official information on the subject. I understand the colonists are to be procured from the New Hebrides Islands.

.....  
John Barton, Lima, to A.H. Layard, FO, 29.4.62.  
.....

And as regards this Bill I would take this opportunity of calling your attention to the letter to the Treasury of 4 April 62 with reference to payment of costs of prosecutions under it, which has ... (missing piece not photocopied by Susan Cabbage ...) ... unimagineable that the Foreign Office

Sir F. Rogers, C.O., to A.H. Layard, F.O., 21.1.63

.....

Fidlers (1)  
below

(2)

I am directed by the Duke of Newcastle to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant enclosing correspondence with Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires in Chili respecting the kidnapping of certain natives of Penrhyn's Island by a vessel sailing under the Chilian Flag.

I request that you will inform Earl Russell that His Grace has perused these papers with much regret that he does not perceive any method by which this department can be of assistance in putting an end to these disgraceful practices.

.....

FO to CO, 3.1863.

(1)

I am directed by Earl Russell to transmit to you for the information of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, the correspondence as noted in the margin with Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires in Chile respecting a case of kidnapping some natives in the Southern Pacific by a vessel under the Chilean Flag, and I am to request that in bringing these papers under the consideration of the Duke of Newcastle you will state that Lord Russe~~ll~~ would beg to recommend the subject to His Grace's attention.

Excerpt from a Minute on the above, presumably by Sir F. Rogers.

.... more a slave trading case than anything else & if so I hardly see why it is specially recommended to the Duke of Newcastle's attention, unless with reference to your Bill to facilitate the conviction of persons guilty of slave trading &c in Australia & the Islands of the Pacific Ocean.

And as regards this Bill I would take this opportunity of calling your attention to the letter to the Treasury of 4 April 62 with reference to payment of costs of prosecutions ~~xxx~~ under it, which has ... (missing piece not photocopied by Susan Cabbage ...) ... unimaginable) that the Foreign Office

wish to suggest the idea of reducing kidnapping by receiving  
the the countries in which it is carried on as British Colonies.

Answer that Y.G. has perused these papers with much  
regret that you do not perceive any method by which this  
department can be of assistance in putting an end to these  
disgraceful practices.

And with ref. to Mr Cox's last para. write to the  
Treasury calling attention to our letter of 4 April, and  
observing that it is very desirable to come to a decision  
respecting the draft Bill enclosed in that letter, since  
outrages had recently taken place in the Polynesian Islands,  
and though not committed, as far as yet appears, by British  
subjects, illustrated the necessity of taking the most effective  
steps possible for the protection of the native populations  
of these islands.

I have received your Despatch, ..... the 17th of Oct. last together  
with the inclos<sup>d</sup> relating to an alleged case of kidnapping 200 Polynesian  
refugees at Pohnke's Island in the S. Pacific Ocean, by the master of  
the "Herald" a vessel under the Chilean flag.

I have to acquaint you that I approve the steps taken by you  
to investigate the affair, and if the Parties are amenable to  
Chilean laws you will exert an effort to procure their extradition,  
and the restitution to their homes of the kidnapped Islanders.

Enc. 2 - W.H. Thomson, Charge d'Affaires, British Legation, Santiago,  
to FO, 17.10.62.

Mr. Thomson's British subject residing in Valparaiso recently informed  
me by recollection a case of kidnapping of about 200 natives from  
Pohnke's Island in the Southern Pacific by a vessel under the  
Chilean flag and in which these unfortunate persons were  
stowed carried to Callao and their disposal of for \$7,000 (seven  
thousand dollars).

I have no personal knowledge of Mr. Watson but I immediately communicated the information he gave me to the Chilean Govt. I have also written to H.M.'s chargé d'affaires at Lima as well as to Sir Thomas Maitland and my letter to the latter I have sent under flying seal to the Senior Naval Officer at Callao.

I have the honor to enclose for Y.<sup>L.</sup>'s <sup>Lordsbury's</sup> information a copy of Mr Watson's letter to me and of my correspondence on this subject with the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs. From Enclosure No.4 Y.<sup>L.</sup> will perceive that the alleged kidnapping vessel did not belong to the Chilean Mercantile marine after the 9th of January, when she was sold at Callao.

As yet I am unable to say if Mr Watson's statement is correct, but I hope to be able to do so shortly and I shall not fail to communicate to Y.<sup>L.</sup> such further information as may reach me from the Chilean Govt. or elsewhere. W.J. Thomson. ✓

.....

Enc.3 - H. Watson, Valparaiso, to W.J. Thomson, 7.10.62.

I humbly beg leave to draw your attention to a most flagrant act of injustice and gross outrage of humanity that has lately come under my notice, and which after the facts of the case become known will I trust command the interference of H.B.M.'s <sup>representatives</sup> ~~R.N.~~ in the Southern Pacific.

There is in the latter ocean an island called Penrins <sup>inns</sup> ~~hins~~ that contained about 1500 inhabitants in an uncivilized state the only intercourse they had with Europeans having taken place within the last eight years, their principal occupation is that of diving for Pearl Shells, they are an inoffensive race and vessels frequenting the island have never been molested.

I now learn that a vessel called the 'David Thomas' bearing the Chilean Flag went to Penrins <sup>n</sup> island and the Captain with the connivance of a white resident of the name of Payne succeeded in inveigling on board some two hundred of the unfortunate inhabitants and taking them to Callao sold them at a rate that left him on outlay of ten thousand dollars, a profit of forty thousand. I say sold them because with uncultivated savages in a place where there is no established government contracts such as are made in China ~~be~~

to legitimize the exportation of Coolies are impossible, other vessels are chartering with a like object in Callao, and if this new species of slave trade continues lawful commerce amongst the islands must be given up, for the natives will become so exasperated that they will take vengeance on the first defenceless vessel that falls into their hands. I speak advisedly for I have lived at Tahiti know more or less <sup>of</sup> the native character and the fact of my having been named by the Protectoral Govt. "Juge du Tribunal de Police Correctionnelle" should entitle me to credance.

The transaction that I have related in my humble opinion concerns both the Chilean and Peruvian Govts the first owing to the employment of her vessels in the Trade and the latter from the fact that the expatriated people of <sup>Panama</sup> Peruvian are landed on her shores.

Confident that the foregoing statement will meet from you the attention it merits. H. Watson. *Honey*

Enc.4 - W. Thomson, Chargé d'affaires, Santiago, to FO, No.4 of 31.10.62.

With reference to my despatch slave trade No.3 of the 17th instant I have the honor to acquaint Y.L. that having been informed that 6 vessels, as noted in the margin [marginal note: Truxillo, Apaumac, Mercedes a Wholy, Barbara Goomez, Eliza Mason, Bella Margarita, the 1st 4 being ~~XXXXXX~~ Peruvian & the last 2 Chilean] had been recently dispatched in ballast from the port of Callao to Polynesia with the object of kidnapping more of the uncivilized islanders in that ~~XXXXXX~~ quarter. I brought this circumstance to the knowledge of the Chilean Minister for Foreign Affairs and gave him the names of the vessels supposed to be engaged in this illicit traffic. There is not yet time for the Chilean Govt. to have recd. from its agent at Callao the report it had called for on this matter but the Chilean Minister informed me that when he communicated to the President of the Republic the allegations against the Captain of the "David Thomas" H.E. had ordered that the most stringent measures should be adopted against those convicted

*two of which are Chilean*

of being engaged in this traffic.

I beg leave to enclose an extract from the "Comercio" newspaper of Lima of the 29th September, being the translation of an order issued in this matter by the Peruvian Gt to the Prefect of the Province of Callao in which it is stated that the Gt had recd reliable information that children and even adults are being publicly sold at prices from two to three hundred dollars per head! W. Thomson.

Manuel A. Focornal .....  
Enc.5 - M.A. Focornal (M), Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chile, to British Charge d'Affaires, Santiago, 11.10.62.

Translation. I have had the honor to receive your note of yesterday's date in which you state to me that it had come to your knowledge that a Chilean vessel had by deceitful means taken from the Island of Penrim situated at the southern extremity of the Pacific and inhabited by inoffensive savages about two hundred of them who were transported to Callao and had been sold there for the sum of 50000 dollars. In confirmation of what is set forth you accompany the extract of a letter relating to the case.

The notice which you have been so good as to communicate to me and for which I give you my best thanks is the first I have recd upon the subject and I have hastened to transmit it to the Minister of Marine requesting him to take the necessary steps to ascertain the truth of the acts communicated with the same object I shall by the first opportunity address the Consul of the Republic at Callao and on receipt of the reports of this functionary and the Minister of Marine I shall communicate the same to you. M.A. Focornal (M).

Enc.6 - Ditto to ditto, 15.10.62

Translation. In despatch of the 11th inst I had the honor to say to you that I had asked reports from the Minister of Marine respecting the case of the "David Thomas" which you had brought before me in your note of the previous day. The reports asked for were communicated to me yesterday and the result is, that the vessel in question on the 9th of January last no longer belonged to the

Chilean Marine having been sold in Callao and the documents which constitute the nationality of the vessel delivered to the Consul of the Republic in that Port.

Nevertheless it is my intention to request by the next mail a report from the aforesaid Consul in order to learn whether the "David Thomas" had made an undue use of the Chilean Flag hoisting it after she had no right to do so. M.S. Focoreal (12).

..... Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chile,  
Enc.7 - W.J. Thomson, Charge d'Affaires, Santiago, to ~~me~~, 10.10.62.

I have the honor to transmit to Y.E. an Extract from a letter which has been addressed to me by a British subject residing at Valparaiso in which it is stated that about 200 of the uncivilized inhabitants of Penrins island in the South Pacific had been inveigled on board of a vessel bearing the Chilean Flag called "David Thomas" and transported to Callao where they had been disposed of for 50000 Dollars.

My object in bringing this circumstance to Y.E.'s knowledge to beg you will be so good as to inform me if the Chilean Govt. have received any information on this matter, and if not, to request that Y.E. would be pleased to institute an enquiry into the accuracy of the alleged statements. W.J. Thomson. ✓

.....  
Minute attached to above correspondence (presumably by the Admiralty).

Confidential Very

It is very seldom I doubt what is stated by any Individual - but I don't believe one word of Mr Watson's statement.

Adm

Or by Sir Thomas  
Northland

.....

John C. Williams, British Consul, to FO, 9.2.63. FO 58/99.

.....

I have to inform your Lordship that it is currently reported, that twenty five vessels have been fitted out in Callao, under Peruvian colors, and partly owned by British Merchants, for the purpose of visiting the islands in the South Seas, and Kidnapping the islanders, and then taking them away to the Coast, then selling them for Two to Three hundred dollars each.

there

Yesterday one of these vessels visited this Port, but would not come to an anchor, the person who came on shore was an American of Salem, named Pitman. He stated that the vessel in the offing was the "Rosa Patricia" of Callao, 300 Tons under Peruvian colors, and was partly owned by Mr Higginson of Callao, British Merchant, and that Pitman was the Supercargo.

They were in search of South Sea Islanders who were willing to leave their own lands and go off to work on the Coast. He produced the enclosed agreement.

From all I can hear they would take off the natives by fair means if possible, but if they would not go by fair means, they would have recourse to harsh measures. The vessels engaged in this trade cannot go to Callao, but have to go to the small bye ports or bays for the purpose of communicating with the owners, who are prepared to receive the Islanders and dispose of them.

I have also been informed that Mr Higginson has a contract to furnish 10,000 Islanders.

A Vessel under Peruvian or Chili colors was at Savage Island (where there is a Protestant Missionary Rev G. Lawes) last December, and carried off between 50 and 60 of the natives. From three natives of that island, who have arrived in this Port, and who were at Savage Island when the islanders were taken off I hear, that the people were quite willing to leave and go, but it was with an understanding that they were to be away only five months when they would be returned.



From the statement made by the boat's crew, and the person representing himself as the supercargo I think they are not very scrupulous as to how they engage these islanders.

As to the agreement it ~~is~~ is quite a farce my Lord, for these islanders cannot understand its meaning even if interpreted for they (have) no idea as to time.

It is further reported that three of these vessels have been taken, two at Tahiti by the French, and one on the Coast.

These vessels if allowed to cruise amongst the Islands and carry off the islanders will soon destroy the trade in the South Seas, and render it unsafe for trading vessels to visit most of the islands, as the natives being in many cases unable to distinguish friend from foe, would take their revenge and destroy the vessel, and kill the crew of the first ship visiting them after the "Kidnappers".

Unless steps be taken to put a stop to the Kidnappers, the Trade in the South Sea Islands will be ruined, for the natives in most instances not being able to distinguish friend from foe will take revenge on the first vessel visiting them after these "Rascals".

The "Reed Patricia" had gone off to the Union Group in search of more men, and she is likely to be about here for some weeks yet unless she can make up her complement of 250 men there, thus giving a chance of being captured if pursued.

J.C. Williams, British Consul, Apia, to Sir John Young, Governor, N.S.W., 14.2.63, and forwarded by him to the CO (16.3.63?). C0201/526.

.....

I have to inform you that on the 8th and 9th Inst a vessel was in the offing and a person representing himself as the Supercargo came on shore and informed us that the vessel was the "Rosa Patricia" of Callao and partly owned by Mr Higginson a British Merchant. He had a contract to furnish 10,000 South Sea Islanders and this vessel was in search of natives. It appears from the statements made in this port by the Supercargo and boats crew, that they are not very scrupulous as to the means they use in getting the natives, already numbers have been taken from Penrhyn and Savage Islands.

Unless steps be taken to put a stop to the Kidnappers, the Trade in the South Sea Islands will be ruined, for the natives in most instances not being able to distinguish friend from foe will take revenge on the first vessel visiting them after these "Marauders".

The "Rosa Patricia" had gone off to the Union Group in search of more men, and she is likely to be about here for some weeks yet unless she can make up her complement of 250 from there, thus giving a chance of being captured if pursued at once.

.....

I fear my Lord, unless immediate steps are taken to prevent these vessels visiting the Islands there will be loss of life and property for the Islanders will take revenge and the innocent will suffer instead of the guilty.

J.C. Williams, British Consul, Apia, to FO, dated Sydney, 16.6.63.

FO 58/49

I have the honor to inform Your Lordship that when I left the Navigators on the 12th <sup>of</sup> May there were then three vessels under Peruvian colors endeavouring to carry off the natives, and one of them forcibly took two Samoans out of a trading boat whilst she was outside the reef.

Some of the Islands have been nearly <sup>stripped</sup> ~~dispossessed~~ of the men.

In one instance the crew of these Kidnappers went on shore at the Union Group and drove the natives out of the chapel at the point of the bayonet to the boat and then carried them off.

In most cases however the natives go alongside of the ships for the purpose of trading when they are invited to go on board, in their simplicity they <sup>do so</sup> ~~agree~~, when they are further told to go below when all that they have brought will be purchased.

In their anxiety to sell, they go below when the hatches are closed and the ship sails off with them.

In some cases however the natives are afraid to go on board when the boat is lowered, and they give chase to the canoes, firing on them, killing some and wounding others, by that means intimidating the natives, when they surrender <sup>at once</sup> to the superior forces.

The trade of the islands is thus endangered and the labors of the Missionaries hindered.

I fear my Lord <sup>that</sup> unless immediate steps are taken to prevent these vessels visiting the Islands there will be loss of life and property for the Islanders will take revenge and the innocent will suffer instead of the guilty.

.....  
It has occurred to me whether the Government of the Sandwich Islands has sufficient power & influence, and if so would be willing to undertake the protection of these small islands by receiving them under her flag. Yet the distance which separates some of them, and the absence of any Naval power on the part of the Hawaiian Kingdom, seems to

Captain George Henry Richards, H.M. Survey Ship "Hecate",  
Humphries Island, May 1863, to William W.F. Syngé, H.B.M.  
Commissioner, &c., Honolulu.

With reference to the copies of correspondence with which you were good enough to furnish me, relative to certain vessels under the Peruvian Flag having carried away Natives from the various Islands comprising the Micronesian Group, and sold them at Callao and other parts of Peru; I beg to acquaint you that I have called at such of the Islands as lay near my route, for the purpose of gaining all possible information in connexion therewith; and I now forward a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Naval Commander in Chief on this Station.

2. It is beyond a doubt that these natives have been deluded away from their homes under promises which never will be nor were intended to be carried out; and that, morally considered, the Peruvian Flag has been prostituted to as revolting a description of slave dealing as ever was practised on the West Coast of Africa.

3. If it does not come within the letter of the law to hold Peru answerable for the commission of such outrages on the part of her citizens, or others sailing under her flag, then the only means by which the natives of these remote Islands may hope to be protected from such piracy in future, would be that some one or more of the great powers of Europe should grant to them the protection of their flag, which the Natives of the Islands I have visited would most gladly accept.

4. It has occurred to me whether the Government of the Sandwich ~~Islands~~ Isles has sufficient power & influence, and if so would be willing to undertake the protection of these small Islands by receiving them under her Flag. Yet the distance which separate some of them, and the absence of any Naval power on the part of the Hawaiian Kingdom, seems to

throw obstacles in the way of such a scheme which would render it difficult of accomplishment. I merely mention the subject, therefore, for your consideration.

5. I shall endeavour to communicate with other Islands where a similar kidnapping of the natives is said to have taken place between this and New South Wales; and should circumstances render it desirable to give more information on the subject. I recommend to your notice Mr Henry English of Fanning's Island, who trades between that place and Honolulu & who has Vessels frequently visiting the coral Islands, and is intimately acquainted with the Chiefs of many of them.

that our young king has arrived at Hopping on his way hither. What ..... through to us we know not, as he has resided with his parents on Tahiti the greater part of his life. We understand his parents are come with him. The French steamer brought them to Hopping, and we believe is now gone after some missionaries or entrepreneurs from here, who it is reported are going among the various groups of islands in the Pacific. She has caught our vessel with 150 natives of the Paumotu on board. These islands are claimed by the French of course the vessel will be condemned.

George Platt to the Rev. Dr Tidman, Raiatea, 5.1.63.

.....

Revd and Dear Sir.

As it has now arrived at the time, when we generally take our yearly statistics, and make up our accounts, I here send you an account, not so good as would have given more pleasure. We have enjoyed peace this year, and more quietness than we have enjoyed for some years past.

We hear that our young king has arrived at Huahine on his way hither. What he may prove to be we know not, as he has resided with his parents on Tahiti the greater part of his life. We understand his parents are come with him. The French steamer brought them to Hunhine, and we believe is now gone after some menstealers or entrappers from Peru, who it is reported are going among the various groups of islands in the Pacific. She has caught one vessel with 150 natives of the Paumotus on board. Those islands are claimed by the French of course the vessel will be condemned.

.....

E. Krause, Rarotonga, to L.M.S., 23.1.63. S.S.L.

.....

The greatest of our trials, however, has come from the Peruvian Government, who have sent out a number of vessels (14?) to the various groups around us to entice the people to go and work for them under promise of very good wages. The poor people were not aware that their destination was the Chincha Islands, there to work in hopeless servitude in the worst possible kind of slavery. The French Government in Tahiti has captured two of these slave vessels and, I am told, condemned them, freeing the people (200). From the Mangarongaro Islands I hear nearly all the inhabitants are carried off. I have informed His Excellency Sir George Grey (who seems to take a great interest in our missions, according to his various letters to me) of it, and hope something may be done for our poor defenceless people. I have already written to every island where I could get an opportunity warning our dear native teachers of that ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ danger.

.....

*Krause's letter to Honolulu received - see Gillo's Journal.*

E. Krause, Rarotonga, to L.M.S., 23.1.63. S.S.L.

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.....

*Krause's letter to Honolulu received - see Gillo's Journal.*



G. Gill and P.G. Bird, 'Journal of third missionary voyage to the Tokelau or Union Group of Islands, January 1863.

.....

..... and were very grateful for the return of a portion of their friends in the "John Willaims" (the canoe still missing belongs to Atafu). The reception of Mafala by the people of Fakaofu gave great satisfaction as the people of Atafu had been threatened with war by Olike for embracing Christianity. From this terror they are now delivered.

The population of this group may be estimated thus:-

Atafu	140
Nukunono	140
Fakaofu	<u>250</u>
About	<u>530</u>

As early as practicable the Atafu castaways went ashore with their canoes. ... Atafu consists of 63 islets.

.....

The Commodore however said they could not interfere in the matter as they had seen the ships papers, and they appeared quite correct.

It is thought that one of the persons who came on shore was the Captain of the vessel though he denied this, and said he was only the Supercargo. This person stated that there were 20 Savage Islanders on board, but that he needed 250 more to make up his complement. We hear that there are 25 vessels engaged in this terrible trade, and that 10,000 natives are wanted altogether by the Peruvian Government.

These ships are fitted out at Valparaiso and one of the Principals in this business is an Englishman.

Two of these vessels have been taken at Tahiti by the French, and another one by an English man of war.

The Supercargo of the vessel that called here offered a Foreigner on the Beach 10 dollars for each native he could induce to go with them, and said that he should be here again in 5 weeks time to see if any could be obtained. I hope if he does come will find a man of war waiting to receive him, and thus put a stop to their cruel trade.

.....

Henry, George, Apia, to LMS, 26.1.1863

S.S. Letters

.....

Owing to the bad weather the JW met with on her voyage to Tokelau the Friends who came from Sydney in that vessel have been detained here longer than they expected. We have been enjoying their society very much and trust that their lives will long be spared to the church and to the Mission in these seas.

They left us in the JW last Monday and were soon out of sight.

Last Saturday we saw a ship in the offing and soon afterwards we heard that it was the same that had taken off 50 natives from Niue in order to make slaves of them in Peru.

The next day (Sabbath) a boat came on shore from that vessel bringing a wounded man to the doctor here. As soon as I knew I went down to Mr. Williams and Mr. Unshelm, the two Consuls here, and enquired of them if they could do anything to ascertain if any of the Savage Islanders were on board that vessel, and if so liberate them? I also asked them if they could not prevent the wicked crew of that vessel taking off any natives from Samoa? The Consuls however said they could not interfere in the matter as they had seen the ships papers, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ and they appeared quite correct.

It is thought that one of the persons who came on shore was the Captain of the vessel though he denied this, and said he was only the Supercargo. This person stated that there were 20 Savage Islanders on board, but that he needed 250 more to make up his complement. We hear that there are 25 vessels engaged in this terrible trade, and that 10,000 natives are wanted altogether by the Peruvian Government.

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.....

Henry, George, to LMS, 20.3.63, enclosing letter from Maka, Atafu,  
16.2.63. LMS South Seas Letters.

.....

You will see by the enclosed letter which I received the other day from one of our Teachers at the Island of Tokelau that our work in that group of Islands has been much hindered if not quite destroyed. The slave ship I wrote about in my last letter went direct from here to that group when there cruel deeds were enacted which the enclosed letter records. I have given as liberal translation as possible to the Teachers note and I think it will speak for itself not only to Christians, but to all freeborn men. Most, if not all, the men that were sent back from Samoa in the J.W. have been taken away, by these wicked slavers and unless something is done quickly to hinder these bad men I fear that all the small islands in the South Pacific will be quickly depopulated. Penryn's island, and Pukapuka are already, so it is said, and men have been taken off other islands.

Two other vessels called at Tokelau the same week as the one did that took so many of the natives away, and the Captain of one of them gave the Teacher 4 pieces of gold and told him that if he would get some men for him that he would also give him a large quantity of cloth, but the Teacher told him that he neither wanted his money, or his cloth, to buy men with and that he had no authority over the natives. The Captain then tried to get Maka (the Teacher) to go on board and go with them to the other islands of the group, but he refused. The Captain then enquired if there were any Teachers in the other islands & Maka answered yes there <sup>are</sup> two there. He then told him to write to them & tell them that they were to get men & bring them to his vessel & the Teacher wrote as follows: 'The Captain of this vessel is going to you to seek after men. There are no men in our land. The decision rests with you. The chiefs of the island therefore decide about it.' When the Captain received this letter he [again?] asked the Teacher if he had any men.

He answered no there are no men, only women and children. At this, the Captain was very angry, & said if you have no men, bring women. When these poor natives heard what the Captain had said they began weeping & wailing & ran away to the bush. The captain of the vessel then visited where the large village was and threatened to go back & fetch the crew from the ships, burn it down & destroy the land & the

people as well; and began to make ready to return to the vessel. This seems to have frightened the Teacher & he begged of them to wait a little till the people returned. The captain, however, went back to the ship & he & the crew came ashore.

Maka then went and called the people and when they came there were two men left amongst them & the sailors took hold of these two men and dragged them away to the ships.

The Captain said that they (had letters?) from the French Governor at Tahiti to take men by force from that [grove?].

I hope these things are known at home. We do not think that either the Christians there or the inhabitants of that favoured land will rest satisfied until they have requested their government to take some steps to put down this horrible trade in human flesh & blood.

.....

Enclosure

Atafu, February 16, 1863.

This is my letter to you. Our land is in a very bad state. All the men have been taken away in a foreign vessel. It was the ship of the Roman Catholic Bishop. When the ship was near the land a boat was lowered & the crew came off to barter with us. The Captain of the ship said to me let the people take Cocoanuts and Fowls to the ship & sell them & they shall receive in exchange for them cloth, shirts & trousers. I said to him you had better come on shore and buy, and he replied I do not like bartering on shore, it is far better in the vessel. I then enquired from which land have you come, and he answered we have come from a foreign country & the name of it is Niupepese.

On account of this answer we doubted very much whether the ship had really come direct from a distant land, for I had been told by two men on board who were natives of Atiu that this vessel had been to Apia but did not cast anchor there; only the Captain went on shore & the ship remained off there for two nights and then came direct to Tokelau.

[6 Teacher?] they have taken away all the men from this island: they have taken the chief Oli that was in Samoa and thirty four others besides. ~~XXXX~~ We have only women and children here with the exception of six men. Very great is the love of the women and children to their Parents, Husbands, Brothers, and Sons, and they do nothing now but

weep night and day. They neither sleep nor eat because they have no men to climb the cocoanut trees, and get food for them, so that they are dying from want. Another matter I have to relate is this, they have taken away seven boys from my school who could read well in the word of God.

Another fact I have to tell you relates to the wife of the chief of this island, who when she heard the report that her husband had been taken away immediately gave birth to a child, but she did not feel the pains of parturition, on account of the intense anguish of soul she endured in the loss of her husband, her people, and her son. Such is the tyrannical manner in which the crew of this vessel <sup>has</sup> treated the people of this island. The good work that had commenced here is withered and dead.

If we had known the character of this vessel not one man would have gone on board. We were quite startled at the things done on our island.

Two men came on shore and told me that they had been sent by the Captain of the vessel to say that the people were to go off at once to the ship to barter; and one of them then returned to the ship in order to get ready the goods to pay them with in exchange for their fowls &c. When the natives reached the vessel the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Captain bid them all go on deck and look at the barter goods, but this was a contrivance of the Captain of the ship. Some of the barter goods were placed in the cabin of the ship: there was fine cloth, red cloth, shirts, trousers, white cloth, and dark cloth. There were also some goods placed on deck. The Captain then said to the natives go and examine the goods on deck and those also below in the cabin. When they saw the fine cloth in the cabin they all went to look at it. The Captain then called to them, & when every one had gone below, one of the crew clothed them all; giving to each a shirt, a pair of trousers, and a hat. The natives were highly delighted at this and said to one another we have clothing to go to Chapel with now; but there were white men concealed in the cabin of the ship, each one with a drawn sword. These men had been hidden from the natives, and they knew nothing of their presence, but all these things had been ordered

by the Captain of the vessel. At the time there was not one native on deck with the exception of the chief of this island who was sitting up there. He arose and called to his people saying do not stay any longer below lest you spoil the goods of the white men. When he said this he was standing at the door of the cabin, & the crew of the vessel rushed upon him & pushed him down below & shut the door immediately.

Two men told me afterwards that they had seen one of the crew pierce one of their companions with his sword & the blood was flowing freely, but they did not know whether he was alive or dead.

The ship then quickly sailed away.

There is nothing we can do here now on account of the crying and wailing because our land is wasted.

We think however that when they have taken away the strong men to some other island that then the ship will return again to fetch the women and children.

My question to you now is whether I shall forbid their going or not if the vessel returns again? Let me me know soon lest the vessel quickly returns.

That is all,

I am,

Maka.

.....

*Another translation of the photocopy.*

Peruvian Labour Trade: Tokelaus

1863

Apia, March 20th 1863

You will see by the enclosed letter which I received the other day from one of our Teachers at the Island of Tokelau that our work in that group of Islands has been ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ much hindered if not quite destroyed.

The slave ship I wrote about in my last letter went ~~XXXXXX~~ went direct from here to that group <sup>[and]</sup> when there cruel deeds were enacted which the enclosed letter records. I have given a <sup>[a]</sup> literal translation as possible to the teachers note & I think it will speak for itself not only to Christians, but to all freeborn men.

Most if not all the men that were sent back from Samoa in the J.W. have been taken away by these wicked slavers and unless something is done quickly to hinder these bad men I fear that all the small islands if in the South Pacific will be quite depopulated. Penrhyn island and Pukapuka are already, so it is said, and men have been taken off other islands.

Two other vessels called at Tokelau the same week as the one did that took so many of the natives away, and the Captain of one of them gave the teacher 4 pieces of gold and told him that if he would get some men for him that he would also give him a large quantity of cloth, but the Teacher told him that he neither wanted his money or his cloth to buy men with, and that he had no authority over the natives. The Captain then tried to get Maka (the Teacher) to go on board, & go with them to the other islands of the group, but he refused. The Captain then enquired if there were any Teachers on the other islands & Maka answered yes there are two there. He then told him to write to them & tell them that they were to get men & bring them to his vessel & the Teacher wrote as follows.

'The Captain of this vessel is going to you to seek after men. There are no men in our land. The decision rests with you. The chiefs of the island therefore decide about it.'

When the Captain received this letter he <sup>?</sup> [again] asked the

teacher if he had any men.

He answered no, there are no men, only women and children. At this, the Captain was very angry, and said if you have no men, bring women. When these poor natives heard what the Captain had said they began weeping and wailing and ran away to the bush. The Captain of the vessel then visited where the large village was and threatened to go back and fetch the crew from the ships, burn it down & destroy the land & the people as well; and began to make ready to return to the vessel.

This seems to have frightened the teacher & he begged of them to wait a little till the people returned. The captain, however, went back to the ship & he and the crew came ashore.

Maika then went and called the people and when they came there were two men left amongst them & the sailors took hold of these 2 men & dragged them away by force to the ships. The Captain said that they (had letters?) from the French Governor of Tahiti to take men by force from that grove.

Hope these things are known at home. We do not think that either the Christians there or the inhabitants of that favoured land will rest satisfied until they have requested their (Governor?) to take some steps to put down this horrible trade in human flesh & blood.

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Enclosure. Atafu, February 16 1863

For Mineti.

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far better in the vessel. I then enquired from what land have you come? and he answered we have come from a foreign country & the name of it is Niupapeese.

On account of this answer we doubted much whether the ship had really come direct from a distant land, for I had been told by two men on board who were natives of Atiu that this vessel had been to Apia but did not cast anchor there; only the Captain went on shore, <sup>and the ship remained off there</sup> for two nights and then came direct to Tokelau.

[6 Teacher (?)] they have taken away all the men from this island: they have taken the chief Oli that was in Samoa and thirty four others beside. We have only women and children here with the exception of six men.

Very great is the love of the women and children to their Parents, <sup>brothers,</sup> Husbands, and Sons, and they do nothing now but weep night, and day. They neither sleep nor eat because they have no men to climb the cocoanut trees, and get food for them, so that they are dying for want. Another matter I have to relate is this, they have taken away seven boys from my school who could read well in the word of God.

Another fact I have to tell you relates to the wife of the chief of this island, who when she heard the report that her husband had been taken away immediately gave birth to a child, but she did not feel the pains of parturition, on account of the intense anguish of soul she endured in the loss of her husband, her people, and her son.

Such is the tyrannical manner in which the crew of the vessel have treated the people of this island. The good work which had commenced here is withered and dead. If we had known the character of this vessel not one man would have gone on board. We were quite startled at the things done on our island.

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When they saw the fine cloth in the cabin they all went to look at it. The Captain then called to them, & when every one had gone below, one of the crew clothed them all; giving to each a shirt, a pair of trousers, and a hat. The natives were highly delighted at this and said to one another we have got clothing to go to Chapel with now; but there were white men concealed in the cabin of the ship, each one with a drawn sword.

These men had been hidden from the natives, and they knew nothing of their presence: but all these things had been ordered by the Captain of the vessel. At the time there was not one native on deck with the exception of the chief of the island who was sitting up there. He arose and called to his people saying do not stay any longer below lest you spoil the goods of the white men. When he said this he was standing at the door of the cabin, & the crew of the vessel rushed upon him & pushed him down below & shut the door immediately.

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My question to you now is whether I shall  
their going or not if the vessel returns again?  
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That is all.

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Maka.

Report of the Revd W.W. Gill's voyage from Samoa to

Mangaia, 1863

(9.2.63 - 23.3.63) S.S.J.

.....

On Monday the 9th of Feby, at noon, we set sail for the Hervey Group .....

Yesterday (Feby. 8th) a bark stood off the harbour of Apia. The supercargo brought on shore a man shot through the arm. The wound was dressed by Dr. Graefe. The supercargo reported the bark as the "Rosa" of Callao, sailing of course under Peruvian colors. She is in the employment of "Higginson and Santiago". Higginson is a wealthy British merchant at ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Callao. In connection with Santiago he has undertaken to furnish 10,000 natives of the South Seas for the Peruvian mines. Twenty vessels are said to be engaged in this horrible trade. Our poor islanders are entrapped on board vessels, and then are forced to sign cleverly drawn-up documents purporting that they are willing to serve 6 years at \$6 per month's wages, &c. &c. Now it is utterly impossible that these poor fellows should understand the nature of such documents. Of course the real object is to conceal the real nature of the whole transaction - which is the slave trade revived in the South Pacific amongst Christian natives. When full of slaves these vessels not daring to run into Callao discharge their living cargo at a small place to the south of that port. The kidnapper realizes £40 on each man and woman. They are resold for £50 apiece. This wretched man is an ~~XXXXXXXX~~ American, a native of Baltimore. His name is Pitman. He owned that he obtained 45 natives of Easter Island; but sent them on by another ship. It appears that no fewer than 7 vessels lay off Easter Island at one time for the purpose of kidnapping natives. He owned yesterday that there are ..?.. on board the "Rosa" upwards of 20 Nieuve natives. Today he confesses that he had upwards of 50 of them on board (this

tallies with what Mr Lawes told us when at Niue). We are left to conjecture the fate of the missing 30. Did they rise upon the wicked men who are enslaving them and were they overpowered by the whites? Pitman offered to a person at Apia who is well acquainted with the islands \$10 a head for natives to be entrapped on board his vessel. He also offered \$1,000 to this party to go with him for a month to fill up his vessel. I need not say that both offers were indignantly refused. - Pitman says that two cargoes of Penrhyn Islanders have been sold on the coast at high prices. They are to work in the mines till they die!! This man's real object in coming ashore seems to have been to ascertain whether any men of war, English or French, are yet on the scent after these slavers;- also to obtain information as to the islands where he is most likely to succeed in his diabolical project. The Captain of the "Rosa" was far too wary to enter Apia harbour. Had she anchored there J.C. Williams, Esqre H.B.M.C. thought he would be justified in detaining her. Unfortunately there was no man of war there to give her chase and to overhaul her. It is perfectly astounding that such proceedings should be permitted in the 19th century. The fair islands of the Pacific are to be despoiled of their inhabitants to fill the pockets of a few unprincipled villains. Our Missions are to be uprooted by men far worse than the heathen who bow down to idols of wood and stone. Peaceful and legitimate trade will speedily come to an end in the Pacific, if such crimes should go unpunished. reprisals will be doubtless made upon the innocent and unoffending. Will not the British Government, ever the defender of the oppressed and .....?..... interfere to put down so nefarious a traffic? Tuesday Feby 10th at sunrise the slaver was about five miles from us, and right in our track, with her small sails in and courses up, evidently awaiting our approach. The wind shifting a little we tacked, when she made sail and proceeded to the North, as we suppose for the Tokelau or Union group.

Monday Feby 23 Sighted Bukapuka. About 10 o'clock a.m. on Tuesday the 24th we were close along shore. It was long however before a canoe came off to us with Okatai the teacher. On our last visit the "John Williams" was speedily surrounded by canoes. We soon learnt the reason for the change. In the latter part of Jany last a brig arrived here from Callao, all on board speaking Spanish. They got "Paddy", a notoriously bad fellow living here, to act as their agent. They proposed to the people to take a number of them to Callao to work for two years at a certain rate of wages, and engaged at the end of the time specified to bring them back to their own island. Eight fathoms of cloth was paid to each as an "advance", - this was left with their friends. Liberal presents were given to the chiefs to ensure their favor. The result was that 80 natives of Bukapuka left in the brig; - 77 men and three women. Amongst them was one of the teachers "Ngatimoari" (his wife accompanied him). He doubtless thought it to be his duty to go and take spiritual charge of them. How egregiously has the poor fellow been deceived by these men stealers! They have engaged to send another vessel two months hence to fetch the wives of the men they have thus entrapped.

About the same time a bark arrived. She was mistaken for the "John Williams". She too came from Callao, but professed to take natives to "Palmerston's Island" to make cocoa-nut oil, and then would proceed to Sydney. They had on board 70 heathen natives. In this bark unhappily 50 men and women of Bukapuka went, deceived by the fair promises made to them. Besides these 10 children were stolen by the Captain; making a total of 60 carried away into slavery by this bark. - "Paddy" went with them.

The natives who went in the brig were all picked men. The old and feeble remain to take charge of the young children.

140 natives have been removed from this island within a few weeks. A vessel is expected next month; another the month after; - on the same evil errand. What but the powerful arm of Great Britain can prevent these slavers from rendering

add at ① on p. 4.

I learnt from Okatai that 180 persons have been baptized by the teacher since our last visit. In consequence of the advice I then gave them, a meeting of chiefs was held in which it was resolved upon to adopt four new laws for the preservation of order amongst their people. One of these laws abolished Polygamy. Constables were appointed. The general appearance of the people is much improved. ....

It was with much satisfaction that we gave them 520 pieces of figured native cloth from the church members of Savage Island. They are to be freely distributed amongst these poor people: - a noble gift indeed from a people who are themselves but ill-provided for in respect of clothing. - On our way to Sydney last year I casually mentioned to our brother the Rev. W. Lawes the destitute condition of the Bukapuka natives. To his kind exertions the liberal donation is owing.

The people freely made a considerable present of cocoa-nuts and taro to the Missionary Bark.

..... March 4th Early this morning Manihiki was sighted. At noon we went ashore; - the sky was overcast, yet the scene, so very beautiful. The vast lagoon fringed with a narrow belt of land covered with cocoa-nut trees was very picturesque. Then the village - with the church and the teacher's house very conspicuously standing out refreshes the eye of the voyager.

..... The people were astonished at the return of Paraikose, one of those who were driven out of their course by a storm when on their way some months since from Manihiki to Rakaanga. There were nine natives of this island in the canoe: after being a month at sea and losing five of their number, the remaining four more dead than alive were drifted ashore at Nukurairai, one of the Ellice's Group. Thus these poor islanders were drifted a distance of about 1,000 miles in a frail canoe! It seems that the heathen treated their exhausted guests well, and were very anxious to be instructed in the way of life.

Erikana (see Smith 1974:189, p. 15).

Eliteina and Paraikose found their way to Samoa. The former is now in the Institution at Malua with the hope of being sent hereafter to Nukurairai by the Samoan brethren as a teacher. It was intended that the "John Williams" should convey his wife to Samoa. But upon our arrival at Manihiki we found that she had long since died. The friends of the survivors were delighted to hear that they were living and sent on to Eliteina some substantial proofs of their good will. I do most earnestly hope that the Directors will sanction the sending of the Gospel to Ellice's Group. There are 5 small islands close together, speaking a dialect perfectly intelligible to our natives, and entreating for the word of life. Most unwilling were they to part with Eliteina and his companions. The very Bibles were torn up and divided leaf by leaf to those most interesting islanders who are longing for the bread of life. I can testify to the intense interest felt by the native christians with regard to these heathen islands so open to receive instruction. I trust that when the "John Williams" returns from ~~xxxx~~ England she will be permitted to visit Ellice's Group (in some charts named De Peyster's Group) and the islands not far distant.

Mr. Vician accompanied us on shore; there were but few adults to greet our arrival. I held a long conversation with Kaisara (?) and Pilato, the two principal chiefs of the island, the two principal chiefs of the island, who explained to them the true motives which induced white men to take away the natives of Sakafoa; and begged them to permit us more to leave.

I learnt from Kaisara that 100 persons had been captured

(At Manihiki) ... On the 10th of November three ships (Hercules, Linnet) arrived at Manihiki from Sakafoa. Two of them anchored outside the reef. The third went on to Sakafoa. On the 12th the two brigs of anchor were driven ashore and utterly wrecked; but no lives lost. The crews, however, were saved. At the end of a fortnight, the third ship came back from Sakafoa, having a number of natives on board, and she was away the next day with the two brigs and the 1000 natives. What a relief to the natives of Manihiki did they receive!



this and many other beautiful and fertile islands ~~xxxx~~ entirely desolate.

Our decided impression is that the bark we saw at Apia and that crossed our path on the 10th instant is the vessel that was last here. The story told to the people here about making cocoa-nut oil at Palmerston's is a glaring falsehood, to put the natives off their guard. I believe that no Callao merchant would deem it a profitable speculation to fit out a large vessel to convey natives to such a distant island in the hope of obtaining a few tons of oil.

It appears that the bark came from Penrhyns, and that it was mainly through the agency of "Josia" that "Ngatimoari" was led to take the fatal step of abandoning his work here. I feel greatly grieved with Okatai for giving his consent. His statement is that it was impossible to restrain the people who were delighted with the fair promises made to them; and therefore they thought it advisable that Ngatimoari should go to take charge of his people and to maintain Christian worship amongst them.

Mr Vivian accompanied me on shore: there were but few adults to greet our arrival. I held a long conversation with Kaisera (?) and Pilato, the two principal chiefs of the island, and explained to them the true motive which induced white men to take away the natives of Bukapuka, and begged them to permit no more to leave.

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on March 4, 1863

.....  
(At Manihiki) .... On the 10th of November three brigs (brigantines?) arrived at Manihiki from Callao. Two of them anchored outside the reef. The third went on to Rakaanga. On the 12th the two brigs at anchor were driven ashore and utterly wrecked; but no lives lost. The stores, &c. &c. were saved. At the end of a fortnight, the third brig came back from Rakaanga, having a number of natives on board, and took away the crews of the two wrecks and the most valuable part of what was saved. Not a native of Manihiki did they succeed in decoying away.

In Jan'y 1<sup>st</sup> a bark and a brig arrived here together from Callao. A large number of Penrhyn Islanders were on board; with our teachers Toa and Josia; - the former in the bark, the latter in the brig. An American was supercargo of (I think) the bark. He brought Josia with him on shore to win over the teachers here, Apolo and Taiti, and the chief, to their views. Money and cloth were offered to the chief and to the teachers by these slavers if they would let the people go. But the chief steadily refused to let his people go. In great anger the captain departed for the Penrhyns. It appears that they afterwards put all the Penrhyn natives on board the bark. Josia was kept on board the brig as interpreter. The brig came back again to Manihiki. She once more tried hard to get a cargo of natives. They now professed to offer the islanders a higher rate of wages (6 dollars per mens<sup>m</sup> instead of their first offering 5 dollars). Again they attempted to bribe the chief. But happily he remained firm, refused the bribe and did not permit one of his people to go. The captain now got into a great rage and said that they would get what they wanted elsewhere and started off (as they said) for Bukapuka and Tokelau. I omitted to state that on leaving they insisted on being permitted to buy at a nominal price 17 large water casks saved from the wrecks. They said to induce compliance with their demands that the captains who had been wrecked were in irons and would shortly be put to death.

Last month (February) the sixth slaver called here. She too was a brig from Callao. The arts and enticements of the captain (or supercargo) being of no effect, she speedily took her departure for (as was supposed by Apolo) Bukapuka and Tokerau.

No effort has been spared by these men to enslave these inoffensive and Christian islanders; but owing to the firmness of the chief and teachers none have been as yet entrapped. I was however sorry to learn that two more vessels are expected here from Callao this month, professedly to take away the

remainder of the things saved from the wrecks. Now the remaining property is of no great value, in the estimation of Captain Williams. So that it is pretty clear that they are resolved once more to attempt to get slaves here.

These islanders do not appear to have suspected the true character of these men-stealers. The distance and their ignorance of the place deterred them. Of course I did all I could to enlighten their minds on the subject, and entreated the chief on no account to allow his people to be entrapped. A few days since a vessel brought a letter from the Rev. E. Krause of Rarotonga addressed to the various teachers and warning them against these slavers.

210 natives of Manihiki are at present on Fannings Island. They are daily expected to return. God grant that they may not fall into the hands of any of these slave vessels.

With grateful hearts for what we have again witnessed at Manihiki of the grace and power of the Gospel, we took our leave late in the afternoon of this interesting little island.

On Thursday March 5th, at dawn, we sighted Rakaanga. About 10 o'clock a teacher Tairi came on board. Tairi is their first and only <sup>teacher</sup> anchor. He is a mild and interesting man, about 50 years of age. He like his bretheren on Manihiki, has been eminently useful in his work. He stated that the three students for the Institution have been sent on to Aitutaki with their wives.

Tairi stated that in Novr last a brig arrived here from Manihiki and succeeded in obtaining 50 persons, entire families, to go to Callao, under the pretence of planting sugar cane, and with the promise of being brought back at the end of a year!

In the latter part of the same month (Novr) a brig and a bark arrived here from Callao; - last from Penrhyns. The bark was full of natives of that island. They succeeded in getting 30 persons at Rakaanga to go with them; - whole families as in the former instance.

In Feby. last another brig and another bark arrived here. The people mistook the bark for the "John Williams". The

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Tairi stated that in New Year a brig arrived here from  
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 possible, a citation giving the Microcopy and Roll nos, if possible  
 Consul at Tahiti dated 31.12.62 and 9.4.63 but need, if  
 I have copied out the two letters from the U.S.  
 Dear Sir,  
 Park was full of natives of that island. They succeeded in  
 getting 30 persons at Rakananga to go with them; - whole families  
 as in the former instance.  
 In Feb'y. last another ...  
 The people mistook the park for the "John Williams".

77 Arthur Circle,  
 Forest, A.C. 1.2603,  
 1978 January, 1978.

teacher and the chief innocently went aboard and were only too glad to get ashore again when they discovered their mistake. The chief had resolved that no more of his people should go. He gave a firm and decisive refusal to the repeated applications for men from these vessels. The men-stealers even (?) lowered their boat and brought it as near to the boat passage as they could. Several lads were enticed into the boat by ~~XXX~~ the gift of biscuits and trifling presents. When they had got seven ~~lads~~ in this way, they rowed off to their vessel, taking good care they should not get ashore again.

I greatly regret that 20 church members have been taken away in these vessels, and with the rest are doubtless doomed to hopeless slavery.

Tairi, like the other natives, had no idea whatever respecting the true character of these 4 slavers. Herein the Directors may perceive one serious drawback in these excellent men our Native Teachers. Their simplicity of character, their kindness to visitors, their utter ignorance of the depths of depravity and deceit in the heart of wicked white men, render them the easy dupes of designing characters.

..... We saw several fig-trees recently introduced from Fanning's Island. The natives did not know its name, but when told that it was the fig-tree mentioned in Scripture they were much pleased.

..... The gong was now beaten and we all assembled in the chapel. The building was tolerably full, notwithstanding those who have so recently left their homes probably for ever. After singing, reading of the Scripture and prayer I gave them an account of the spread of the Gospel in the islands of the West and Tokelau, &c &c and then I embraced the very favourable opportunity of explaining to them the real object contemplated by those unprincipled men who visit these islands for men, and entreated them not to be deceived by their fair promises. I felt bound to speak out as the people are so confiding and unsuspecting. After

Teacher and the chief innocently went aboard and were only too glad to get ashore again when they discovered their mistake. The chief had resolved that no more of his people should go. He gave a firm and decisive refusal to the repeated applications for men from these vessels. The men-stewards even (?) lowered their boat and brought it as near to the boat passage as they could. Several lads were enticed into the boat by NIXX the gift of biscuits and tawling presents. When they had got seven lads in this way, they rowed off to their vessel, taking good care they should not get ashore again.

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Tairi, like the other natives, had no idea whatever respecting the true character of these 4 slavers. Herein the Directors may perceive the serious drawback in these excellent men our Native Teachers. *Her name was Palar - see Venning and he acted as secretary agent for the French.* Their utter ignorance of the depths of depravity and deceit in the heart of wicked white men, render them the easy dupes of designing characters.

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an hour thus agreeably spent in their beautiful house of prayer, we remained awhile at the house of the teacher answering the questions put to me on various subjects.

I suppose that there are at Rakaanga at present 320 inhabitants. 60 are already at Fanning's Island, where they have been accustomed to go for years past, and where they have always been liberally treated by Messrs Bicknell.

.....

On Wednesday March 11th we sighted Penrhyns. Early on the morning of the 12th we went ashore at Omoko. Gave Ngatikaro his supplies; and found to our deep regret that he is the only teacher left at Penrhyn. The supplies for five teachers must be taken on to Rarotonga and given to the charge of the Revd Krause. We found the island to be depopulated.

In July last a French man of war, a steamer, arrived. Capt. Parke (?) acted as agent for the French government in getting away 130 natives. They are to work at Tahiti for a period of two years, and are then to be brought back to their own land. The Penrhyn natives are to be paid 4 dollars per month, - to plant sugar cane, taro, and coffee. The agreement is in possession of Ngatikaro.

At the close of the same month (July) a bark arrived here from Callao. Taoiti went in the bark with 200 natives. She went back to Callao direct.

Not long afterwards a brig came commanded by "George", a man named "Williamu" being supercargo. They stated their wish to get natives to go to "Titimatarangi" which is said to be in the neighbourhood of Fanning's Island, in order to collect "beche-de-mer". Kaiaau went with 35 natives, the most of whom expressed their intention of returning to Penrhyn's no more, on account of the scarcity of food here.

In Jany last a bark and a brig arrived together from Callao. The bark proved to be that ~~XXXXXX~~ which in the July proceeding had taken away Taoiti and the natives. Toa now went in the bark; Josia in the brig. Upwards of 50 must

have been taken away in these vessels. Another statement (in a letter) would render it probable that upwards of 80 left, but I think the latter statement is hardly consistent with the population of the islets where Toa and Josia laboured. Upon the occasion of our last visit here I got from the teachers a very minute account of the actual population of each islet. It is however very clear that more than 250 Penrhyn Islanders have been carried to Callao to work as slaves in the mines since we were last here. I regard it as almost certain that the 35 taken away professedly to collect "beche-le mer" are also to be sold into slavery. The same vessel touched at Bukapuka and the captain agreed to come back in a large vessel to take away the natives of that island; now for "beche-le-mer" a very large number would be absurd; it could only be to deceive them and then to dispose of them as slaves.

In Feby last another bark and another brig arrived. The latter anchored inside the lagoon. Neither vessel succeeded in their object; for not one of the few remaining natives left.

The entire remaining population scattered over the various islets is 88. "Beni", the white man who was agent to the slaving captains, is still living here. Unhappily the natives are so scattered over the various islets that it is difficult ~~XXXX~~ for them to meet on the Sabbath for worship. 40 people are still at Omoko with Ngatikaro. ... Ngatikaro reports that 30 church members are left ....

The cocoa-nut trees look healthy, They are now bearing fruit; there is every appearance of abundance. It was far otherwise when we were last here.

The great majority of those who have ~~XXXX~~ left departed in the full expectation of being brought back to their own land; although it is to be feared that very few ever will. They went with their teachers hoping to be cared for and instructed by them. How entirely deceived have the poor teachers been! I cannot help blaming them for not ~~XXXXXX~~

*Toa left 90 Paul dolls from Tepuka as a celebration to his people to the LMS*



writing for information either to Rarotonga or Aitutaki, ere taking such an important step. The few left behind seemed quite unaware of the true character of the parties who have desolated their island.

About 415 natives of Penrhyn have been removed since our last visit. Of this number 250 are clearly slaves, and perhaps those taken away by the French are not much better off.

The Callao vessels have taken from -

Penrhyns at least	250
Rakaanga	87
Bukapuka	140
Nieue (upwards of)	50
	<hr/>
	527

These we have traced out already.

.....  
foolishly made fast their canoe and five of them placed on deck. Drugged spirits were given to each of them, and they stood looking vacantly over the ship's side at their friends. The three below now found that the rope had been cut by the white men, and fearing for the safety of their companions on deck they shouted lustily to them to throw themselves overboard and swim to the canoe. One of the natives had been strong enough left to attempt to pull off his shirt, but was kept prisoner by two white men. The slave immediately made all sail and was speedily out of sight. One of the five is the favourite son and intended successor of the king, who is a very good man.

During our late visit to the Australian Colonies another of these Callao slaves called here. - The master now asked and sat at the table where I now write to make a false entry in the shipping list. He wanted 200 men but was of course refused. He passed on to Aitutaki where he got one of the principal chiefs on board with his wife and gave them a good dinner. He then produced some gold containing (as he said) \$3,000 to be

W.W. Gill, Mangaia, to L.M.S., 1.7.1863.

.....

You have already heard of the doings of the Peruvian slavers at Savage Island, Danger Island, Rakaanga, and especially at Penrhyns. Five of our teachers are sold into hopeless slavery, - and nearly 600 natives of the various islands where I have recently called in the "John Williams". We hear that many thousands of the peaceful inhabitants of these islands have been deceived by these men-stealers and sold into captivity on the Peruvian coast. From this island five have been stolen. On Sabbath Jany. 25th ult. a vessel hove in sight and was at first taken for the Missionary Bark. A canoe paddled by 8 natives put off. On nearing the vessel they discovered their mistake. But upon being assured that it was an American whaler the natives foolishly made fast their canoe and five of them clambered on deck. Drugged spirits were given to each of them, and they stood looking vacantly over the ship's side at their friends. The three below now found that the rope had been cut by the white men, and fearing for the safety of their companions on deck they shouted lustily to them to throw themselves overboard and swim to the canoe. One of the ~~XXXXXXIXX~~ five had sense enough left to attempt to pull off his shirt, but was kept prisoner by two white men. The slaver immediately made all sail and was speedily out of sight. One of the five is the favourite son and intended successor of the king, who is a very aged man.

During our late visit to the Australian Colonies another of these Callao slavers called here. - The master came ashore and sat at the table where I now write to make a false entry in the shipping list. He wanted 200 men but was of course refused. He passed on to Atiu where he got one of the principal chiefs on board with his wife and gave them a good dinner. He then produced bags of gold containing (as he said) \$3,000 to be

property of the said chief upon condition of his supplying the captain with 200 slaves. The chief's eyes were now open. To secure his own safety and that of his wife, he said that he would consider of it. Upon returning ashore he concerted measures with Rupe, the teacher, to disappoint the man-stealer. Notwithstanding all the precautions used, one brainless lad swam to the captain's boat little dreaming of the unhappy fate awaiting him. The bark then sailed for Apia where I saw her on the 8th of Feby. last. She afterwards filled up with poor natives. In April last Capt. Nicholls of the American whaler "Rainbow" (of New Bedford) saw her at anchor at Sunday Island. Through disease 130 had died, so that only 70 remained alive at that time.

It appears that 6 Peruvian slavers have been taken and condemned by the French authorities at Tahiti, and one by the natives of Rapa.

At the Marquesas 24 poor heathen went on board one of the slavers, supposing her to be an American whaler, and intending to pilot her in. To some of them drugged spirits were given. Others were invited to go below to an entertainment which was liberally spread out, but as soon as a good number were below, the fatal iron-grating was fastened down upon them! The few left in their senses on deck struggled for sweet liberty: - one of them drove the blade of a knife through the shoulder of a sailor and then jumped overboard. Five succeeded in making their escape; - 19 are in slavery. The poor heathen vowed that they would devour the crew of the first vessel they got into their power. It seems that the steward and another white man on board objected to taking the natives by force. The enraged captain put them on shore (in irons) of one of the most savage islands of the group, with strict injunctions to the natives to kill and eat them. Happily the poor fellows after losing everything they possessed escaped and got to Tahiti, where they told their tale to the French authorities.

Another painful occurrence was related to me by the Commander of the French steamer, the "Latouch Trivelle", - who has had the good fortune to capture one of the Peruvian slavers. It relates to the proceedings of the Callao slavers at "Rapa Nui" or "Easter Island", the natives of which are still heathen. Six of these vessels lay off the island at the same time; but not being successful in their endeavours to decoy the natives, the masters resolved upon a more enterprising line of action. The crews of the six slavers were put under the command of the senior captain, and pulled ashore in their boats all well armed. Quantities of biscuit and cloth were scattered on the beach to decoy the poor natives. About 500 of them came to divide the spoil. At length the appointed signal was given by the firing of the senior captain's pistol. The whole body of buccaneers now fired upon the unsuspecting multitude. Ten were killed and numbers wounded. A rush was now made by the invaders to cut off the retreat of the affrighted and defenceless natives. 200 captives were secured and put on board the boats, these were equally divided among the six vessels. - As the boats pulled along shore two lads were seen resting upon a point of rock. When the natives were scattered by the firing they betook themselves to the sea and swam for their lives. The slavers called to the lads to come into their boats; but as they did not seem inclined to obey, they were deliberately shot dead. As the boats passed on their way, numbers of men, women and children were observed to be hiding behind the overhanging rocks. These were all shot. - Next day they set sail with their unhappy captives. One of the captains, examining those who had fallen to his lot on the previous day considered that one poor old woman would not repay the cost of her keep, and therefore quietly ordered her to be thrown overboard.

And then as to their fate in Peru. They are employed at the mines, at plantation work, at digging guano; - indeed at all kinds of work. On one plantation 75 died in three

weeks from the effects of hard work, bad food, change of climate, and brutal treatment. Many are employed in digging guano in the Chin Chin Islands (I am not sure of the orthography). These poor natives are prevented from resting during the day by a collar with spikes. They cannot run away, as their legs are chained together. They are fed on rice of the worst description. If any die a hole is dug in the guano and the body thrown in, itself no doubt to become guano in due time. - - Many of the unhappy Chinamen who preceded them were driven to commit suicide by ripping up their own hands. As the Peruvians dare not now get slaves from China, they are trying the experiment of getting them from a much nearer source - by depopulating the South Sea Islands.

I have not drawn upon fancy for these particulars. These are sad sober facts. The question now is are these proceedings to be permitted to continue? Are the unoffending, Christianized, and to some extent civilized inhabitants of these islands to fall a prey to these horrid dealers in human flesh? Amongst the captives are five coloured preachers of the Gospel. - Unless the matter be speedily dealt with the captives must all perish. In two or three years hence not one will be left to tell the tale of woe. Natives of the Tropics for the most part, and unaccustomed to labor, they cannot long endure the barbarous treatment they receive. The silver and quicksilver mines, as well as the guano islands, of Peru will continually require fresh supplies of labourers. Are these fair islands to be made deserts for the purpose? Is the legitimate and beneficial traffic in oil, &c., &c., which has of late years sprung up between the islands and the Australian Colonies to be destroyed by this new species of slave trade? - The French authorities at Tahiti have acted vigorously in the matter. Will the English Government be unconcerned spectators of this foul outrage on our common humanity? The king of the island appeals to the Queen of Great Britain for the rescue of his son from slavery of the worst kind. Might not a protest be

forwarded by the British Government to Lima without delay, accompanied by a demand for the liberation of the captives?

Trusting that the cry of these poor Polynesian slaves will not be unheeded by the friends of liberty, humanity, and Christianity, and that some means will speedily be devised ~~XXX~~ to free the survivors.

I remain, my dear Doctor,

Yours very truly,

William Wyatt Gill.

Revd. A Tidman, D.D.  
Mission House, London.

.....

T. Powell, Pangopango, Tutuila, to LMS, 20.1.1870.

.....

A few years ago a vessel anchored off the principal settlement of Ta'u, the largest island of Manu'a. The captain told a foreigner who was residing on shore there at the time that he wanted two hundred natives and would make it worth his while to help to get them. He offered a considerable sum of money as an inducement. He proposed to send through him an invitation to the natives to come and dine with him, and to inspect some curiosities. A large number of armed men were to be kept out of sight, but ready for action if needful, and when a sufficient number of natives were on board, then to fasten down the hatches, and make sail. The bait did not take in this case, the man had too much regard for the natives. He made them acquainted with the scheme, and thus they were saved. The vessel and its captain were taken to Tahiti and safely deposited in the hands of the French Government. They were there regarded as a lawful prize, and 500 £ were awarded to the happens for their courage and From Derek Freeman afterwards however a reverse was experienced by these poor natives. The Peruvian government had taken a stand against this system of slavery, and as an earnest of their sincerity they chartered a vessel and re-embarked 350 natives of various islands of this ocean extending from Easter Island on the east to the Tokerau group at the west. Soon after leaving the coast smallpox and dysentery broke out on board, and before they reached Rapa 344 of these poor creatures had been committed to the deep after almost brutal treatment and gross neglect. On sighting the island of Rapa the Captain came down and as they approached the shore they looked on with mingled feelings,

T. Powell, Panagorou, Turtel, to L.A., 20.4.1952.

A few days ago a vessel anchored off the principal settlement of the island of Manu. The captain told a foreigner, who was residing on shore, that he wanted two hundred natives and would make it worth his while to help get them. He offered a considerable sum of money as an inducement. He proposed to send through him an invitation to the natives to come and dine with him, and to investigate their activities. A large number of natives were invited, and when a sufficient number of them had been invited, they were taken down the beach and made coffee with the natives. He made the man had too much regard for the natives. He made from acquaintance with the scheme, and that they were saved. It is noted that all the natives were saved.

Bbbbban Labour Trade



J.L. Green, Tahaa, to L.M.S., 1.4.64.

S.S.L.

.....

We arrived at Rapa after 6 days very unpleasant sailing. On our arrival there our worst fears were more than realized. We soon found that disease had been doing its work and more than one third of the population had been removed by death. The people complained of devastations which disease had made among them, but not one of them reflected on themselves for the .... of ..... which they did but alas which brought destruction on their land.

You are familiar with many details respecting the Peruvian vessels which have been infesting the islands of the Pacific, how they have depopulated some islands, have murdered many of the inhabitants of others and taken off perforce scores of the natives from others. One vessel was taken by the natives of Rapa and the captain and crew secured and with the assistance of foreigners resident on the island the vessel and its captain were taken to Tahiti and safely deposited in the hands of the French Government. They were there regarded as a lawful prize, and 600 \$ were awarded to the Rappans for their courage and skill. A short time afterwards however a reverse was experienced by these poor natives. The Peruvian government had taken a stand against this system of slavery, and as an earnest of their sincerity they chartered a vessel and reembarked 360 natives of various islands of this ocean extending from Easter Island on the east to the Tokerau group at the west. Soon after leaving the coast smallpox and dysentery broke out on board, and before they reached Rapa 344 of these poor creatures had been committed to the deep after almost brutal treatment and inhuman neglect. On sighting the island of Rapa the Captain bore down and as they approached the shore they lowered a boat, the natives from the shore looking on with mingled feelings,

soon however they were enlightened as to the nature of the visit of this ship, as the Captain and crew conveyed 16 poor emaciated human beings to their shore with a peremptory request to the people to receive them, at first they hesitated seeing disease was still abiding on them, the Captain replied saying he would not take them any farther if they would not receive them he would take them back to the vessel and then throw them overboard and they may swim for their lives. The Rappans then received them into their houses, the result is stated above, over one third of their population have been taken by the disease. The natives were from Tokerau, Nuia of the Tongan group, the Penrhyn group, Manahiki, Atiu and various other islands. 7 of them still remain on the island, they were very anxious for us to take them on board the J.W. to convey them home to their respective islands but they had ~~XXX~~ scarcely recovered from their sickness. As the Captain did not go ashore with me, for the satisfaction of these poor creatures I told them if they would pull out to the vessel the Captain would give them a decisive answer, which resulted in a <sup>e</sup>negative. I was quite of the Captain's opinion that it would have been unsafe. I remained on shore a few hours but the people who were scattered all over the island thro' fear of the disease did not assemble and after attending to the business part of the Mission I deemed it prudent to return to the vessel. They had contributed in their distress about 26\$ to the Society and about 6 or 8 cwt. of beans, which we were not able to bring away and for which no sale would be found, these poor dear people are willing to do something for the Society but they have no means. I had thought my sympathies towards the people were formerly strong but never did I feel so deeply as I left. When leaving the shores of Rapa on the 27<sup>v</sup> of Feb. I longed to remain in order to administer to their wants, and the despairing entreaties of "Esau" the Teacher to be removed to "Rapa nui" or Easter Island of which island they have traditions <sup>any accounts</sup> still ring in my ears and his words are still



G. Platt to L.M.S., Raiatea, 27.5.1864.

.....

On reviewing the year we have reason to be thankful and take courage. Mr. Vivian conducts the schools with vigour and is improving in the language. If all is well he will soon proceed to Porapora to examine into the state of affairs there, and D.V. will hold the anniversary of the Society. There the minister is to receive a certain portion of ~~the~~ what they collect. If they collect more he has more if less he has less. They have lately had much sickness there and many have died, but most among the children, a kind of bloody flux or dysentery, it has been going through different islands. It is said to be propagated from the vessels bringing back the kidnapped people of whom so many had died on their passage. A case or two occurred on Tahaa but Mr. Green's prompt measures appears to have arrested it. The few cases reported have all recovered except one. The few cases reported on this island, on the side nearest to Porapora have all got better. One child died, it had been ill some time before it was seized and had not ~~enough~~ strength to rally again. The fear seems to be over, all the patients on Porapora are reported as returning to health. It greatly alarmed the Raiateans. They called a national fast, a day of humiliation and prayer, the meetings for prayer were well attended and a deep seriousness pervaded all classes. This was so far encouraging. Our thoughtless and reckless young people have need of something to rouse them to serious thought. The repeated calls of the Gospel have not yet reached their hearts with sufficient power to change their conduct.

.....

J.C. Williams, Apia, to FO, 28.1.64

.....  
.... Many of the islands have suffered severely from vessels under Peruvian colors. The Master or supercargo and crews of one of these vessels went on shore on one of the low islands and drove some of the natives into their boats at the point of the Bayonet. At some of the islands the natives have been entrapped on board then urged to go below to sell what they had when the hatches were shut upon them & off sailed the vessel.

At Savage Islands (where there is a Protestant missionary) one vessel fired on the people in the Canoes, and killed one or two and wounded others, thus intimidating the islanders when they gave themselves up to the boats they then were carried on board and taken away.

Englishmen, Americans, Germans & Spaniards have been engaged in the kidnapping of the Islanders. One Patrick Cooney an Irishman who has been living amongst the natives for many years, has by persuasion (he knowing the language) & threats induced some natives to go, but when these means failed he has carried these threats into execution & fired on the defenceless natives & killed one or two and wounded others when they gave themselves up.

These nefarious proceedings have in many ways injured the trade of the islands rendering the natives extremely suspicious of all foreign vessels visiting them and unwilling to expose themselves to the danger of trading.

.... Rates of wages for laborers at Apia - one dollar per day either cash or trade. House servants - \$1-\$1.50 per week. Sailors - \$12-\$18 per month. House and ships carpenters - \$2-\$3 per day.

.....

John C. Williams, Consul Apia, to F.O., 1.7.1864. No.11.

.....

..... My Lord, I have had to charter the Brig Lalla rookh to proceed up to Danger Island to bring to this Port the crew and the missionary passengers of the bark "John Williams" , for she was wrecked at that island on the 17th of May. I sent by the Brig a certain amount of goods to be given to the inhabitants of Danger Island for their kindness to the shipwrecked party, these people have shown kindness and have not avenged the injury they have received from the Peruvian vessels for over one hundred and forty of their countrymen have been kidnapped and not one has to this date yet been returned.

.....

G. Platt, to L.M.S., Raiatea, 20.12.1864.

.....

The bloody flux has been amongst us during the year, the remains of what had visited the other Islands brought by the Kidnappers. It has taken off several children whose cases were very bad. Otherwise we have had but few deaths. So far as I know we were the last visited and hope it is over, on all the Islands.

.....

The mission ship in her stated voyage through the Groups of East and Western Polynesia treats these unfortunate individuals as an Angel of Mercy and kindly returns them to the homes of their childhood, a love of which notwithstanding their migratory propensities is with them a passion strong as death. On our arrival at this our first Station we found that the number which on the commencement of our missionary operations were 700 souls and watched over by 6 of our Educated Missionaries from the Institution at Rarotonga had been reduced to the very small number of 60, with one Teacher at their head. We also found here one hundred and eleven strangers, the remainder of a very large number stolen also from their Micronesian homes but from a burst of indignation from the Californian and Australia press seconded by very vigorous representations from the French and English Consulates in the Pacific Ocean had been returned by the Peruvian Government and stealthily thrown down anywhere to hide the wretchedness perpetrated against these unoffending Children of the Tropic Isles. From feelings of timidity our teacher at the instance of the original dwellers here requested we would distribute these new comers through our Mission Stations, for as yet they had seen under no Christian teaching. We felt no surprise at the wishes of

H. Royle to L.M.S., Aitutaki, 17.5.1865.

.....

.... We pursued our voyage through the Group towards Sydney. Our first Station was the Penrhyn Islands. We had on board the John Williams 60<sup>✓</sup> of these Islanders whom he (the Captain of the J.W.) had picked up in our Group and who had been taken from their homes by different Ship Masters under different specious pretexts and when they could no longer serve the cupidity of these task masters were cast off anywhere however distant from their homes and cast upon the cold charity of strangers. The mission ship in her stated voyage through the Groups of East and Western Polynesia treats these unfortunate individuals as an Angel of Mercy and kindly returns them to the homes of their childhood, a love of which notwithstanding their migratory propensities is with them a passion strong as death. On our arrival at this our first Station we found that the number which on the commencement of our missionary operations were 700 soul<sup>s</sup> and watched over by 6<sup>✓</sup> of our Educated Evangelists from the Institution at Rarotonga had been reduced to the very small number of 60<sup>✓</sup>, with one<sup>✓</sup> Teacher at their head. We also found here one hundred and eleven<sup>✓</sup> strangers, the remainder of a very large number stolen also from their Micronesian homes but from a burst of indignation from the Californian and Australia press seconded by very vigorous representations from the French and English Consulates in the Pacific Ocean had been returned by the Peruvian Government and stealthily thrown down anywhere to hide the wretchedness perpetrated against these unoffending Children of the Tropic Isles. From feelings of timidity our teacher at the instance of the original dwellers here requested we would distribute these new comers through our Mission Stations, for as yet they had been under no Christian teachings. We felt no surprise at the wishes of



these poorly provided for inhabitants of such miserable abodes scarcely over a few scores of fruit-bearing Cocoa Nuts ....

And then the naked forms, wild appearances, strange and uncouth utterances of these new comers effectively enlisted our sympathies and we prevailed upon our good Captain to take as many of their number as would of their own accord follow us in the Mission Barque. We departed thence with 35 and succeeded in finding for them very comfortable location with our excellent Teachers at Takaanga and Maniiki. ....

The Peruvian slavers had been here (Manihiki and Raka-hanga) in force 3 in November and all at one and the same time. Foiled in their wicked attempts to entrap the trusting Christians by the watchful vigilance and earnest solicitude of our Teacher Aporo whose life was seriously imperilled by his praiseworthy efforts. They lingered so long spell bound by the greed of gain that they were caught in the web of their own make. Two of their number became total wrecks of the reef of Maniiki. The kindest attentions were shown to those unfortunate men, a generous hospitality afforded them at once, their property was carefully collected and honestly restored to them, the most valuable of which they put on board the remaining slave ship, the rest we saw carefully collected under sheds and scrupulously guarded by the natives that at any time when called for they might restore it to the rightful owners. Here was a total adherence to the divine injunction. ....

W.W. Gill, Mangaia, 27.4.1865, to L.M.S.

S.S.L.

.....

The king's son, Davida, who you will remember was stolen away in Jany 1863 by the Peruvian slavers, has just returned from Tahiti after his prolonged absence. We feel not a little thankful to God for sparing his life and permitting him to return in peace. God grant that his heart may be brought under the full power of the Gospel, so that he may hereafter prove a blessing to his people. You may imagine the aged king's joy at once more beholding the face of his boy.

.....

J.L. Green, Tahaa, to L.M.S., 8.6.1865. S.S.L.

.....

I have recently heard from Rappa & am pained indeed at the intelligence received. You will remember the report I gave you of our visit there, how that I deemed it unsafe to remain long on the Island, which opinion is now confirmed. The Island is almost depopulated. Report states that there are only about 20 male adults left on the Island. This state of affairs has been produced by the cruel conduct of the Peruvian Captain mentioned in my report.

.....  
telling him he should not go to follow.  
let his people go, upon which he should not care to follow.  
He proved faithful to the trust reposed in him, and resisted  
all the temptations the slaves could think of - faithfully  
warning his people against leaving their homes. He also  
warned the other teachers against going, but in vain -  
they went - he and his people remained. When all the  
teachers had gone he gathered together all the remaining  
natives from the various islands, and put them in battle  
array at Haka, his stronghold. They came out to meet  
the people of the place. The headmen were left with  
the Gockans and soon afterwards with Ngatikere. At first  
standing these warriors all night have been ill, but  
missionary visited them eventually, but for many days they  
were left alone. When we reached Ngatikere we were not  
aware that the party we called his was really his own  
people, by whom he had stood when others were leaving  
encouraging their flocks into slavery. It is reported  
during the few hours of the "John Willison" stay at  
Island to find out from the natives the right of the  
The strong party at Haka had really no business there  
and that is the party who opposed Ngatikere. Ngatikere's  
own party among them he had laboured for many years.

J. Chalmers, Journal, 4.7.72-13.9.72.

.....

.... I had a better opportunity of enquiring into the troubles which arose with Ngatikaro. Formerly there were several teachers at the Penrhyns - one after another left for various reasons. Two went to Callao being enticed thither by the slavers' gold. Not content with going themselves they induced their people to accompany them, the slavers promising the teachers so much extra gold for all who should follow. Ngatikaro alone remained true to his post and his people. The slavers presented gold to him, telling him he should have it all if he would only let his people go, even though he should not care to follow. He proved faithful to the trust reposed in him, and resisted all the temptations the slavers could think of - faithfully warning his people against leaving their homes. He also warned the other teachers against going, but in vain - they went - he and his people remained. When all the teachers had gone he gathered together all the remaining natives from the various islands, and got them to settle down at Omoka, his settlement. They soon outnumbered the people of the place. The newcomers quarrelled with the Omokans and soon afterwards with Ngatikaro. Notwithstanding these quarrels all might have been well, had a missionary visited them annually, but for many years they were left alone. When we removed Ngatikaro we were not aware that the party we called his was really his own people, by whom he had stood when others were leading or encouraging their flocks into slavery. It is impossible during the few hours of the "John Williams" stay at the island to find out from the natives the right of a case. The strong party at Omoka has really no business there and that is the party who opposed Ngatikaro - Ngatikaro's own ~~XXXX~~ people amongst whom he had laboured ....

.....

E. L. ...

PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

Stewart, Watt. "Chinese Bondage in Peru: a History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874". Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1851.

.....

25-6. Reasons for re-passing law permitting importation of coolies.

26-7. Text of 'Chinese Law' first passed Jan. 15, 1861.

27-8. Law not approved by Marshall Castilla and sent back to Congress with his veto and a number of critical observations.

28. "However, despite the President's opposition and his strong veto message, the Congress repassed the law, and he was obliged to accept it. He promulgated it on March 14, 1861 [El Peruano; Periódico Oficial, March 23, 1861].

The bar to further introduction of Asiatics thus removed, recourse was first had to the Hawaiian Islands for securing the laborers that were needed. One J.C. Byrne was granted the right to transport to Peru for the period of five years for agricultural and domestic service, colonists of both sexes from "the islands of the southwest of the Pacific." The Hawaiians brought in under this arrangement were ill adapted to the conditions of work in Peru. Said Duffield, "They all died like flies that had been poisoned." [Duffield, A.J. "Peru in the Guano Age", p.42]. Various decrees were issued in an effort to correct abuses, but without effect [El Peruano; Periódico Oficial, Jan.3 and Feb.20, 1863]. The Hawaiian chargé protested, as did also the French [Arona, Juan de. "La inmigración en el Peru", pp.36-38].

Juan Antonio Ribeyro, an influential Peruvian, writing to the chief minister on April 27, 1863, respecting this immigration, declared that it had produced no advantageous effects and that the statistics of mortality of the unfortunate islanders had "mounted to a figure that causes as much compassion as astonishment." [El Peruano; Periódico Oficial, May 2, 1863, p.199]. On the following day appeared an executive decree on the subject. Reference

29. was made to grave excesses which could not be stopped, then followed these words: "the Government suspends absolutely the concession of licenses for the introduction of Polynesian colonists." The licenses already issued were to be used with great care [El Peruano; Periódico Oficial, May 2, 1863, p.200]. An editorial which appeared in El Peruano, the official periodical, simultaneously with the published decree, stated that the Hawaiians were even less well adapted to the needs of the Peruvian fields than were the Chinese. It asserted that, born where Nature permitted them to breathe in idleness, they lacked "sufficient morale to devote themselves to labor, for they have not learned that this is the fatal law of man in society and that without labor, there is no society, there are no virtues, there is no religion."

Statistics concerning the number of Hawaiians brought to Peru are quite scarce. A Peruvian writer of a later date, citing no authority, says that "of 750 Polynesians who entered the country the greater part died." [Rio, Mario E. del. "La inmigración y su desarrollo en el Perú", pp.50-1]. In any event, the number could hardly have been large. The government repatriated a considerable group of those yet alive when the traffic was discontinued, paying the planters S/50.00 (soles) as indemnity for each Hawaiian [Arona, Juan de. "La inmigración en el Peru", pp.36-8. [The Peruvian sol (sun) during the greater part of the period of this study was valued at about ninety-six cents, U.S.].

In the early 1860s, then, Peru resumed the importation of Chinese coolies. ....

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Encl. 2

PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE

The Times, June 25, 1863, p. 9, col. 5.

PERUVIAN SLAVERS.— The Peru correspondent of the New York Herald writes as follows:— "The principal subject of discussion in Peru at present is the new species of slave trade carried on with the islands in the South Pacific. The Government had conceded licenses for the introduction of laborers from these islands, and advantage was taken of this to commit every kind of deceit and fraud, and when these failed force was used to carry off [sic] the simple-minded natives. Seven vessels continued their forces to commit a great outrage. The captains set on shore 80 armed men, with orders to conceal themselves, and upon a signal were made to advance, to fire a volley, and to surround the natives, they in the meantime enticing them to the beach with beads and other articles of traffic. A large number being gathered together, the signal was made, and 10 were killed and wounded by the discharge, and over 200 taken prisoners and divided among the vessels. One, the Cora, was afterwards captured by the natives and given up to the French at Tahiti. Upon the boats becoming known

PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE, contd.

The Times, 25.6.63

to the Government of Peru, it suspended at once all  
business, and required that vessels arriving should have  
no intercourse with the shore until it had been  
made manifest that the laborers came under  
contracts, and that no violence had been committed  
before or during the voyage. Jose Rodriguez, captain  
of one of the vessels, the *Guillermo*, has been arrested,  
and awaits trial, and the others, when captured, will  
be treated in the same manner."

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Penman Slaves

Article in SHM for 20.6.63 gives details of a Public Meeting held in the Inverce Hall on 18.6.63 to protest against the activities of the Penman slavers.

Rev. W. Murray stated that "only this year as many as from 1500 to 2000 hapless beings, collected from the different islands, have been conveyed to South America".

25 vessels fitted-out for this trade at Callao, where cleared to "live helmers".

Depot for slaves on Easter Island (already depopulated by 7 slaves acting in concert), where a schooner conveys them to the mainland.

Vessels said to be in whole or in part owned by a mercantile house in Callao, in turn alleged to be connected with a Liverpool firm.

Takes taken, according to Murray, -

From Fitiolarge - 100      Pitohofuka - 60

Kirikiki & Botatanga and Nangarogaro - 40

Tokelau - 60      Savage Island - 160

In addition to these, 1,500 - 2,000 taken from other islands.

Alleged total is to land total of 10,000.

PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE

COOK ISLANDS

London Missionary Society Letters

244. Krause, 23.1.63.

Peruvian Government has sent about 14 vessels to get workers, promising good conditions, but the workers are in fact taken as slaves. French took action, and captured 2 of the slavers. Krause has written to Earl Grey, and to teachers in West to warn them.

246. W.W. Gill, 21.3.63.

His contact with Peruvian slavers: statistics on their 'hauls', achieved by lies and deceit.

Niue	50 persons
Pukapuka	140 "
Rakahanga	87 "
Penrhyn	250 "

plus a few shanghaied from Mangaia.

248. Krause, 10.4.63.

Loss of H.M.S. 'Orpheus' had made it impossible to do anything about slavers thus far.

250. W.W. Gill, 1.7.63.

Slavers were resisted at Mangaia, and also at Atiu, by chiefs and teachers. Great death rate among slaves from disease. French captured 6 slavers; people of Rapa took over one. Asks English Government to act fast to save people from mines, guano islands, etc. Many die with the work, poor food, etc.

263. Royle, Aitutaki, 17.5.65.

Says Peruvian ships, in response to pressure, are dumping captives at random: 700 people on Penrhyn had been reduced to 60, but he found 111 Micronesians had been dumped there and he took 35 of them to Manihiki and Rakahanga.

295. W.W. Gill, 18.8.71.

In 1862, Pukapuka had population of 600; in 1871 only 340 due to slavers, etc.

Populations in 1871  
Marke 300  
Mitiaro 180

Penrhyn	300
Manihiki	407
Rakahanga	400
Pukapuka	340

388. Chronicle of the L.M.S., 1890 (Letter files destroyed).

Harris, Jan., 1890.

Penrhyn annexed during past year: population of 373 now more prosperous than for many years.

Pukapuka has 489 people: Atiu 1,218 and Mitiaro 223 people.

London Missionary Society Journals

W.W. Gill, Samoa to Mangaia, 1863 (Feb.9-Mar.23).

The twenty vessels engaged by Higginson (a British subject) and 'Santigo' to get 10,000 Polynesians for Peruvian mines, enticed people aboard and persuaded them to sign documents, but was in fact a slave trade. Tells of depredation of Eåster Island, also Niue and Penrhyn. Gill saw a slaver at Apia getting information on other islands, warships, etc. A slaver had gone to Pukapuka, and got chiefs to countenance their taking 80 people away, under false pretences (in January, 1863). One of mission teachers and his wife went too to provide for their spiritual needs. Fifty more went on another vessel under false pretences, and on this ship, ten children were also kidnapped. All were young and strong men ... [somewhat inconsistent?]. Vessels expected to return for some reason in March and April.

A slaver got two of the teachers on Penrhyn, and tried to use them to entice Manihiki people. They had failed numerous times in their attempts on Manihiki, because the chiefs would not allow people to leave. In Nov. 1862, slavers took ~~44~~ 50 people - entire families - from Rakahanga, and a further 30 from there later in the same month.

Penrhyn had been depopulated: a French warship took 130 to work at Tahiti for 2 years, and in all, about 250 people had been carried off to Callao, leaving only 88 people on the island.

Callao barks got - 250 from Penrhyn.  
87 from Rakahanga.  
140 from Pukapuka.  
50 or more from Niue.

.....

*Entered*

Beaglehole, Ernest, Social Change in the South Pacific. Pp.95-96.

.....

P.95. Probably the greatest worry of the Cook Islands mission during the period up to 1867 was caused by the visits to the majority of the islands staffed by Rarotongan native teachers of Peruvian slave vessels. About 1860 agricultural developments in Europe suddenly made Peruvian guano valuable. The fertilizer was also extensively needed in the new cotton plantations of Peru, Fiji, Tahiti and Queensland. Peru experienced an agricultural boom in cotton and sugar. To work the plantations cheap labour was required. Between 1860 and 1863 Peruvian ships sailed the Central and South Pacific collecting by guile, deceit or any other means something like 10,000 Pacific Islanders to work in the mines, on the plantations and among the guano deposits. All but a fraction of these islanders died in Peru. The slave trade was abandoned because the islanders proved poor workers, because many Pacific Islands became almost literally depopulated and because Britain and France joined in bringing pressure on Peru so that the latter officially banned blackbirding and slave raids. (Footnote: See T. Dunbabin, Slavers in the South Seas, pp.250-264.)

The Peruvians were of course too sensible to try to raid islands such as Rarotonga, Aitutaki or Mangaia where there were resident white missionaries. They did call at Mangaia, however, when W.W. Gill was absent, but their main efforts were directed towards other islands in the Cook Group: Atiu, Pukapuka (Danger Island), Tongareva (Penrhyn), Manihiki (Humphrey's Island), on each of which there were resident London Missionary Society native teachers whose headquarters were in Rarotonga. Krause was well aware of the Peruvian danger to the relatively unsophisticated native teachers and to the completely unsophisticated natives of these mission islands. He wrote on January 23, 1863, 'The greatest trial has come from the Peruvian Government who have sent out a number of vessels (14?) to the various groups around us to entice the people to go to work for them under promise of good wages. The poor people were not aware that their destination was the Chincha Islands, (Footnote: The guano deposits were on the Chincha Islands off the coast of Peru, about 120 miles south-east of the port of Callao, from which all the slavers cleared. Dunbabin,

ibid, on p.261 on the authority of the missionary Samuel Ella, puts the number of Peruvian ships involved in the slave traffic at twenty-five), there to work in hopeless servitude in the worst possible kind of slavery. The French Government has captured two of these vessels. I have informed His Excellency Sir George Grey (who seems to take a great interest in our mission according to his letters to me) and I have written to each Island where I could get an opportunity, warning our dear Native Teachers of that danger.' (January 23, 1863, B.29, F.3, J.C.) Unfortunately Sir George Grey was unable to do anything to help, mainly, as he explained to Krause, because of the loss of his only warship the Orpheus, wrecked on Manukau Bar with the loss of 181 lives early in 1863. Having thus warned everyone, Krause felt ~~that~~ he could do no more.

William Wyatt Gill, however, took more vigorous action. By accident he was at this time visiting the outlying mission stations on the mission vessel John Williams. He collected information at each island about the slave raids and wrote two damning reports about the Peruvians which he forwarded to the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society with urgent suggestions that the Society should appeal to Her Majesty's Government for immediate action. It is probable that Gill's reports spurred the British Government to make successful joint representations with the French to the Peruvian Government.

.....

Peru, Abduction of Islanders for

1863, Nov. 2. Letter from Rev. William Wyatt Gill to British Consul, Tahiti.

[Records satisfaction felt by the King of Mangaia on learning of the safety of his son Davida and his three companions. Also gives further details of natives carried off from the islands of Raka-anga, Bukapuka and Niue for Peru. He lists the Penrhyns, 250 taken, including four teachers named; from Rakaanga 87; from Bukapuka 140, including a teacher, a native of Rarotonga. "They were entrapped by an Irishman, who goes by the name of "Paddy", and who has, with his Paumotu wife, lived for years on Danger Island. "Paddy" is a well-known character, having lived on Tahiti, Fanning's Island (for a short time only), and has even found his way to Aitutaki and Palmerston's and Samoa. 80 natives went off in a brig, with Ngatimovari, somewhere about Jany. or Feby. last. Not many days after a bark commanded by Grasson got 60 more under pretence of going with "Paddy" to Palmerston's to make cocoa nut oil for J. Brander Esqre. The use of Mr. B's honourable name deceived the remaining teacher and the people".]

*Entered*

PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

RAPA

Hanson, F. Allan, Rapan Lifeways: society and history on a Polynesian Island. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1970. Pp.32-33.

.....

P.32. A moment of triumph brightened Rapan history in 1863. A Peruvian blackbirder (slave ship) called at Rapa for provisions and perhaps in hopes of procuring slaves for labor in South America. The Rapans were aware of the criminal acts of blackbirders among the Pacific Islands, and resolved to act. They smuggled weapons aboard and captured the ship. The Rapans sailed the blackbirder to Tahiti and turned its captain and crew over to [P.33] French justice (Caillot 1932:76-77, Messenger de Tahiti, 21 and 28 February, 1863.).

But the nightmare was not yet over. The following events occurred later in 1863.

The Peruvian Government took a stand against this system of slavery [blackbirding]; and as an earnest of their sincerity they chartered a vessel, and re-embarked 360 natives of various islands, extending from Easter Island, on the east, to the Tokelau group, on the west. Soon after leaving the coast, small-pox and dysentery broke out on board, and, before they reached Rapa, 344 of the poor creatures had been committed to the deep, after almost brutal treatment and inhuman neglect. On sighting the island of Rapa, the captain bore down, and as they approached shore, they lowered a boat, the natives from the shore looked on with mingled feelings. Soon, however, they were enlightened as to the nature of the visit of this ship, as the captain and crew conveyed sixteen poor emaciated human beings to their shore, with a peremptory order to the people to receive them. At first they hesitated, seeing disease was still abiding on them. The captain replied, saying, he would not take them any farther, and, if they would not receive them, he would take them back to the vessel, and then throw them overboard, and they might swim for their lives. The Rapans then received them into their houses, and the result is ... over one-third of their population have been taken off by the disease (Green 1864a:267).

The loss was closer to two-thirds - from about 360 in 1862 to 120 in 1867 - by the time the tragedy was done (see Table 1, page 30.).

.....

*The descendant of one returned to visit his relatives on Fakaofu, in the Tokelau, on the Whitney land expedition vessel (g.v.) - Personal communication from Dr. Tony Hooper, Auckland*

*Entered*

The Boston Herald (Boston, Mass.) 4.1.64.

.....

Barbarity

The following extract from a letter written by Capt. Blake of whaling bark Active, of New Bedford, shows the base and totally unprincipled manner in which the natives of the South Sea Islands, who have been kidnapped by the Peruvians, are treated. Cocos is an island in the Pacific Ocean, about 400 miles northeast of the Galapagos, in lat. 5 north, long. 87 west.

On the 21st of October I anchored at Cocos Island, and to my surprise I saw several tents and plenty of people on shore. I took a boat and went to see who and what they were. I saw there were white men among them, and plenty of Kanakas. I took one white man into the boat and he told me they were there in distress and in a starving condition.

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



The Boston Herald 4.1.64, cont'd.

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

.....

C.P.I. Note by Ed. The text of this report is one item in a newspaper column headed "Barbarity", the rest of which is irrelevant [i.e. to the purposes of the Editor, but not necessarily for someone engaged in investigating the Peruvian Slave Trade].

.....

*Handwritten note: This is on the text in the another column*

THE TIMES

PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE

Checked for the years 1861; 1862; 1863; 1864 (to Sept.30) - by Index.

1861 Oct.19, p.10, col.5 - News about Peru.

1863 Feb.2, p.7, col.6 - Peruvian guano.

June 25, p.9, col.5 - Peruvian slavers.

*(copy in file)*

*fixed*

1864 Jan.14, p.10, col.6 - Peru news.

June 7, p.10, col.2 - Seizure by Spain of guano islands.

July 14, p.10, col.2 - Peru and Spain.

July 29, p.5, col.2 - Peru and Spain.

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

Not checked but following noted from other references.

1863 April 15.

June 11.

June 19.

June 20.

Crocombe, R.G. "Land Tenure in Rarotonga". Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U. Part II, Chapter 2, page 5, of draft.

.....

"In 1862 Peruvian slavers raided the Northern atolls [of the Cook <sup>main</sup> Group]. Within three years the depredations of the slavers and epidemics had reduced the population of Penrhyn from 700 to 60/[Royle to LMS 17.5.65 SSL]. Immediately prior to the raids the people were living in three groups on separate islets. The majority of the people in two of these groups embarked for Peru, but none of the third group left. The leader of the group who remained behind thereupon brought the remnants (the majority of whom were presumably women and children) to live in his village [Chalmers, Journal 4.7.72 and 13.9.72/SSJ]. The exercise of land rights was further complicated when a ship repatriating Gilbertese slaves dumped 111 of them on the island in 1865 [Royle to LMS 17.5.65 SSL]. Some of these were later taken to Manihiki and Rakahanga and many were finally repatriated to their home islands [Bingham to Clarke 7.2.78 ABCFM]. However, during their long sojourn on Penrhyn they must have acquired some rights to the use of land, and they undoubtedly produced offspring whose descendants remain on the islands today [The languages and physical features of the Penrhyn (and some Manihiki and Rakahanga) people show distinct Micronesian traits].

Slavers removed over a hundred people from Pukapuka in 1863 [Beaglehole, Ethnology of Pukapuka, p.6], but attempts to entice people from Manihiki failed. At least a hundred were taken from Rakahanga [Captain Henry Richards to Rear Admiral Kingcombe 8.5.63], and of these one group of eighty-seven was comprised of "whole families" [Wyatt Gill, Journal 9.2.63 to 23.3.63]

SSJ]. As none of these people ever returned [with the single exception of one Pilato of Pukapuka], their land rights must have been assumed by those who remained behind, though just how they were allotted is not known. Only a handful of slaves were taken from the Southern Group, and as these were young men they would have little effect on land distribution.

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*Entered*

PERUVIAN LABOUR TRADE

MARQUESAS ISLANDS

Letter from a Hawaiian missionary in the Marquesas - name of writer and date not known (as I have only a photocopy of a single sheet numbered 3134) but could be ascertained from Margaret Titcomb, of the Bishop Museum, who sent it to me.

.....

Blackbirders

Some ships sailed hither from Peru to seek laborers and take them to Callao. Two came here to Hivaoa on the month of October 1862 and then sailed to Fatuiva. No men were taken by the two ships.

On December 1862, another ship arrived at Nuuhiva and was recognized by the Frenchmen as a blackbirder and they were considering arresting it. So the ship sailed to Uapou. Twenty men and a woman of Uapou were kidnapped and the ship departed. In the month of January, 1863, the same ship arrived at Puamau and six men were kidnapped from here. It sailed later to Tahuata where a man of the place was taken.

The relatives of the kidnapped lament those who were taken way and say, "If the Spaniards come here again, they shall all be killed."

The French steamer is looking for those stealing ships and if they are caught they will be confined and become their property by captivity. This is like the war fought over the negroes in America.

I am writing you this letter before the Morning Star arrives, so that it will not return without one from me to you.

.....

Recd. 18th April.

+ 2 - Mr. Chew (?)  
ack. ack.

Consulate of the U. States of America  
Tahiti, Society Islands. Decbr. 31st 1862.

Sir:

I have the honor to report to your Excellency a matter of vital interest and some importance, that occurred in our quiet Waters, and which respectfully is submitted to your Knowledge.

It seems that a number of vessels under the flag of "Peru" have lately sailed from Peruvian ports with written authority from their government to proceed to the Polynesian Islands to which also the Society Islands belong, in order to engage emigrants under written contracts (a blank form of which is here enclosed) to work on plantations in Peru. The number of said vessels according to <sup>re</sup>rapports (sic.) here afloat amount to about from 10 - 12 of all kind & size. One of said vessels, a Brig with the name of "Mercedes de Wholey" belonging to an English resident in Callao was taken upon the high seas as a "Pirate" by the French steamer Latouche Treville & brought here, whilst having 151 such emigrants on board. The supercargo an American of New York, with the name of Byron Lee Knight (sic.), succeeded in making his escape by running off in the boat usually attached to the ~~XXXXXX~~ main vessel & succeeded in entering some Island, into which the steamer could not follow him. The Brig was then taken, a prize crew placed on her, and the same is now awaiting an indictment. Among the officers of said vessel there is an American by birth, a Philadelphian he is the physician on said vessel, Dr Joseph Brolasky, who claims the protection of the U. States; he produced to me a U.S. passport, the description of which corresponds with the proprietors person and signature, is issued by and at the time of Mr. Daniel Webster as the Secretary of State;

with which said passport he (the Doctor) travelled all over Europe, returned in 1852 to the U. States, and departed again in 1860, to Callao, where he has ever since lived, practising medicine. He swore before me & signed, that he has never changed his nationality, that he is a Union man, that he bears true allegiance to the constitution of the U. States and also always has done so. He claims to belong to a respectable family in Philadelphia, that his father is still living there & that his grandfather is one of the patriots that came with Kosciusko to America. There can be hardly any doubt left that he is an American born man, judging him from his manners, customs & conversation. Up to this time, I have made no official step, for I shall guide myself with all possible prudence & dignity, and since I have heard that the french Colonial government intends giving up the accusation of treating the vessel and her crew as "piratical" and that they will treat them as having committed a great breach of some french laws against the custom & passenger act, all of which remains to be seen. I thought it to be advisable to await some distinct development before I would rapport finally upon said matter. A few weeks before the arrest of the above mentioned Brig as a Pirate, on or about the commencement of November last past, two other Peruvian vessels entered this port in order to obtain supplies, one large Brig under the command of an American master with the name of "Penney" but which said Brig was released for want of proper evidence and a Peruvian Bark "Serpiente Marina" formerly the Baltimorien bark "Lomare" which is still here detained on suspicion of being engaged in the same traffic. Said Bark has had a large supply of rice & other victuals & also bunks allready made up in the steerage on board. There are no Americans on board said vessel, but one Englishman, who graduated as a Physician in some medical college of Pennsylvania a few months ago. From the conversation & expressions had & made of those who have

engaged to emigrate to Peru by written contracts they have been forced by no means to leave their country but engaged on their own free will & accord for the reason that they dislike the French. Up to this time nothing has transpired that could give light upon the subject matter and I shall be happy to rapport the further development of the cause at an early opportunity, whenever occasion & importance offer themselves.

I am Sir your most obedt. servant

Joseph Vandor

U.S. Consul

Hon. Secretary of State  
Washington.

(One Enclosure: an 'Empresa de Colonizacion': 'Contrato' made by Saw, Supervisor of the Serpiente Marina with N.M. on the 20 October 1862). This is in the Black Folder file.

against these vessels. There are quite a number of Americans engaged in said trafficking. Among them are the Barbera Dueser, Dr. Brodsky of Philadelphia and Arch Leo Knight of New York of the Brig. De Weiss, and J. Nicola of Mass., carpenter of the Cora & several others not yet known here. Nearly every one of them claimed the protection of the U.S., but none of them except Dr. Brodsky possesses the least to prove their American nationality. The case of them are in pool, the Grand Jury having found in each case a Bill for "seizure illegales of articles of merchandise or persons" against them, up to this time no Bill has been found against Dr. Brodsky but I am afraid that they will, the matter complicating itself from day to day.



Rec'd 3rd May.

Consulate of the U.S. of America,  
at Tahiti, February 26th 1863.

Sir,

I refer respectfully to my Dispatch of the 31st of December 1862 in which I had the honor to inform the Hon. State Department of the engaging native emigrants from the Society and Polynesian Islands by Peruvian vessels. From the french Colonial government sources we learn here that from 17-18 such Peruvian vessels have left their coast and have engaged emigrants either by contract or by force, and those acts of those vessels, created an immense excitement among the french and the native population of the 283 so called Society Islands. Four of them have been taken prisoners either by the french or Kanaka govts and brought here. The Bark Serpiente marina - the Brigs Mercedes de Wholey & the Barbara Gomez (which was, however, released) and the Brigantine Cora are awaiting their trials. The expedition is here regarded as a national one, and was fitted out with the grant of the Peruvian government, however the french have committed mistakes and cruelties against these vessels. There are quite a number of Americans engaged in said trafficking. Jenny, master of the Barbara Gomez, Dr Brolasky of Philadelphia and Arth Lee Knight of New York of the Brig De Wholey and J. Nicols of Massa., carpenter of the Cora & several others not yet known here. Nearly every one of them claimed the protection of the U.S., but none of them except Dr Brolasky possesses the least to prove their American nationality. The most of them are in gaol, the Grand Jury having found in most cases a Bill for "arrestation illegales et sequestrations de personnes" against them, up to this time no Bill was found against Dr Brolasky but I am afraid that they will, the matter complicating itself from day to day more and more.

The French Governor and her Britannic Majesty's Consul of Tahiti have ordered a fleet of their respective nationalities to cruise in the South Pacific and to make a stop to the traffic, said fleet will reach our waters within two months if not sooner. Several Peruvian vessels have been seen navigating under the flag of the U. States and have been detected but none of them captured and all of those have been brought to this port were in possession of the U.S. flag. The french have only a small Airso (?) steamer of 250 horsepower armed with four side guns and an old store ship of two guns in these waters to protect their interests and these two vessels have committed several mistakes in catching the bukaneeers as they are called here - the foriners (?) being too hasty. One of said Peruvian vessels, a Bark, the name of which being unknown for the reason that those vessels don't carry their names on any visible part of their hulls, had the impudence to enter the port of Huaheina under the flag of the U. States, commencing to engage emigrants and when detected by the pilot left in a hurry said port & went to Sea but was not seen since.

Under these abovementioned facts I deemed it my duty to give notice to our ministers Messrs Th. H. Nelson and to Ch. Robinson in Peru and Chily, also to the Commander of any Squadron or vessel of War at Panama to dispatch a man of War to these waters in order to protect our American commerce not only against the Peruvians, but also agst any outrages which might be committed by vessels of others, agst our flag, and by the multitude of here residing secession Americans who run away from Oregon or California to escape the draught in their States. No American man of War has touched here since 1846 and American interest has undergone a severe trial on account of it.

Joseph Vandor, U.S. Consul to Hon. S. of State, Washington.

.....

Recd 6<sup>th</sup> July

Consulate of the U. States of Am.  
Tahiti, April the 9th 1863.

Sir:

I refer respectfully to <sup>personally 26<sup>th</sup></sup> my former two despatches of Decbr. 31st 1862 and February 21st 1863, in which I have had the honor to inform the Hon. State Department about Peruvian vessels engaging natives of the Society & the Polynesian Isles as laborers to work in Peru.

This matters have come to a development, and it was proved in the recent trial, that these natives have been mostly enticed to come on board of those vessels, when they were made intoxicated and then carried off against their wills (Kidnapped.) The Criminal Court sentenced the Captain of the Peruvian Brig Mercedes de Wholey to five years, and Lee Knapp the supercargo (an American by birth) to ten years imprisonment with hard labor. Dr Brolasky the physician of said Brig & the American who claimed the protection of the U. States, appeared as principal witness in the case, but he contradicted himself such, that before he could leave the Court was arrested under the charge of having committed perjury. I went to the Governor stating to him the disadvantages of a Judicial proceeding, - wherein five different foreign languages had to be translated and requested him for the sake of American nationality if for no other reason to overlook Brolasky's mistakes, which was done and Brolasky released from prison, but ordered to leave the Island with the first vessel, which he did.

Enclosed to my present communication I have the honor to transmit to you a Tahitian Newspaper giving an inside (sic.) how these Peruvians manage to obtain emigration.

I am Sir your most obedt. servt. Joseph Vander  
U.S. Consul.

Hon. Secretary of State, Washington.

Message de  
Taiti, 28.2.63:  
H. 33-40

Joseph Vandor, U.S. Consul, Tahiti, to State Department,  
Washington, 20.9.1863.

.....

There are two mysterious vessels now in harbour, they were both Peruvians but condemned on account of their being engaged in the late Kidnapping of natives, one of them is a fine Brig Misti formerly a Chilien man of war, she is repairing, belongs to Mr. Hart. The other is for sale belongs to an English and an American secessionist, there are conflicting reports about these two vessels, - they are under no flag up to this time. I watch their proceedings very closely day and nights, and shall prevent any rebel outfitting if in my power.

To day I called upon the ..... Foreign Relations and communicated to him the information contained in the letter. H.E. expressed both great surprise and regret of this abuse of our flag by vessels claiming a Peruvian nationality and assured us that the government of Peru would take most efficient measures to prevent its repetition and to punish this offence. He regretted that Mr Consul at Tahiti had not furnished us with the names of the vessels and requested us as a favour to communicate the information if I obtained it, and stating that he also would make enquiries for that purpose.

The importation of the "Kanakas" into Peru has proved an entire failure. They are found unable as well as indisposed to endure the restraints incident to their new (?) position. The mortality among them has been very great. Many dying from diseases incident to the climate and more from "Nostalgia" or the inclination to return to their native country. The Government of Peru will undoubtedly terminate the traffic without any other interference while the late capture and condemnation by the French authorities of one of the vessels engaged in the business will involve its pursuit in so much hazard that Capitalists will cease to look to it as a profitable

Peruvian Labour Trade

1865

W.W. Gill, Mangala, 27.4.1865, to L.M.S.

S.S.L.

.....

The king's son, Davida, who you will remember was stolen away in Jany 1863 by the

and shall prevent any rebel outfitting if in my power. I watch their proceedings very closely day and night, two vessels. - they are under no flag up to this time. successions, there are conflicting reports about these is for sale belongs to an English and an American war, she is reported, belongs to Mr. Harp. The other of them is a fine Brig Misti formerly a Chilean man of being engaged in the late kidnapping of natives, one were both Peruvians but condemned on account of their there are two mysterious vessels now in harbour, they

.....

Washington, 20.9.1863.

Joseph Vantor, U.S. Consul, Tshiti, to State Department,

Peruvian Labour Trade

1863

Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Peru, 1826-1906. No.M.36: Nov.6,  
1860 - June 12, 1863.

no. 81.

Legation of the United States,  
Lima, April 28th, 1863,

Honorable William H. Seward,  
Secretary of State.

Sir,

By the mail steamer from the South arriving yesterday I received a letter from the United States Consul at Tahiti, Society Islands, informing me of the abuse of the United States Flag by two Peruvian vessels in the waters of those islands engaged in the business of importing the natives of some of the Polynesian Islands into Peru as colonists under definite contracts for labor, in all aspects similar to the coolie trade (so called). To day I called upon the Minister of Foreign Relations and communicated to him the information contained in the letter. H.E. expressed both great surprise and regret of this abuse of our Flag by vessels claiming a Peruvian nationality and assured me that the government of Peru would take most efficient measures to prevent its repetition and to punish this offence. He regretted that the Consul at Tahiti had not furnished me with the names of ~~of~~ the vessels and requested me as a favour to communicate the information if I obtained it, and stating that he also would make enquiries for that purpose.

The importation of the "Kanakas" into Peru has proved an entire failure. They are found unable as well as indisposed to endure the restraints incident to their new (?) position. The mortality among them has been very great. Many dying from diseases incident to the climate and more from "Nostalgia" or the inordinant desire to return to their homes. This has rendered their domestication here entirely impracticable and will undoubtedly terminate the traffic without any other interference while the late capture and probable condemnation by the French authorities of one of the vessels engaged in the business will involve its pursuit in so much hazard that Capitalists will cease to look to it as a profitable employment.

I transmit a copy of the letter from the Consul at Tahiti and shall also communicate the information it contains to Rear Admiral Bell of the United States Flag Ship Lancaster now in Callao.

I have the honor to be sir

Your obedient servant

Christopher Robinson.

.....

Consulate of the United States of America at  
Tahiti, Society Islands, February 25th 1863.

Sir,

I have the honor of advising you respectfully that two Peruvian vessels a Bark and a Brig have been seen in the waters of the Society Islands, which when demanded for their nationality hoisted the flag of the United States and even engaged Kanakas to work on plantations in Peru. One of them the Bark had even the impudence to enter the port of Huahine under our flag and when detected by the pilot to be a Peruvian left in a hurry said port and went into sea.

I therefore in the interest of our nationality request to be despatch one of our men of War to Tahiti <sup>in order</sup> to make a stop to such proceedings.

I am Sir your obedient servant  
Joseph Vander  
U.S. Consul

Hon. Christopher Robinson  
Envoy Extr. & Minister Plenipotentery

Lima.

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No. 24.

Legation of the United States  
Lima, May 6th 1863.

Honorable William H. Seward  
Secretary of State.

Sir,

In my despatch No.81 I communicated to the Department the information I had received from the United States Consul at Tahiti respecting the abuse of the United States flag by Peruvian vessels in pursuit of "Kanakas" for importation into Peru under Licenses granted by the government, and also stated the interview I had with the Minister of Foreign Relations upon the subject. The government had also received from the French Minister Resident here information of outrages committed by some of the adventurers in some of those islands, equaling in atrocity and cruelty the worst features of the African slave trade.

It affords me the most unqualified satisfaction that the government of Peru acting upon these representations of fraud and violence have by a supreme decree absolutely prohibited the concession of any further license for the introduction of these "colonists" and to insure if possible the proper punishment of those who have been guilty of abuses it is ordered by the same decree, that the vessels to which previous licenses have been granted shall upon their arrival in port be placed in incommunication, neither the crew or colonists being allowed to land till a satisfactory examination shall ~~shall~~ prove the latter are voluntary immigrants under all the formalities required by the license and that there has been during the voyage no violation of any law.

The decree will most effectually protect our flag from any further outrage by persons engaged in this repulsive and mercenary business.

I have the honour to be sir  
Your obedient servant

Christopher Robinson.

.....



No.91.

Legation of the United States  
Lima, May 28th 1863.

Honorable William H. Seward  
Secretary of State.

Sir,

In my despatch No.84 I communicated the information that the Peruvian Government had prohibited the further introduction of "Colonists" from the Polynesian Islands.

The licenses for this traffic were granted under representations made by the applicants and confirmed apparently by satisfactory evidence, that the natives of some of these Islands under the Protectorate of no foreign power were anxious to remove and to employ themselves in labor in some Country possessing a genial climate, where they might enjoy the blessings of civilisation, learn the arts of industry and relieve themselves from the destitution which surrounded them.

The Government, anxious to increase the labor of the country, believed the importation of the "Canacas" as they were called would furnish a source of supply for that which was so necessary to develop and extend the agriculture of Peru. The licenses granted for this purpose to the owners of vessels, carefully provided that the importation should be in conformity with law and under contracts with the natives entirely voluntary and thoroughly explained to and understood by the immigrants.

These provisions however carefully made were not sufficient to restrain the avarice of unprincipled speculators. Upon some of the Islands the natives were forcibly seized, tied and carried on board of the vessels. In other instances they were allured on board by artifice, then confined and afterwards transported at the will of their captors. In some of these latter cases I understand the vessels displayed the United States Flag and the officers and crews represented themselves as whalers and desirous to trade with their intended victims. Fortunately these facts were made known to the Government of Peru, previous to the arrival of these vessels here, and the further traffic was absolutely prohibited, and the measures adopted, alluded to in my previous dispatch to prevent the consummations of this daring and reckless villany.

The Diplomatic and Consular Bodies resident here warmly approving the hearty zeal and earnest determination of the Government to vindicate its honor, to punish the guilty and to shield the victims of these outrages from further violence and oppressions, have addressed a circular to the Minister of Foreign Relations, a copy of which, together with the reply of Mr. Rebeyro in translation I herewith transmit.

I have the honor to be, Sir

Your obedient Servant

Christopher Robinson.

.....

In Lima on the 13th of May 1863, the Diplomatic and Consular Corps resident in this Capital having met,

Declare,

- 1st. That the Diplomatic and Consular Corps deplore equally with the Government of Peru, the abusive and horrible Acts which have taken place in the Polynesian Islands to obtain Colonists against the laws and the licenses granted, to transport them to this Republic.
- 2nd. That they take pleasure in declaring their satisfaction with the reasonable provisions adopted by the Government of Peru to prohibit this traffic which was conducted in violation of the laws and licenses authorised.
- 3rd. That they take great pleasure in assuring their respective Governments upon informing them of this matter, that, in consequence of the measures adopted by the Government of Peru, morality, justice and humanity will be vindicated.

Afterwards they resolved that this Act should be copied in the record book of the Diplomatic Corps, and after being signed a copy should be presented to H.E. the Minister of Foreign Relations of Peru and President of the Counsel, by the Charge de Affaires and Consul General of France and the United States of Columbia, nominated for that purpose, each one of the members of said Corps transmitting another copy to his Government.

Christopher Robinson, Envoy Extray. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States.

Thomas A. Eldredge, Charge de Affaires & Consul General of Hawaii.

Edmund P. de Lesseps, Charge de Affaires & Consul General of France.

William Stafford Jerningham, Charge de Affaires & Consul General of Great Britain.

John Duarte da Tonte Ribeyro, Charge de Affaires of Brasil.

Prospero Pereira Gamba, Charge de Affaires & Consul General of the United States of Columbia.

Celidonie Morra, Charge de Affaires of Ecuador.

Wm. Brauns, Consul General of Hamburg.

Jose Canavaro, Consul General of Italy.

Gregorio Escardo, Consul General of the Argentine Confederation.

Antonio Eduardo de Ornellas, Consul General of Portugal.

John Gildimaster, Consul General of Bremen.

Jose Aicenti Oyague, Consul General of ~~Frankfort~~ Belgium.

Adam Grenlichi, Consul General of ~~Hanover~~ Frankfort.

Theodore Muller, Consul General of Hanover.

Francisco Oyague, Venezuela.

.....

Lima May 22nd 1863.

The undersigned Minister of Foreign Relations of Peru, has the honor to address the Diplomatic and Consular Bodies resident in this Capital by the worthy organ of the most excellent Minister ~~of the~~ Plenipotentiary of the States of the Union to express to them in the name of his Government the sentiments of gratitude for the declaration which they have been pleased to make to it recognising the benevolent dispositions of this Cabinet to terminate according to rules of law and of justice the unfortunate events which have occurred on account of the introduction of Colonists from Oceania. Peru and its present administration have lamented together the abuses committed in the introduction of the Polynesians which was permitted with the laudable intention of working our fields, improving with the blessings of civilisation the condition of beings so unfortunate, and its pain has been so much the more profound as that under the shelter of licenses lawfully bestowed for purposes legal and fruitful in good results, the dignity of the Country, its honor and its justly established credit have, as it is asserted been compromised by some. The Government has fulfilled its duties, commanding judicial investigations to be made upon the offences

denounced, and prohibiting hereafter an immigration insufficient for the change which should be effected (opperarse) in the national agriculture. It will not tire in the adoption of measures, which at the same time they consult rights lawfully acquired, may leave satisfied the laws of humanity, the prescriptions of social morality and the respectability of the Peruvian nation. May it please Y.E. Mr. Minister to place this communication in the knowledge of both bodies as a token of mutual obligation and esteem, and to accept the assurances of distinguished consideration with which I am Y.E.'s attented and obedient servant.

John Anth. Ribeyro

To H.E. the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, Decano of (Corps Diplomatico) Diplomatic Body.

.....

John W. Lovejoy, U.S. Consul, Callao, to Secretary of State, Washington, Pa. 30, 30.5.63.

In my last Annual Report, I called the attention of the Government to the fact that quite a number of brigands, so called, had been reported here from some of the Polynesian Islands. Subsequent to that several other vessels arrived here with some hundreds more of these unfortunate people. When the privilege of importing these people was granted by the Peruvian Government it was intended that they should be introduced as voluntary apprentices, similar to the Chinese Coolies. But it having been ascertained that the privilege had been grossly abused by those engaged in it, and that instead of being voluntarily these unfortunate people were

John E. Lovejoy, U.S. Consul, Callao, to Secretary of State, Washington,  
No.29, 1.10.62.

.....

Report on Trade. ..... The importation of laborers from China under the name of Coolies has been carried on here for a number of years. The prohibition, by a recent Act of the Congress of the United States, of this trade being carried on in American vessels, shows in what estimation this trade is held by our Government. A short time since a cargo of human flesh of all ages and both sexes arrived here from one of the Islands in the Polynesian group. They are brought here under the name of colonists by permission of this Government and sold for a term of years. Those already here have sold from one to three hundred dollars each.

Several other vessels are fitting out for this trade and the appearances are that it will be quite extensively carried on. This may differ from the African slave trade but it has very much that appearance, only the subjects of this trade are of considerably lighter complexion than the negro.

As the American people have contributed liberally for the purpose of civilizing and Christianizing the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, I thought it my duty to advert to this subject in my Report.

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John E. Lovejoy, U.S. Consul, Callao, to Secretary of State, Washington,  
No.30, 30.9.63.

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In my last Annual Report, I called the attention of the Government to the fact that quite a number of Emigrants, so called, had been imported here from some of the Polynesian Islands. Subsequent to that several other vessels arrived here with some hundreds more of these unfortunate people. When the privilege of importing these people was granted by the Peruvian Govt it was intended that they should be introduced as voluntary apprentices, similar to the Chinese Coolies. But it having been ascertained that the privilege given had been grossly abused by those engaged in it, and that instead of coming voluntarily these unfortunate people in many

instances were stolen, by being induced to come on board the vessels by deceitful promises, and then retained by force. The grant has been revoked and quite a number of them have been re-purchased by the Government and sent back to their native islands. Large numbers of them died after arriving in this Country and they were found to be perfectly useless as laborers. I am sorry to say that some American Citizens were engaged in this inhuman traffic.

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Deatchies from U.S. Consulate in Callao,  
1854-1906. No. M. 155: Roll 4, Jan. 1, 1861 -  
Oct. 11, 1864.

*Entered*

Morrell, W.P., Britain in the Pacific Islands. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960.

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172. As the supply of sandalwood declined, some sandalwooders turned to other things. Robert Towns, for instance, in 1863, transferred his capital, vessels, and employees to cotton-planting in Queensland. His terms of 10s. a month for twelve months' service are said to have been honestly put to his men. This was not so in the scandalous scheme in which at least one British subject, J.C. Byrne, who had a dubious reputation as a promoter of emigration to Natal in the forties, was a prime mover, for carrying off Pacific islanders to labour on the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations of Peru. In 1862 and 1863 between fifteen and twenty ships set sail from Callao and carried off over 2,000 islanders from Easter Island, Hivaoa in the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Niue, Fakaofu in the Tokelaus, Ata in the Tonga group, and several of the Ellice Islands. One vessel was seized by the people of Rapa: the French punished the captain and interpreter-pilot and set free the Tuamotuans on board.<sup>2</sup> (G.C. Miller (Consul at Tahiti) to Russell (29 Nov. 1862 and 3 Mar. 1863): FO 58/96. My authority for the figure 2,000 is the Seventieth Report of the L.M.S. (1864), p.8. It can only be a rough estimate.) But few of the others ever saw their homes again. One hundred and ten Gilbertese, for example, were landed on Tongareva. When, under ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ British and French pressure, the Peruvian government forbade the introduction of Pacific islanders by decree of 28 April 1863, attempts to ship them back to the islands were largely frustrated by deaths from smallpox and other diseases.<sup>3</sup> (On this matter I have been able to consult notes on the dispatches of the British charge d'affaires in Lima made by Dr. J.G.S. Ward.) The Peruvian raids showed how easy was the transition from labour trade to slave trade.

The Queensland trade ought not to be put on the level of the Peruvian. ....

270. (The Gilbertese) were raided by the Peruvians in 1863 and the labour traders from Tahiti and Fiji were not much better. At these small, densely populated islands, recruits were easily got.
265. A Samoan teacher was placed on Atafu in 1861 and another on Fakaofu in 1863.<sup>3</sup> (Samoa Reporter, Jan. 1859; Rev. S.J. ~~WKKX~~ Whitmee, A Missionary Cruise in the South Pacific (Sydney, 1871), p.5.) Nukunono, on the other hand, had a Roman Catholic mission and the chief told Wyatt Gill in 1863 that 'his land was too small for the two religions to exist in peace'.<sup>4</sup> (Journal of Wyatt Gill and P. Gould Bird in MS. Journals, South Seas (L.M.S. Archives). Monfat's Samoa gives no date for the Tokelau mission.) In this very year the Tokelaus suffered severely from the Peruvian ~~raids~~ raids: over a hundred (according to one authority 247)<sup>5</sup> (Rev. J.E. Newell (Report of Sixth Meeting of Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895: Sydney 1896), p.607.) were taken from Fakaofu and smaller numbers from the others.
276. The Peruvian raiders of 1863-4 levied a heavy toll, carrying off three-fourths of the population of Nukulaelae and 180 from Funafuti - though only three (two of whom escaped) from the alert people of Nukufetau. This disaster perhaps prompted the landing of Samoa-trained teachers in 1865 on these three islands and on Vaitupu and Nui.<sup>1</sup> (Rev. A.W. Murray, Forty Years' Mission Work, pp.380 ff.)
286. Later the chiefs were persuaded to transfer part of the population, with Tairi as teacher, to Rakahanga instead of going over when food was short.<sup>1</sup> (Fifty-seventh Report of the LMS (1851), pp.7-8; Gill, Gems from the Coral Islands, vol.ii, pp.266-75.) Three teachers were sent to Tongareva or Pehryhn in 1854 and one to Pukapuka (Danger Island) three years later. But Manihiki and Rakahanga remained the most successful of these northern missions. Pukapuka was poor and backward, Tongareva faction-ridden and hard to manage.



Buck, Peter H., *Ethnology of Manihiki and Rotapoua*.  
Isolated islands like these were easy game for the labour, ~~xxxxxxx~~ traders. The first, Captain English of Fanning Island, was a good employer. He supplied the Manihikians with clothing, seeds, and cuttings of plants suited to the soil.<sup>2</sup> (Memoranda of Sterndale (23 Mar. 1874): A. to J.H.R., N.Z., 1874: A-3B.) The Peruvian raiders who appeared in November 1862 were ~~rem~~<sup>m</sup> of another ~~kixx~~ kidney. Tongareva was the worst sufferer, having only 88 left in March 1863 of a population of perhaps 500; but ~~ix~~ Pukapuka and Rakahanga suffered severely also. Only at Manihiki did the chief and teachers remain unyielding despite offers of money and cloth.<sup>3</sup> (Report of W.W. Gill's Voyage from Samoa to Mangaia, 1863: MSS. Journals, South Seas (L.M.S. Archives.)  
297. But Niue was not untroubled. In 1863 a Peruvian raider carried off a hundred young men to dig guano in the Chincha Islands.<sup>1</sup> (Seventh Report of the L.M.S. (1864), pp.9-10). Others went to work on the German plantations in Samoa ....

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Buck, Peter H., Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 99. Honolulu, B.P. Bishop Museum, 1932.

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10. Henry Williams, Sr., informed that three Peruvian slavers visited the atolls, but as one ship came within an ace of being wrecked by drifting onto the reef, the slavers withdrew without effecting depredations as they did in Tongareva. ....

In marked contrast to scoundrels of the Hayes type were men of the stamp of Henry Greig and George Ellis. Greig employed Manihikian labour on Fanning Island. He married a Manihikian woman of high rank, and his descendants on Manihiki are respected people. George Ellis was a trader on Manihiki and taught the people much in the way of useful crafts. His two sons, Ben and Dan, are leaders on the atoll.

.....

Henry Williams Sr, the son of Capt. Williams blood, was Governor of the atolls, and the sickness soon spread over islands. A small staff took it first to Nukunui, another one to Ua-pou. The situation was horrible; no doctor, no medicines, no understanding of individual or collective protection. The epidemic lasted for 6 months, killing a quarter of the population of both islands, in spite of the complete cessation of the slave trade.

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*Entered*

Rollin, Louis, 1929. Les îles Marquises.

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(268) In December, 1862, Peruvian ships had carried off by force Indians from Easter Island, then from the Marquises, to send them to work as slaves in the mines of Peru. The Adelante took 5 men from Hatiheu and the Empresa 18 at Ua-pou, 6 at Puamau and 6 at Omoa.

The French Government made the necessary representations and obtained the repatriation of these unfortunate people.

(269) The Marquisienne brought the 5 men taken at Hatiheu back from Tahiti in July 1863.

The despatch ship Diamant repatriated the Indians taken by the Empresa direct from Callao. She arrived at Taiohae on the 20th August. Unfortunately during the passage a small-pox epidemic broke out aboard and they had the unlucky idea to debark the sick and hospitalize them in the then uninhabited pavillon of the administration. The missionary Brother Forgeot was charged exclusively with their care. The curiosity of the Indians overcame the measures of isolation, and the sickness soon spread over Taiohae. A small craft took it first to Hakauï, another one to Ua-pou. The situation was horrible: no doctor, no medicines, no understanding of individual or collective protection. The epidemic lasted for 6 months, killing a quarter of the population of both islands, in spite of the complete devotion of the missionaries.

.....

*Hatiheu or Nukukiva Puamau or Hiraoa*

*Omoa or Fatukiva*  
... complete devotion. Brothers and brothers rivalled in eagerness. Brother Forgeot attracted attention by his self-sacrifice; particularly charged with the care of the sick of Taiohae, he did not cease to risk his life to ease their pains. The small-pox epidemic lasted from August 1863 to March 1864.

Entered

Caillot, A.C. Eugene, 1910. Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale. Paris, Ernest Leroux.

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(373) While the king was dying, his people lay helplessly on the ground hit by a terrible plague. The smallpox had broken out on the island. This is how it happened: about December 1862 the Peruvian pirates had carried off a great number of natives from the different archipelagos of East Polynesia whom they had transported to Peru and sold as slaves. After complaints by the French Government, the Peruvian Government ordered the repatriation of these poor men. On August 21st, 1863, the vessel Diamant was brought to anchor in the Bay of Taiohae (Nuku-hiva).

It brought back several natives captured by surprise. But during the passage from Callao to Taiohae the smallpox had broken out aboard and the natives had caught it.

Most of them had died during the voyage, the others were disembarked in spite of the representations of the Resident. Now the plague spread over the island with an unheard-of speed and the whole population got it with the exception of the Queen Vaekehu (the widow of Temoana) and her two daughters. The inhabitants of the island of Ua-pou were also contaminated, the germ had been brought over by a small craft a few days after the arrival of the Diamant. It seems impossible to describe the scenes that happened then. They had no care and the sick bathed in the sea to abate the fever which devoured them. The Catholic Mission did not spare itself in nursing the sick in complete devotion. Fathers and brothers rivalled in eagerness. Brother Florent Forgeot attracted attention by his self-sacrifice; particularly charged with the care of the sick of Taiohae, he did not cease to risk his life to ease their pains.<sup>1</sup> That abominable smallpox epidemic lasted from August 1863 to March 1864.

[374]

The number of the victims was considerable, 1,560 out of a population of 3,800 souls.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The French Resident wanted to reward him for his eagerness: he asked for the cross of the Legion d'Honneur for Father Forgeot. But the Government did not find one to give to the man who had devoted himself to this cause - so far from the eyes of the civilized world.

<sup>2</sup> 960 for the island of Nukuhiva; 600 for Ua-pou.

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[373] On the 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1863, the King Temoana died of pleurisy.

Baptized in 1853 and a great supporter of the Christian religion. But he only enjoyed his authority through the support of the French since before they came there were several other chiefs on Nukuhiva more powerful than he was.

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Caillot, Histoire de l'île Oparo ou Rapa.

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(76) So about 300 of them lived as happy as could be on their small island, when, to their misfortune, a merchant ship under Peruvian flag put into port in February (?), 1863, in the bay of Ahurei, to carry off the inhabitants and sell them as slaves in Peru. But those guessed the project of the pirates and on the order of their King Apahama (77) they seized the ship, the captain and the crew; then, some of them, under the command of one of them named Mairoto, led the ship to Tahiti; where they handed over to the French authorities who rapidly treated the captain and his crew as they deserved.

Unfortunately the Peruvians had left to the Indians - before their departure - the germ of a terrible ~~XXXXXX~~ illness, dysentery. When it broke out the Indians had not even the resources to go for help to Tahiti, because their only big ship (the one they had seized) had already departed for Tahiti. So the illness spread amongst them and nearly all were attacked. They had neither doctors, nor medicines to take care of themselves. Most of them perished in that epidemic and not more than 128 natives were left on the island.

.....

He is probably the son of Te Pito, who was the uncle of King Maurata, since Maurata was the son of Kaiakoi-iti, and according to Lapelin (p.109), Te Pito was the brother of Kaiakoi. The young King Gregorio was an intelligent boy who died, a catechumen in the Mission, when he was twelve, "equally regretted by the missionaries and his subjects" (Roussel, p.330). Speaking of the same little king, a missionary states that the natives felt for him a certain respect: "they would bring him the first yams, but he never interfered in affairs of state" (Gillivray, p.205).

With the death of Gregorio the lineage came to an end. The missionaries mention no successor ....

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Metraux, Alfred, 'The Kings of Easter Island'. Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol.46 (1937), pp.41-62.

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41. The old social order of Easter Island was entirely destroyed in 1862 when Peruvian slave traders kidnapped a large part of the population. They took to the guano islands on the Peruvian coast, not only the king with many members of his family, but a considerable number of the learned men (maori). This catastrophe, disrupting the traditional mode of living, created a state of anarchy and confusion. But the events of the years that followed were even more disastrous. Epidemics of smallpox, introduced by a few kidnapped men who returned to their island, decimated the population and struck the last blow to native culture. When the missionaries arrived in 1864, they were surprised to meet such complete ignorance of the past, such rudimentary forms of religion, and such disintegration of social organization. They found only the ruins of a civilization. In large measure they too accelerated the change and the obliteration of the past.

Maurata, who is always designated as the last king of ~~XXX~~ Easter island, died in the guano islands. But when the missionaries went to Easter island there still existed a shadowy kingship incarnated in the person of a 12-year old boy. He was Gregario, probably the son of Te Pito, who was the uncle of King Maurata, since Maurata was the son of Kaimakoi-iti, and, according to Lapelin (p.109),

Te Pito was the brother of Kaimakoi. The young King Gregorio was an intelligent boy who died, a catechumen in the Mission, when he was twelve, "equally regretted by the missionaries and his subjects" (Roussel, p.358). Speaking of the same little king, a missionary states that the natives felt for him a certain respect: "they would bring him the first yams, but he never interfered in affairs of state" (Ollivier, p.255).

With the death of Gregorio the kingship came to an end. The missionaries mention no successor .....

Lapelin, T. De, "L'Ile de Pâques," Revue maritime et coloniale, vol.35, pp.105-125, 526-544, Paris, 1872.

Roussel, Hippolyte, "Ile de Paques," Annales des Sacres-Coeurs, Nos.305-309, pp.355-360, 423-430, 462-466, 495-499, 1926.

Ollivier, Pacome, "Lettre du R.P. ... au T.R.P. Euthyme Rauchouze," Annales de la propogation de la foi, vol.39, pp.250-259, Lyon, 1867.

(13)

work and domestic service. Under this decree in April 1862, J. O. Byrne applied for and received a license for six years to introduce such labor. Byrne was an Irishman who since 1857 had been a French citizen. He already had introduced 5,000 Pacific island laborers into New Caledonia. In Peru he formed a company to carry out his plans, and by June 1862 had fitted out a ship to carry 170 natives. Natives of both sexes were to be engaged for five years and to be returned at the end of that period, if they so desired, at the expense of the purchaser of the contract.<sup>29</sup>

Other recruiters received licenses, and by the end of 1862 eighteen or twenty vessels were engaged in bringing laborers to Peru. A traffic on such a scale was fraught with danger for the natives, and in November 1862 Lord Russell, the Foreign Secretary, asked the British Consul at Lima "to watch carefully the proceedings of these vessels".<sup>30</sup>

The need of such a warning was borne out by events. One Peruvian vessel, partly owned by a British merchant, was reported to have kidnapped natives at Pohnia and other islands;<sup>31</sup> two were seized by the French and their masters charged with illegally carrying natives from islands under the protection of France.<sup>32</sup> At Haha, in the Austral group, the natives themselves seized a recruiting vessel.<sup>33</sup> It was at this island that a Peruvian vessel put ashore three hundred natives suffering from smallpox. Many of them were too weak to move out of reach of the tide, and all but nine either drowned or died from the disease, but not before they had infected many of the natives of the island.<sup>34</sup> Reports were



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Parnarby, O.W., Britain and the Labor Trade in the Southwest Pacific. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1964.

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12. When the Peruvian government abolished slavery in ~~1855~~ 1855, Chinese coolies supplied immediate labor needs. A decree of January 1861 provided for the introduction of "natives of the South Western Islands of the Pacific" for agricultural work and domestic service. Under this decree in April 1862, J.C. Byrne applied for and received a license for six years to introduce such labor. Byrne was an Irishman who since (13) 1857 had been a French citizen. He already had introduced 3,000 Pacific island laborers into New Caledonia. In Peru he formed a company to carry out his plans, and by June 1862 had fitted out a ship to carry 170 natives. Natives of both sexes were to be engaged for five years and to be returned at the end of that period, if they so desired, at the expense of the purchaser of the contract.<sup>29</sup>

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The need of such a warning was borne out by events. One Peruvian vessel, partly owned by a British merchant, was reported to have kidnapped natives at Penrhyn and Niue islands;<sup>31</sup> two were seized by the French and their masters charged with illegally carrying natives from islands under the protection of France.<sup>32</sup> At Rapa, in the Austral group, the natives themselves seized a recruiting vessel.<sup>33</sup> It was at this island that a Peruvian vessel put ashore three hundred natives suffering from smallpox. Many of them were too weak to move out of reach of the tide, and all but nine either drowned or died from the disease, but not before they had infected many of the natives of the island.<sup>34</sup> Reports such

as these led the British consul at Lima to protest to the Peruvian government, which agreed to stop the traffic.<sup>35</sup>

The missionary societies had organized meetings of protest in the Australian colonies,<sup>36</sup> and the Anti-Slavery Society (14) had petitioned the Foreign Secretary,<sup>37</sup> who was able to reply that the Peruvian government had ceased to issue licenses to recruit, and that the natives already in Peru would be returned to their islands.<sup>38</sup> Yet more than two years later, the London Missionary Society in Samoa protested that 370 natives taken from the Ellice Islands, and 530 from Niue, Puka Puka, and Tokelau, had not been returned. The Aborigines Protection Society forwarded this information to the Foreign Secretary, Stanley, who on enquiry, found that of 1,200 islanders taken to Peru less than one hundred had arrived back in the islands. An attempt had been made to send back about 871 natives in three vessels. Of 360 sent in the Barbara Gorner only 40 arrived alive at the Gambier Islands. Two hundred of the 482 sent in the Adelante died of smallpox and were thrown overboard, while the remainder were abandoned on a small isolated island. Of those that remained in Peru, two-thirds had died of smallpox, but one hundred were reported to be living contentedly.<sup>39</sup>

The matters arising out of the Peruvian labor trade had been handled by the Foreign Office. The Colonial Office had no wish to become involved. Rogers, the Permanent Under-Secretary, was on his guard against any suggestion that the most effective action open to the British government was to annex the islands where the labor trade was carried on - a suggestion which he read into the correspondence received from the Foreign Office on the Peruvian labor trade.<sup>40</sup>

But this correspondence, together with that from the governor of New South Wales on the same subject,<sup>41</sup> reminded the Colonial Office that it had received no reply from the Treasury to the despatches of the previous year about the expenses clause in the draft bill. In its long-delayed

reply<sup>42</sup> the Treasury refused to meet any expenses under (15) this clause except those connected with bringing witnesses from the islands. These would be met only if the prosecution had been instituted by the order of the governor of the colony; but as a check on the amount to be spent, and as the Treasury considered the suppression of crime in the Pacific to be the responsibility of the Australasian colonies, it thought the local government should share the expenses equally with the imperial government.

Rogers deplored this "haggling spirit". He believed the imperial government was responsible for the actions of British subjects in the Pacific islands, and to throw even part of the cost of prosecution on the colonial government was for the imperial government to abandon its duties. If the imperial government would not meet the full cost, he would prefer to let the bill lapse.<sup>43</sup>

One other matter had passed between the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office at this time. The Colonial Office - still laboring under the illusion that slave trade remedies could be applied - had suggested that the commanders of Her Majesty's ships should be furnished with slave trade warrants. In answer to this the Foreign Office had pointed out that "Great Britain has no power by Treaty to interfere with any but the African slave trade".<sup>44</sup>

.....

(59) ... To the emigration commissioners the Pacific (60) islanders were no different from the Indian coolies; both were emigrant colored laborers. Indian coolie labor had been regulated successfully; if Pacific island labor was regulated according to the same principles, it would prove equally beneficial to all parties.

This was also the opinion of Rogers. At a later date, in reply to Admiralty criticisms of the indenture of Pacific

islanders, he wrote:

I need hardly refer to Capt. Powell's observations that the importation and contract are sure to lead to abuse - he has probably not heard of Mauritius and the West Indies. I believe importation of labourers under contract is a system capable of conferring on humanity benefits almost incalculable ....<sup>32</sup>

The Admiralty view was based on the opinion of Captain Richards, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~<sup>33</sup> who had been in command of the Hecate on the Pacific station at the time of the Peruvian atrocities, and on the enquiry carried out by Captain Blake into the murders of Europeans in the New Hebrides.<sup>34</sup> The Emigration Commissioners paid scarcely more heed to these warnings than did Rogers.

- 29 Barton to Russell, 29 May 1862, P.P. 1864, LXVI.
- 30 Russell to Jerningham, 26 Nov. 1862, P.P. 1864, LXVI.
- 31 Enclosure in Young to Newcastle, 16 March 1863, C.O. 201/526.
- 32 Miller to Jerningham, 3 March 1863, P.P. 1864, LXVI.
- 33 Young to Newcastle, 21 May 1863, C.O. 201/526.
- ✓ 34 Saville to Mullens, 14 Sept. 1871, London Missionary Society, South Seas Correspondence 33/1/B. (London Missionary Society hereinafter referred to as L.M.S.). *see letter to Col*
- 35 Ribeyro to Jerningham, 1 May 1863, P.P. 1864, LXVI.
- 36 Young to Newcastle, 20 and 22 June 1863, C.O. 201/526.
- 37 4 Sept. 1863.
- 38 F.O. to Anti-Slavery Society, 8 Sept. 1863, Anti-Slavery Society Archives.
- 39 Colonial Intelligencer, Jan.-Dec. 1866, p.534.
- ✓ 40 F.O. to C.O., 3 Jan 1863, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ minute by Rogers, C.O. 201/528.
- 41 Young to Newcastle, 16 March 1863, 20 June 1863, C.O. 201/526.
- ✓ 42 Treasury to C.O., 27 June 1863, C.O. 201/529.

✓43 Rogers' minute, Treasury to C.O., 27 June 1863, C.O. 201/529.

✓44 F.O. to C.O., 25 Aug. 1863, C.O. 201/528. *with ac 8*

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32 Minute on Admiralty to C.O., 28 Oct. 1868, C.O. 234/21.

✓33 Richards' minute on Rogers to Admiralty, 15 Nov. 1867, Admiralty 1, 6026.

34 Enclosure 1 in Admiralty to C.O., 7 Dec. 1867, P.P. 1867-1868, XLVIII, 391.

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Gill, W. (1856) Come from the Coral Islands. Vol. II, Eastern Polynesia. London, Ward & Co., 1856.

King, J. (1809) W.C. Losses of Savage Islands and Red Guinea. London, Religious Tract Society.

Gill, W.W. (1872) Minutes to L.B.S., dated 7.6.72.

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McArthur, Norma. The Populations of the Pacific Islands. Part II: Cook Islands and Niue. Canberra, The Australian National University, Department of Demography, n.d. Processed.

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(92). ... W. Gill (1856), who visited the mission teachers there (on Niue) in the 1850s, considered the population of Niue to number between three and four thousand people. In 1863, the island was visited by some of the vessels engaged in the Peruvian labour traffic, and a number of young men were kidnapped. A letter from the European missionary stationed on the island at the time and quoted by King (1909), puts this number at 130, although W.W. Gill (1872) reckoned only that "fifty or more" had been taken from Niue to Peru.

Gill, W. (1856) Gems from the Coral Islands. Vol. II, Eastern Polynesia. London, Ward & Co., 1856.

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Gill, W.W. (1872) Minutes to L.M.S., dated 7.6.72.

Harris, C.A. (1882) S.S.L. ... Gale, 28 July.

.....

(184). In 1862 and 1863, these Northern Islands were amongst those raided by the vessels which had been chartered to engage 10,000 Polynesians to work in the copper mines of Peru and on guano deposits in the Chinche Islands. Ostensibly, the natives were to be recruited under contract, but no such terms were honoured by either the recruiters or the employers, and when the island chiefs proved reluctant to allow their people to leave their islands, the slavers used all sorts of ruses to entice the Islanders aboard their ships.

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McArthur, Norma, Island Populations of the Pacific. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1967.

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(105). In 1863, one of the vessels engaged in the Peruvian slave trade called at Apia harbour 'but would not come to anchor' (J.C. Williams, 1863) and no Samoans were taken.

Williams, J.C. (1863) Consul to Foreign Office, 9 Feb. B.C.S.-N.A. Series 3, Vol.2 (By courtesy of R.P. Gilson).

(177). A few Manganians had been taken away by the Peruvian slavers in 1863 (W.W. Gill, 1863b), ....

Gill, W.W. (1863b) S.S.L., Rarotonga, 21 Mar.

(181). (Atiu) Because of the resistance and influence of the chiefs, none of the people were taken from the island by Peruvian slavers in 1862-3, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and Harris (1882) claimed that Atiu contained 1,002 people in 1882.

Harris, G.A. (1882) S.S.L., Mangaia, 28 July.

(184). In 1862 and 1863 these Northern Islands were amongst ~~KK~~ those raided by the vessels which had been chartered to engage 10,000 Polynesians to work in the copper mines of Peru and on guano deposits in the Chincha Islands. Ostensibly, the natives were to be recruited under contract, but no such terms were honoured by either the recruiters or the employers, and when the island chiefs proved reluctant to allow their people to leave their islands, the slavers used all sorts of ruses to entice the islanders aboard their ships.

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raiding was stopped. The British joined in these activities against the slavers, but there was little that could be done to prevent the vessels, supposedly repatriating the islanders a year or two later, from dumping their human cargoes on the nearest island, irrespective of their island of origin and irrespective of the diseases which many of them had acquired. Some of the missionaries collected details of the approximate numbers taken to Peru from the various islands, but the repatriation of those who survived the experience was so haphazard that the numbers who returned from Peru were never recorded (W.W. Gill, 1863a, 1863b, 1863c; Krause, 1863a; Royle, 1865).

Gill, W.W. (1863a) Journal, Samoa to Mangaia, 9 Feb. to 23 Mar.

" " (1863b) S.S.L., Rarotonga, 21 Mar.

" " (1863c) Ibid., 1 July.

Krause, E. (1863a) S.S.L., Rarotonga, 23 Jan.

Royle, H. (1865) S.S.L., Aitutaki, 17 May.

Of the Northern Cook Islands, Penrhyn probably suffered more than any other from the labour traffic, although if the account given by Buck (1932a, p.8) is correct, the story is rather different from the usual one. Like many atolls, Penrhyn is not just one island but a ring of islets encircling a lagoon about thirteen miles across. At least four European ships called there in the first half of the nineteenth century, and in 1841 the islets were thought to have a total of 1,300 inhabitants (W. Gill, 1856, p.277). In 1853 the Chatham was wrecked on one of the islets (185) and Lamont, the trader who had chartered the brig, and some of the crew were marooned on Penrhyn for some months.

..... (Lamont and his companions were rescued by a whaling ship and) The castaways were taken to Rarotonga and almost immediately three native pastors were chosen from the London Missionary Society's training institution there and taken to Penrhyn. They landed in March 1854 in the company of two natives of the island who had gone with Lamont to

Rarotonga, and their teachings were readily accepted. Encouraged by the pastors, the people then congregated into four villages and their old enmity was either forgotten or perhaps translated into petty rivalries between the congregations. Buck's informants in 1929 considered that, when the slavers came in ~~1862~~ 1862, their promises of the money to be earned in Peru showed both pastors and people how their desire for churches 'worthy of the worship of God' could be quickly realized and it was thus by common consent that some of their number embarked, to die 'as slaves in exile' (Buck, 1932a, p.8).

Buck, Peter H. (1932a) Ethnology of Tongareva. B.P.B.M. Bull. 92, Honolulu.

Gill, W. (1856) Gems from the Coral Islands. Vol.II, Eastern Polynesia. Ward & Co., London.

Lamont, E.H. (1867) Wild Life among the Pacific Islanders. Hurst & Blackett, London.

Three estimates of the numbers taken from Penrhyn to Peru have been found: the highest is the trader Sterndale's (1874, p.17) 'not less than 1,000 persons (probably more)', and the lowest a conservative 250 estimated by W.W. Gill (1863a). In his investigations of the activities of the slavers. Gill discovered that 130 people from Penrhyn had been taken to Tahiti at about that time, under contract to work for the French Government there for two years, and the departure of these two groups left only 88 people on the island. The aggregate of Gill's figures indicates a population of about 500 on Penrhyn early in 1862.

Royle (1865), on the other hand, claimed that there had been 700 people on Penrhyn before the slavers had reduced their number to 60. (186) When he visited the island in 1865, he found 111 Micronesians who had been left there by a ship from Peru, and he took 35 of them across to Manihiki and Rakahanga. These were the survivors of a group of 150 Gilbertese who had been taken to Peru in 1863 and, when refused permission to land there, were brought back and dumped

on Penrhyn (J.C. Williams, 1864). Subsequently they were all given employment on Fanning Island and eventually were returned from there to the Gilbert Islands some time before 1878 (Bingham, 1878). In 1871 W.W. Gill reported a population of 300 on Penrhyn but Sterndale, who lived on Manihiki for about a year and a half at about that time, reckoned Penrhyn's inhabitants to number only about 150 (Sterndale, 1874, p.17).

Sterndale, H.B. (1874) Memoranda by Mr. Sterndale on some of the South Sea Islands. Part III of Papers relating to the South Sea Islands. Appendix A-3B to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand.

Williams, J.C. (1864) Consul (Apia) to Foreign Office, 12 No.8, 19 June. B.C.S.-N.A. Series 3, Vol.3. (By courtesy of R.P. Gilson).

Bingham, H. (1878) Letter to Clark, No.39 from Honolulu, 7 Feb. Boston Mission Correspondence. (By courtesy of H.E. Maude).

..... Manihiki and Rakahanga are atolls only 25 miles apart and until the middle of the nineteenth century the population moved back and forth between them so that one atoll was uninhabited while the people lived on the other. When food became scarce on the inhabited atoll, the entire population boarded double sailing canoes and crossed to the other atoll, visible only from a point midway between the two. Occasionally the fleet of canoes would be caught by unexpected storms, and in 1849 one of these craft was blown off its course when crossing from Manihiki to Rakahanga. The crew was rescued 80 miles away by a whaling ship which landed them at Manuae, and it was some time before they were taken from there to Aitutaki and (187) thence back to Manihiki in the missionary ship John Williams. On their return from Aitutaki, they were accompanied by two native mission teachers and within three years the majority of the population was converted to Christianity (Buck, 1932b, pp.4, 8).

At this time there were about 1,200 people living on Manihiki, more or less concentrated in two villages or settlements (W. Gill, 1856, p.273). Shortly after the

teachers' arrival, more than 20 people were drowned when another storm overtook a fleet of twenty canoes, containing about 200 people, crossing to Rakahanga to collect coconuts. The teachers tried to dissuade the people from continuing with such voyages and suggested that they should divide into two groups, one group to live permanently on Manihiki and the other to live permanently on Rakahanga. This change was resisted by the chiefs and in 1852, two European boats were given to the London Missionary Society for the use of the teachers on Manihiki.

W. Gill visited Manihiki in that year, and he supported the teachers in their attempts to persuade the chiefs to establish permanent settlements on both atolls (W. Gill, 1856, p.274). Sometime within the next ten years the population did divide and W.W. Gill (1863a) reported that 'entire families' totalling 87 people were taken from Rakahanga by the Peruvian slavers in 1862, but the raiders had failed in their numerous attempts to entice people from Manihiki because the chiefs would not allow them to leave. The initial size of the two groups is not known, but in 1871 W.W. Gill (1871) reported 407 inhabitants on Manihiki and 400 on Rakahanga.

Buck, Peter H. (1932b) Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga.  
B.P.B.M. Bull.99, Honolulu.

Gill, W.W. (1871) S.S.L. Rarotonga, account of outstation trip,  
1871, 18 Aug.

1864  
Sterndale (1974) perhaps had the explanation for at least part of the reduction in population size from about 1,200 to 800 or 900 in little more than twenty years. From about 1860, Manihiki became famous for its beautiful women (Sterndale alleges that the Peruvians took some: Sterndale, 1874, p.14).  
..... (188) after living among them for a year and a half, Sterndale considered Manihiki's population to number 'about 500', and Rakahanga's 'about 400' (Sterndale, 1874, pp.14, 15).  
..... Pukapuka attracted scant attention for nearly a century after its discovery, and probably no more than three European ships called there between 1765 and 1857 when the first native

missionaries landed (Beaglehole, 1938, p.5). Early in 1863 two ships engaged in the Peruvian slave trade took away 140 people (including 10 children and a mission teacher and his wife) on the pretext of going to make coconut oil on Palmerston Island (W.W. Gill, 1863a). It was thought that before this the population had been 600; in 1871 this had fallen to an estimated 340 persons (W.W. Gill, 1871).

(190) ..... The first year for which the populations of the four major atolls were given in the mission records is 1871 and ~~xxxxxxx~~ (the figures, taken from Table 34 on p.183 are Penrhyn 300, Manihiki 407, Rakahanga 400, Pukapuka 340, a total of 1,447). The aggregate then was less than 1,500 which was roughly 100 more than Sterndale estimated two or three years later, and at least 500 fewer than had been in the islands before the visits of the ships engaged in the Peruvian slave trade.

(278) In 1864 'a many' died on Borabora, 'most among the children' (Platt, 1864a), from dysentery which had been introduced originally at Rapa by a vessel bringing back Polynesians from various islands who had been kidnapped and taken to Peru. Only 16 of the 360 who had embarked survived as far as Rapa, and with 'the disease still abiding on them' they were landed there (Green, 1864). Either 7 (Saville, 1871) or 9 of them and more than a third of Rapa's population died before April 1864 (Green, 1864), and the infection was spread to other islands. The Boraborans suffered more than any of the other Leeward Islanders, but late in May 'all the patients ... (were) reported as returning to health' (Platt, 1864a).

Beaglehole, E., and Pearl Beaglehole (1938). Ethnology of Pukapuka. B.P.B.M. Bull.150, Honolulu.

✓ Platt, G. (1864a) S.S.L., Raiatea, 27 May.

✓ Green, J.L. (1864) S.S.L., Tahaa, 1 April.

Saville, A.T. (1871a) Minutes of Committee Meeting held in Tahiti 16, 17 and 18 May 1871.

Saville, A.T. (1871b) S.S.L., Huahine, 14 Sept. to 23 Dec.

(288) In December 1862 two Peruvian slavers called at the Marquesas and captured 35 men who were returned some months later, 5 to Tahiti and the remainder direct from Callao to Nuku-Hiva. Smallpox had broken out on the ship after leaving Callao, and the sick were landed on Nuku-Hiva to be cared for by one of the missionaries. 'La curiosité indigène sut vaincre les mesures d'isolement', and the epidemic spread quickly (289) to a neighbouring valley on Nuku-hiva and to Ua-pou. It lasted six months, 'tuant le quart de la population des deux îles, malgré le dévouement absolu des religieux' (Rollin, 1929, p.269). Rollin cited no authority for this estimate of mortality, but mission records of 1865 (P. Chaulet) attribute 960 deaths on Nuku-Hiva and 600 on Ua-Pou to this epidemic.

Either separately or together these numbers are inconsistent with a mortality rate of one quarter and Jouan's population figures of 2,700 and 1,100 for the two islands. Clavel (1884, p.495) claimed there were '2,000 victimes sur un population d'environ 4,000 âmes', and Marestang (1892, p.361) that the epidemic 'décima ... près de la moitié de la population'. If the mortality was only 25 per cent and the mission records of deaths not exaggerated, then Jouan must have grossly under-estimated the populations of Nuku-Hiva and Ua-Pou in 1856. Alternatively, if the mission records were accurate and Jouan's estimates reasonable, then the mortality in the epidemic was more than one-third on Nuku-Hiva and about half on Ua-Pou.

Rollin, L. (1929) Les îles Marquises. Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, Paris.

Chaulet, P. (1865) Lettres Lithographiées, Archives Picpus. (By courtesy of C.W. Newbury).

Clavel, M. (1884) 'Le dépopulation aux îles Marquises'. Bull. de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 7 (3eme), pp.490-7.

Marestang, M. (1892) 'La dépopulation aux îles Marquises'. Revue Scientifique, 44 (1), pp.360-6.

(From McArthur, p.288 it seems that Jouan's estimate of 11,900 for the Marquesas in 1856, based on an estimate of 2,500-5,000 warriors is too inexact to warrant credence. He was Resident at Nuku-Hiva about 1856.)

(308). ... a continuing increase is indicated (in the population of Rapa) by the total of 360 reported for 1862 (Morris, 1862b). In February 1863 a Peruvian trading boat came to the island, but instead of capturing slaves for the copper mines in Peru, the boat with its captain and crew was seized by the people of Rapa and delivered up to the French Government at Tahiti (Green, 1864; Caillot, 1932, p.77).

Shortly afterwards a boat chartered by the Peruvian Government to return some of the kidnapped to their home islands sighted Rapa, and as 344 of the 360 Polynesians who had embarked had already died of smallpox and dysentery, 'after almost brutal treatment and inhuman neglect', the captain refused to take the sixteen survivors any further. Nine of them - 'natives ... from Tokerau Niua of the Tongan group the Penrhyn group Manihiki, Atiu and various other islands' - and 'over one third' of the people of Rapa died before April 1864 (Green, 1864) and by June 1865 the island was 'almost depopulated'. Though it was reported then that there were 'only about 20 male adults left on the Island' (Green, 1865a), the island was not visited between 1864 and 1871 when 'the whole of the population 200 or 250 were present' at the church services. 'Nine of the poor people cast ashore from the slaver ... survived the calamity', and were then 'comfortably married to Rapans and have children some of whom' Saville (1871b) baptized.

Whether seven or nine of the castaways survived, the mission version of this epidemic differs from Caillot's (1932, p.77) in which the captured vessel was the source of the infection, and 128 people survived the epidemic. However, Caillot himself was not particularly consistent in dates and numbers because in his table of populations - 'aussi exact que

possible' - at different dates, he listed a total of 300 for 1863 and the two figures, 153 and 110, for 1864 (Caillot, 1932, p.25). Teissier (1953, p.21) had another version of the initial incident in which 300 of Rapa's inhabitants were forcibly removed by the Peruvian slaver, but some nevertheless remained on the island and the epidemic was not mentioned. ... (in 1867 Méry established a protectorate over Rapa, whose population was then reported to be 120).

(310). Rapa's is the only population known definitely to have experienced the dysentery epidemic in 1864, but if this infection had 'been going through different islands' in the Leeward group (Platt, 1864) - though apparently not Tahiti - it is unlikely that all of the other Austral Islands escaped, and by 1870 the population of all five islands may have been as low as 1,500.

Morris, G. (1862b) S.S.L., Raiatea, 27 Oct.

✓ Green, J.L. (1864) S.S.L., Tahaa, 1 April.

Caillot, A.C.E. (1932) Histoire de l'île Oparo ou Rapa. Leroux, Paris.

✓ Green, J.L., (1865a) S.S.L., Tahaa, 8 June.

✓ Saville, A.T. (1871b) S.S.L., Huahine, 14 Sept. to 23 Dec.

Tessier, R. (1953), 'Etude démographique sur les Etablissements Français de l'Océanie de Cook au recensement des 17/18 Septembre 1951'. Bull. de la Soc. des Etudes Océaniques, No.102, t.IX (No.1), pp.6-31.

✓ Platt, G. (1864a) S.S.L., Raiatea, 27 May.

✓ Platt, G. (1864b) S.S.L., Raiatea, 20 Dec.

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Thomson, William J., 'The Ethnology and Antiquities of Easter Island'. Report of the U.S. National Museum, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, for the year ending June 30, 1889. P.447-552. (1891)

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(460). 'Twelve years later (1786) La Perouse placed the population at 2,000. Busher (1825) (presumably Beechey) puts the number at 1,500. Kotzebue and Lisiansky make more liberal estimates. Equally chimerical and irreconcilable deductions are made by recent writers. Mr A.A. Salmon, after many years' residence on the island, estimates the population between 1850 and 1860 at nearly 20,000. The diminution of the actual number of inhabitants progressed rapidly from 1863, when the majority of the able bodied men were kidnapped by the Peruvians, and carried away to work in the guano deposits of the Chincha Islands, and plantations in Peru. Only (461) a few of these unfortunates were released, and all but two of them died upon the return voyage, from small-pox. The disease was introduced on the shore and nearly decimated the island in a short time. An old man named Pakomeo is at present the only survivor of those returned from slavery, and he is eloquent in the description of the barbarous treatment received from the hands of the Peruvians. In 1864 a Jesuit mission was established on the island, and through the teachings of Frere Eugene, the ancient customs and mode of life were replaced by habits of more civilized practice.

H.M.S. Topaze visited the island in 1868. At that time the population was about 900, one third of the number being females.

(473) Maurata, the last of a long line of kings, together with all of the principal chiefs of the island was kidnapped by the Peruvians and died in slavery. Since that time there has been no recognized authority among the natives; every man is his own master, and looks out for his own interests.

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208 The signs (on rahuo-rango script) are not to be confused with the letters of the alphabet, but composite sounds. Thomson was on the Mohican expedition to Easter Island, which landed on 18.12.86.

Cite as U.S. National Museum Annual Report.

Entered

Heyerdahl, Thor, The Art of Easter Island. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976.

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98 Esteban Atan, in the course of the night, softened up sufficiently to confide that he had his own cave, more important than Atan Atan's for it contained about a hundred ~~XXXX~~ sculptures, the fragments of a coffee-coloured ipu maengo (ceramic jar), and an important "book" with rongo-rongo written on all the pages. The truth of the latter statement was later verified when Esteban Atan allowed us to inspect and photograph the manuscript book .....

100 According to Esteban he had received this rongo-rongo book from his father, Jose Abraham Atan, a year or so before he died. His father did not know rongo-rongo, nor could he read or write European letters, but he had made this book by carefully copying an earlier one that was so worn that it was falling to pieces. That original book had been made by Esteban's grandfather, Atamo Tuputahi, who was said to be a maori rongo-rongo, a local scribe, but as even he did not know how to write European letters he had received help from one of the literate Easter Islanders repatriated from Peru. Both Esteban and Atan Atan were convinced that this rongo-rongo book had magic properties, and Esteban had decided to make a new copy while this one was still intact.

208 The signs (on rongo-rongo script) run into hundreds, and therefore cannot represent letters but composite sounds like syllables, words or concepts. Beyond this we know nothing ....

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Heyerdahl, Thor. The Art of Easter Island. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1976.

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44            The great Peruvian slave raid in 1862

A few years later, in about 1859, more natives were kidnapped on Easter Island and this time sold as slaves to work in various parts of Peru.

An additional raid that had a truly disastrous effect on both the island population and its aboriginal culture occurred in December 1862, when Captain Aiguirre came from Peru to recruit more guano workers. On arrival he found seven other Peruvian ships anchored off the Easter Island coast for the same purpose. All the slave raiders decided to co-operate, and eighty armed men were set ashore to spread trade goods on the ground. When about five hundred of the bewildered Easter Islanders were gathered, mostly on their knees examining the goods, the visitors fell upon them, killed nearly a dozen, and captured two hundred. They were tied and carried to the ship where they encountered a great many more of their own kin who had already been captured when they came aboard to trade. The last ~~KXKX~~ island king, Kaimoko, his son, and nearly all the maori, or learned men, were among the captives who subsequently died in Peru.

Bishop Jaussen of Tahiti protested the crime and finally succeeded in having the Peruvian authorities order the return of the enslaved Easter Islanders, then about a thousand in all. Diseases and unaccustomed living conditions killed off about nine hundred in less than a year, however, and a smallpox ~~XXXXXX~~ epidemic played havoc among the returning group. Only fifteen survived the experience to be repatriated on Easter Island, where they spread the epidemic to the rest of the population. The islanders once more took cover underground for fear of further raids, but they were unable to escape this introduced foreign

disease (Eyraud, 1864, p.54; Olivier, 1864, p.50; Jaussen, 1894, p.242). A most remarkable Easter Island figure with inlaid obsidian eyes (Pls.109 b-111) was found on one of the Chincha Islands near Paracas on the central coast of Peru. In 1872 it was presented to the British Museum by Mr. A.W. ~~XXXXXX~~ Franks. Since neither wood nor obsidian was available on the Chincha Islands, it would be tempting to assume that this carving had been completed on Easter Island and brought to this Peruvian island by one of the deported slaves, since the raids were carried out in pre-Christian times. However, recent research by Prof. H.E. Maude, Lucila Valderrama G., and G. McCall has shown that there was no foundation for the former assumption that some of the Easter Island slaves worked on the Chincha Islands. The possibility of pre-European trade should therefore not be entirely ruled out, since it is historically known that the Spaniards, prior to any island discoveries in the Pacific, were given the exact position of Easter Island by the Incas of Peru (Heyerdahl, 1964). Paracas was a main Peruvian navigation center since early pre-European times, as is shown from the fact that elaborate center-boards from pre-Inca times are common in local tombs. (45) Another highly interesting wood carving of equally obvious Easter Island manufacture (Pl.89 b, 90) was discovered in Trujillo on the north coast of Peru together with aboriginal pottery and bronze artifacts, and donated in 1886 by two officers of the Italian Navy to Museo Nazionale Preistorico Ethnografico Luigi Pigorini in Rome.. It will probably never be known if this Easter Island specimen had been brought to Peru by one of the slaves since, like the previous specimen, it could also have reached the continent through earlier contact.

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Buse, H. Los Peruanos en Oceanía. Geografía y crónicas del Pacífico. Cuarto centenario del viaje de Alvaro de Mandana a las Islas Salomon. Lima, 1967.

p.198 - "Although in decline the [Easter] islanders had remained independent, but in 1862 they fell into the cruel net set by recruiters of labour for the guano islands and the haciendas on the mainland coast. 'Peruvian public opinion reacted angrily - says a historian\* - against what was happening' and the government energetically intervened, first with strict rules of inspection (January 1863) and, later, with a total prohibition of the 'Polynesian traffic' (April of the same year). The government also undertook to repatriate the unfortunates, 'at its expense, in merchant ships, redeeming them from their owners at fifty pesos a head'. But although 'humanity and morality were vindicated' by these measures and the public outcry, already the iniquitous trade/treatment had decimated the wretched population of Easter Island, few returning home."

\* Jorge Basadre, Historia de la República del Perú, vol.111, ch.LX.

... the technical grounds that a Rotuman witness could not fully understand the nature of his oath (Scarr 97). [References from Scarr, I, the very bayonet.

The Empire, 9.7.63:5e.

The Slave Trade in the Pacific

Captain Harvell, of the schooner Clarence Packet, which arrived yesterday morning, has kindly furnished us with the following information respecting the slave trade now being carried on among the islands of the South Seas. The Clarence Packet called at Rotumah amongst other places, and on the 2nd June there were no less than six Peruvian and Chilian <sup>slave</sup> ships standing off and on at that island. One Chilian [sic] brig was at anchor, having on board 400 natives. The captain of the <sup>is</sup> slaver boarded the Clarence Packet, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of provisions, which Captain Harvell refused to grant him. The natives on board were almost starving, and called to Captain Harvell for something to eat - their allowance being only one cocoanut each per day. The Chilian vessel reported that there were thirty-five vessels employed in the slave trade, and that many of them were on their second voyage. There was also a Peruvian brig at Rotumah, with 150 natives on board. The vessels were destined to the Kingsmill Group before proceeding home. Mitchell's, Ellis's, and Depesta Groups have been almost depopulated by the kidnapping process - all the young and middle aged people having been taken off. The method of entrapping them is as follows:- The natives are invited on board, and are promised to be landed at some of the neighbouring islands. As they will rather sail in a ship than venture out in their canoes, many of them gladly accept the offer. Should this not succeed, they are surrounded and driven on board.'

.....

Captain Albert Ross HOVELL was [presumably] made master of the Clarence Packet in 1860 by her owner, the trader J.C. Malcolm, when Captain W.H. Weiss was transferred from her to Malcolm's larger schooner James (Scarr 18). In 1864 Hovell was again transferred to Malcolm's new brigantine, the Star of Eve, in which he sailed from Sydney on 30.9.64 (Scarr 30). In 1868 Hovell, as master of the barque Young Australian, was sentenced to penal servitude for life (Kidnapped recruits, running wild, had been shot in the hold). He was released on the technical grounds that a Rotuman witness could not fully understand the nature of his oath (Scarr 97). [References from Scarr, I, the very bayonet.

*Entered*

Excerpt from letter to J.D. Freeman from A.G. Lake, formerly Administrative Officer, Ellice Islands [undated].

.....

An investigation of the Blackbirders' activities at Funafuti is apt to be complicated by the presence of the famous - or some would say notorious - O'Brien family. If you are one of the family you paint Jack O'Brien's part in the episode in a favourable light. If not, you do the reverse. Either way the O'Brien saga, in local minds, is inextricably mixed up in the tale.

Henry O'Brien (born 1874), the sixth child of Jack O'Brien, tells the following story, related to him by his father. "Jack O'Brien ran away to America from Ireland as a youth, when his mother died and his father married another woman with whom Jack did not get on. Getting into a scrape in America, he joined the crew of a whaler, and deserted at Nukulaelae with Tom (very likely the Tom Rose referred to by the Rev. A.W. Murray in 'Forty Years Mission Work in Polynesia-New Guinea'). Tom later departed in some other ship, but Jack after visiting Fiji, returned to Funafuti and opened a store. He also burnt the old places of worship and tried to teach the people Christianity. Jack was on Funafuti when the Blackbirders arrived off Funangongo (Papaelise), in the S.E. part of the Atoll. In an effort to save the islanders, Jack went aboard one of the two vessels and fought the captain. He then jumped overboard and swam to the other ship, where he got on well with the captain, who put him ashore again at Papaelise. Thanks to Jack's intervention, less than 100 natives were taken. The reason that Jack intervened was that he was afraid he would be punished (by the Government in Fiji?) for the disaster. There were no Nukulaelae people on board when the raiders visited Funafuti. They took their "recruits" to Callao, and none of them ever returned. Henry does not know the names of any of those kidnapped." The foregoing story is, on the whole, the more plausible of the two I have heard. I use the inverted commas only to show where the story begins and ends, as the above is, of course, a translation from the vernacular. Comments in brackets are mine.

Lasalo, an old man of about 80, tells this version. "Before the arrival of the Mission, and before Lasalo's birth, two vessels arrived off Papaelise. Jack O'Brien came ashore and told the people to go to Papaelise, as the ships could not come into the lagoon. They were then told that these were mission ships which had come to take the people away to teach them a new religion, and that when they had been shown the light they would all be returned. A number of boat loads were taken off, and Jack was paid for the natives he sent out. There were black men with guns in the boats, as well as Europeans. The people were amazed to see the boats' crews smoking, as they had never seen that before. But when the last boat was returning for another load, Jack warned the people of the real nature of their visitors and told them not to go out to the ships. Then he and Tom ran away into the bush. When the boat beached, the people refused to go, whereupon it returned to the ship, and both vessels made off without attempting to recapture Jack or Tom, as they were in a hurry. 200 or more Funafuti men, women and children were taken, and there were only a few left. They were taken to Callao and none of them ever returned. The Nukulaelae people were already on board when the ships arrived at Funafuti.

Tom departed on another slave raider, but Jack stayed here. He burnt the old houses of worship.

The islanders were not afraid of the real missionaries when they arrived because Jack told them that this time they were genuine. The slave raid did not affect the Funafutians' attitude towards Europeans.

One result of the raid was that there were not enough people left to look after the pulaka and talo pits, and so they were neglected."

So far as it refers to Jack O'Brien, this story appears to have several flaws. If it were true that he landed from one of the slave raiders, then the influence of O'Brien and his family on Funafuti and other islands would have to be chalked up as a by-product of the raid. But you will probably prefer, as I do, Henry's version, though both of them are careless handlers of the truth. But although I think O'Brien was not himself a blackbirder, it seems as though he may have received cash from them before warning the natives of their danger, for another old man (now dead) also once told me



that Jack brought a sack of money ashore from the slave raiders.

It is unlikely that the slave-raids had much long-term effect on native culture on either Funafuti or Nukulaelae. The reason that in this Group there are "but snatches of these ancient songs in the few legends that remain" is that the native Mission Pastors who arrived shortly after the slave raids completely suppressed the ancient culture of the Ellice Islands. The pastors achieved a dominating position in island society and an extraordinary control over native life, some of which they still retain. The result was that the old men thought it shameful to talk about the "pouliuli" (dark ages before the arrival of the mission), so that little of the old culture was handed down to the next generation. This attitude is sometimes still encountered by a stranger today. The position is much the same on all islands, whether visited by the slave-raiders or not.

I don't consider that the Funafutians' attitude to Europeans has been affected by the slave raids; and I think the reason must largely be that, ignorant as they admit themselves to have been in those days, they nevertheless had sufficient innate good sense quickly to recognize the difference between normal Europeans and blackbirders. The modern attitude of most of the younger generation is that the Ellice Islanders and the British (in that order) are the salt of the earth, the Americans half way up the ladder and the rest nowhere. Since the blackbirders came from South America they would fall into the third class anyway.

[From internal evidence the letter from which this excerpt has been made was written on Nanumanga during the latter half of 1947].

.....

*Lake's investigations failed to discover any slave raids on islands other than Funafuti and Nukulaelae.*

46:191 (16.11.62).

Arr. 8th - 3 masted Peruvian barque Serpiente Marina, 198t. Capt. Francisco Martinez, from Callao, in ballast, 15 crew.

Arr. 12th - Peruvian brig Barbara-Gomez, 172t, Capt. Penny, from Callao in 32 days, in ballast, 14 crew.

47:195 (23.11.62).

Dep. 19th - Peruvian brig Barbara-Gomez, 172t, Capt. Penny, for the coast of Chile, 14 crew, in ballast.

Note: the Messenger calls the Tahitians and other Polynesians 'Indiens'.

50:207 (14.12.62).

8.12.62 - Peruvian brig Mercedes de Wholey, Capt. Parrazon, from the Tuamotus.

17:90 (25.4.63). Arr. 23 March Peruvian brig Guyas, 189 tons, Capt. Larrazabal.

11 April - Peruvian brig Misti, 193 tons, Capt. Basagoiti.

18:94 (2.5.63).

Dep. 24 April Peruvian brig Guyas, 189t, Capt. Larrazabal, for Guayaquil.

.....

Moniteur de la Flotte.

2:5 (10.1.63). Ainsi que nous le faisons pr senter dans au de nos derniers num res, la chaloupe arm e au c tre, du brig p ruvien Mercedes A. de Wholey qui, sous la conduite de son capitaine, avait  t  destin e pour transporter   bord de ce navire, les naturels des  les Tuamotu, a  t  captur e par les indig nes de l' le Paofu et a mouill    l'aprot, samedi dernier.

L'affaire de Mercedes A. de Wholey, dont les divers incidents ont si vivement excit  l'attention publique, est d f r e   la connaissance des tribunaux de l'Angleterre. L'instruction se poursuit activement; nous en ferons conna tre les r sultats.

LE MESSENGER DE TAITI

51:209 (21.12.62). Les nouvelles que nous recevons tendent de plus en plus à démontrer l'existence d'un concert entre les divers navires qui parcourent aujourd'hui les archipels océaniques dans le but de les dépeupler au profit d'une spéculation que les lois internationales châtient et flétrissent.

On lit dans l'Echo du Pacifique:

"Un navire venant de la Polynésie est arrivée à Callao avec cent familles de sauvages à bord. Ces malheureux ont été vendus publiquement à Callao et à Lima à raison de 200 et 300 dollars par tête. Le président Castilla a condamné ce trafic dont les auteurs paraissent devoir perdre les profits. Il a ordonné une enquête sur cette affaire."

Nous nous félicitons de voir le gouvernement Péruvien arrêter les premiers essais ~~de~~ d'un traite contraire, dans son principe, à l'esprit du récent traité de paix et d'amitié qui le lie à la France et nous avons l'espoir que la répression énergique des faits accomplis sera suivie de mesures efficaces pour en prévenir le retour.

51:211 (21.12.62). L'avis à hélice le Latouche-Tréville, commandé par M. C. de Saint-Servin, lieutenant de vaisseau, left on the 11th June, for Penrhyn and Samoa, to recruit workers, for the colons de Taiti, qui en ont fait la demande à l'administration. It is greatly to be hoped that this first attempt at immigration will be crowned with success; ce renfort de bras ordira au développement of agriculture of this interesting colony which obtained at the exposition universelle at London three medals and two mentions.

Moniteur de la Flotte.

2:5 (10.1.63). Ainsi que nous le faisons prévenir dans un de nos derniers numéros, la chaloupe armée en côte, du brig péruvien Mercedes A. de Wholey qui, sous la conduite du nommé Lee Knapp, avait ~~axété~~ pour mission de transporter à bord de ce navire, les naturels des îles Tuamotu, a été capturée par les indigènes de l'île Faaité et a mouillé à Papeete samedi dernier.

L'affaire du Mercedes A. de Wholey, dont les divers incidents ont si vivement excité l'attention publique, est déférée à la connaissance des tribunaux du Protectorat. L'instruction se poursuit activement; nous en ferons connaître les résultats.

6:22 (7.2.63). has a note from the San Francisco Evening Daily Bulletin of 23.12.63 about the letters exchanged between MM de Lesseps, Minister of France, and Thomas Eldridge, Consul-General of Hawaii, on the one part and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Peru on the other, re the Peruvian Labour Trade.

Douze navires sont partis de Callao pour faire ce commerce, deux d'entre eux sont déjà retournés, apportant 350 hommes et femmes <sup>de formes</sup> athlétiques.

Ditto, p.24 says that these notes or correspondence appeared in El Mercurio and will be reproduced later. [See 7:26-27 copied with me].

7:25 (14.2.63). reproduces an arrêté dated 3.5.49 requiring all contracts for employment between natives of the Tuamotus and Europeans to be in writing in French and Tahitian and signed by an official interpreter.

14:78 (4.4.63). Note from the Courrier des Etats-Unis saying that on the 15th November the Circuit Court of the United States sentenced Albert HORN to 5 years imprisonment (without hard labour), found guilty by a jury 'd'avoir armé pour la traite le trois-mâts barque Cora'. Despite many petitions from merchants and bankers of New York for his release on the grounds of medical opinion that he was unfit to serve the sentence the judge refused to reconsider the verdict.

26:128 (27.6.63). General San Roman, President of Peru, died on the 3rd April and on the 10th was succeeded by General Canseco, 2nd vice-president.

An embargo has been put on the Empresa, and a warrant of arrest issued against Dechter, the captain, and Englehart, the surgeon. Dechter is thought to be in hiding in Chile.

Le gouvernement du Pérou n'aura pas de peine à les atteindre, si, comme nous aimons à le croire, il veut résolument réprimer les crimes qui leur sont reprochés. Aucune nation policée ne ferait certainement un accueil défavorable à une demande d'extradition ayant pour objet la remise d'individus sur la tête desquels pèse la responsabilité de faits semblables à ceux qui ont motivé l'expédition du mandat d'arrêt.

Eight members of the crew of the Empresa have been arrested; they will be charged before the Courts of Peru. 36 islanders, enslaved by the Empresa, have been sold at Huacho. They have been taken to the plantations in the interior, nous en assure que la vente a été annulée sur les lieux par l'acheteur.

28:136 (14.7.63). Sr Thomas Gervasoni had 8,000 francs stolen off him in the house of Sr James, Clarck, restarateur. Gervasoni was formerly captain of the Chilean vessel Concepcion. It was later found in the cabin of a passenger on the Chilean 3-rater Mathias-Salvinias who had been staying at the same place.

30:144 (25.7.63). Nouvelles du Pérou. Le 13 mai dernier, seize indigènes des îles Marquises, appartenant à la catégorie de ceux qui avaient été enlevés par l'Empresa et débarqués au port de Huacho, sont arrivés au Callao où ils ont été rejoints, quelques jours après, par sept de leurs compatriots venus à la nage. Ces malheureux ont été, par les soins de M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France à Lima, mis en subsistance à bord de la corvette Galathée.

Le 5 juin, des émissaires ont été envoyés à la recherche de onze autres individus qui erraient dans le champs.

Le nommé Dechter, capitaine de l'Empresa, à été arrêté dans le courant de la dernière quinzaine du mois de mai. Le chirurgien Englehardt a pu échapper jusqu'à ce jour à toutes les poursuites.

On annonce l'arrivée au Callao du nommé Aguire, ex-captaine de la Cora; il est arrivé au Callao, suivi du cuisinier de ce navire, par la malle du Chili.

Il est question au Pérou de l'envoi d'un navire de guerre, dans le but de repatrier les habitants des îles de la Pacifique Polynésie, qui ont été enlevés à leurs foyers.

(correspondence particulière).

35:170 (5.9.63). States that the l'Echo du Pacifique contains 8 columns under the heading of 'La traite aux îles de la Societé', in its issue of 3 June, all copied from the Messenger. In its issue of the 23rd it deals with the affair of the Mercedes A. de Wholey and the report of Parrayon, the Brolaski incident and the production of the paper deposited in the U.S. Consulate. It paid tribute to the speech of M. Langomazino on behalf of the Tuamotuans.

36:171 (12.9.63). The Diamant left Callao on the 20th July with 29 Polynesians (18 men and 11 women) for Tahiti via Payta. 'Une épidémie de variole s'est déclarée à bord sur les malheureux Polynésiens, debris sauvés de l'immigration que les habitants de ces pays connaissent et ont pu opprécier.

The Diamant, having lost 14 natives, arrived at Taio-hae on the 20th August where the local authorities put their resources at the disposal of Captain Lebris (unfortunately they were little enough).

Between the 20th August and the 6th September, while the Diamant was at Nukuhiva, 5 died of smallpox and the remaining 6 were still at Taio-hae. None of the crew caught the disease. On her arrival at Papeete the ship was put in quarantine at Motu-utu. She arrived 'hier vendredi', and finally entered the port on 11.9.63.

37:177 (19.9.63). Gives the text of the Diplomatic Corps' testimonial to the Peruvian Government of 13.5.63, headed by:-

Le corps diplomatique vient de faire un manifestation honorable pour le gouvernement péruvien, en déclarent que ce gouvernement avait accompli tous ces devoirs respectivement <sup>me2</sup> et aux colons péruviens polynésiens, par l'abolition du trafic et l'adoption de <sup>me2</sup> mesures efficaces à l'effet d'empêcher de nouveaux abus. Néanmoins, ne croyant pas avoir encore assez fait en faveur de cette question d'humanité, quoiqu'<sup>me2</sup> lui eût rendu justice d'une manière solennelle, le gouvernement a <sup>me2</sup> mes un bâtiment de l'Etat à la disposition des Polynésiens qui désoreraient retourner dans leur patrie.

From the Moniteur Universel, 2.7.63.

39:185 (3.10.63). Speaks of the tributes to the French actions of M. Colonet de Saint-Servin of the Latouche-Tréville in dealing with the Peruvian slavers, which appeared in the SMH of 14 & 19.6.63.

40:187 (10.10.63). Letter from Davida, son of Numangatini, King of Mangaia, addressed to the Imperial Commissioner for the Society Islands and asking to be taken to Tahiti. Says there are 4 Mangaians, 1 from Atiu, 1 Tahitian and 1 from Penrhyn: 7 in all [alive and presumably past danger from smallpox]. [The Derade could not take anyone because of the epidemic on Nukuhiva, from which 8-10 had died by 7.9.63].

40:189 (10.10.63). Otoro, a Peruvian subject, has been assassinated (murdered) on Uapou by the friends and parents of the islanders taken by the Empresa. He had helped the captain in his nefarious endeavours to kidnap the people. The chiefs of Uapou took no part in the killing and even disapproved of it.

But 14+5+6  
= 25, not 29

47:222 (28.11.63). The Protectorate brig Suerte, chartered by the Catholic Mission of Tahiti, left on the 21st for Easter Island, with Brother Eugene Eyraud and six Easter Islanders who had been freed from various Peruvian ships at Tahiti.

*end of the Barbara Gentry with 360 captives*

We hear that the Peruvian ship Capricorne has been engaged by the Peruvian Government to repatriate 367 Polynesians at Callao. Une énorme mortalité s'est déclarée dans le convoi, and 335 of these repatriates died on board the ship. This is according to the passengers on the schooner Manupaia, arrived on 17 November et venant de l'île Rapa.

9:38 (27.2.64). Par arrêt en date du 29 octobre 1863, le cour d'appel de Lima aggrayant la peine prononcée par le tribunal de 1re instance, a condamné le sieur Enrique Détért, capitaine du trois-mâts péruvien Empresa, et le sieur Williams Cole, maître d'équipage de ce navire, coupables d'avoir enlevé des indigènes de la Polynésie, et poursuivis sur la demande de notre chargé d'affaires au Pérou:

Le premier à la peine de six années de galères et le second a celle de quatre années de la même peine.

Les condamnés ont été, en outre, frappés d'interdiction civile et placés sur la surveillance de la police, conformément aux dispositions de l'art. 35 du code penal péruvien.

L'arrêt de la cour de Lima est un nouvelle réparation due à la vindicte publique pour des actes d'une honteuse et criminelle spéculation.

6:22 (6.2.64). Il parait que quelque temps avant l'arrivée de la Suerte un bâtiment, portant le pavillon péruvien, a ramené un assez grand nombre d'indigènes, mais que tous, à l'exception cependant d'un ou de deux individus, étaient morts d'une maladie ou la peau se couvrait de boutons (sans nul doute ~~qu'ils~~ la petite vérole).

Le second de la Suerte affirme avoir vu, gisant sur la plage, et enveloppés dans les étoffes indigènes, un nombre de cadavres qu'il estime au moins à 150.

26:90 (29.6.67). Quentin on Rapa, report dated 21.5.67 (see Tessier bibliography). Population 'à peine de cent cinquante habitants, hommes, femmes et enfants.' Tous sont dans un état de misere pitoyable. High Chief Paarima or Teraau. Only good pilot Mairoto.

35:119 (31.8.67). Méry says population is 'cent vingt habitants' in 1867.

42:139 (19.10.67). Population, according to tradition, came from Rapa-nui (Easter Island). High Chief Parima. Mairoto, who did great service for France in Tahiti during 1843, for which he was decorated, is strongly pro-French and the chief councillor to the High Chief.

[98] [At Manihiki]. 'The half-caste told us several stories that concerned us to hear and yet were sad. .... In 1879 he was away from Punafofua having his address two American vessels, under the Peruvian flag, came to the island and distributed presents right and left to all who came to receive them. Naturally, the people were delighted, and when it was proposed that as many as liked should go to Peru to be educated by these kind people, they flocked to board in crowds. The King, anxious that as many as possible should participate in this good fortune, blew his horn, which is the royal summons. On the return of the half-caste two thirds of the population had gone, and the King was in the very act of blowing his horn again to gather in his remaining subjects, now reduced to the very young and the very old. It is needless to add that the vessels were slavers, and the entrapped islanders were never seen again.'

[99] [At Punafofua]. 'Not long ago the George Noble called at this island, her destination being the island of Pira (pronounced Peru). The natives who were on board heard the word and fled incontinently, nor could they be persuaded to go back; the dread word "Peru" was enough.'

[99-101] The fear exhibited by the island women at Niutao is contrasted with the lack of it seen at Manihiki, and attributed to the activities of the slavers in the Ellice.

[10] [At Niue]. 'No women came out to us. To them a ship is tapu, ...'

[34-35] [At Tahapaha]. 'Mr. Henderson and Louis came back with some returned labour boys for Sanger Island. One who had signed to serve five years had been waiting another three for a vessel to take him home. He was once disappointed, and nearly died of it. [F]or the "labour boys" do, sometimes die of homesickness. A black boy called Arriki whom we hired from the German firm, did so die after we left Sango.'



Stevenson, Fanny V. de G., The Cruise of the 'Janet Nichol' among the South Sea Islands: a diary by Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.

[91] [At Funafuti]. 'The half-caste told us several stories that sickened us to hear and yet were most interesting. In 1886 he was away from Funafuti. During his absence two American vessels, under the Peruvian flag, came to the island and distributed presents right and left to all who came to receive them. Naturally, the people were delighted, and when it was proposed that as many as liked should go to Peru to be educated by these kind people, they flocked on board in crowds. The King, anxious that as many as possible should participate in this good fortune, blew his horn, which is the royal summons. On the return of the half-caste two thirds of the population had gone; and the King was in the very act of blowing his horn again to gather in his remaining subjects, now reduced to the very young and the very old. It is needless to add that the vessels were slavers, and the entrapped islanders were never seen again.'

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[15] [At Niue]. 'No women came out to us. To them a ship is tapu,...'

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Smith, S. Percy, 'Tongareva, or Penrhyn Island, and its People'. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute 1889. Vol. XXII, pp. 85-103.

[87] 'The island was evangelized in 1854 by native teachers from Rarotonga, who found not the least difficulty in making themselves understood. In 1864 the island was almost depopulated by Peruvian slavers: Sterndale states that at least one thousand men, women, and children were at that time taken away to South America.'

TUVALU

Luke, Harry, Islands of the South Pacific.

[160] 'As late as the middle of the nineteenth century they [the Ellice Islanders] were snatched away literally by the thousand to work out their lives in the grim guano islands off the coast of Peru and in the nitrate deposits of Chile.'

NIUE

Turner, George, Nineteen Years in Polynesia.

'The population of Niue in 1859 may be set down as 4,300.' [Presumably this information was obtained from Samuala].

SUNDAY ISLAND

The New Bedford whaler "Rainbow" (Captain Nicholls) saw the Rosa y Carmen at Sunday Island. 130 had died by then, and 70 were alive. [the source of my information is unfortunately not stated].

Short, Robert, The Slave Trade in the Pacific. London, George Levey, 1870.

.....

[8] 'In 1863 a traffic in South Sea Islanders, similar in all respects to this, was carried on to Peru. [9] ..... Great numbers of the natives were taken to Peru "to be employed in cotton plantations and other agricultural operations" [letter from Admiralty to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies] in that country. Many of them were sent to the Chincha and Lobos Islands to load ships with guano. The fate of those unfortunate people is well known, and is thus described in a letter from the Admiralty to the Colonial Office, 7.12.67 "It may be added that, of the wretched islanders imported into Peru, nearly all perished from the nature of the work and the change of living and climate. The Government of Peru was compelled by the strong remonstrances of England and France to put a ~~new~~ summary end to the traffic."

In a Circular Despatch dated 10.10.63 the Foreign Office informed the Governor of New South Wales that the trade had ceased and added that should the Governor receive any further information he would be glad to have it passed on.

In that same year ~~the~~ 1863 the traffic in South Sea Islanders, which was put down in Peru because it was the Slave Trade, was introduced into Queensland by Captain Towns. It was not a new idea which he had originated, but one which he had copied from the Peruvians, with whose doings in the South Sea Islands he was well acquainted. The first lot introduced arrived in the Don Juan on the 18th August 1863.

.....

Entered

PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE

1862-1863

King, Joseph, W.G. Lawes of Savage Island and New Guinea. London, R.T.S., 1909. Pp.29-32.

...slavery in America has the following paragraph on the Peruvian slave trade:-

.....

[29]. Peruvian vessels arrived 'and with their newly learned confidence in white men, the unsuspecting natives went on board. When a number had gathered on the deck they were induced to go below, and when there, the hatches were covered and fastened, and they found themselves prisoners. "About one hundred and thirty of our finest young men have thus," says the missionary, "been carried off forcibly from their land, their wives, and their families. The number includes twenty church members, one deacon, and three assistant teachers. And these do not represent all our loss. Those taken were the strength, flower, and hope of their land."

[30]. Story of captives knocking on sides of ship and calling to be let out. Beaten with pieces of wood until quiet restored, then left in darkness. At time for evening worship united in ~~EVENING PRAYER~~ singing and prayer.

[32]. 'A year has elapsed since the last visit of these vile slavers, but the widows and children cease not to weep - a ship off the island always causes a fresh outburst of their grief. Many of those taken into bondage were true disciples of Christ. The Word of God was precious to them. One of the regrets of their sorrowing friends was, "Alas, they have no books with them". I do not think our mission has sustained any injury by these slavers, beyond the loss of some who would have been valuable help among their countrymen.'

.....

Sydney Morning Herald 5.6.63:4, col.2.

Leading article on slavery in America has the following paragraph on the Peruvian slave trade:-

'Let any man read a letter which appears in our journal this morning, addressed by one of the unhappy South Sea islanders; describing the woe of his people, and let him then imagine these unfortunates carried into captivity - held in bondage by the laws of Peru, which while repudiating slavery in name, has been guilty of sheltering it in its most odious form, exercising all its ~~repression~~ oppression without giving the protection which it may afford to the slave born on the lands of his master. Can any man be so blind as to deem such proceedings tolerable under any idea of moral obligation?'

.....

Note: The letter referred to is evidently the one written by Maka from Atafu on 16.2.63.

.....

F. 301. Picture of the Hotel near the principal Hole - an unsuccessful speculation, never opened as a hotel but used for schools, theatrical performances, etc.

'The sole food of the labourers on the South Island in August last consisted of the birds caught during the night.'

The Illustrated London News, XLII (1189):200-201 (21.2.1863), 'The Chincha (Guano) Islands, Peru'.

.....  
Until mid-1862 the agents for the Peru Government were Anthony Gibbs and Sons, i.e. for the United Kingdom, her Colonies and Europe. Arrangements for agencies were made periodically by public tender and a successful competition on the part of Peruvian houses has resulted in their taking over as agents and giving the agencies for continental countries to several leading commercial houses in Lima, and for England to a Peruvian company represented there by Thomson, Bonar and Company.

The labour employed there is of three classes:-

- (1) Free labourers from Peru, Chile, China, etc.
- (2) Chinese working under 7 year contracts at a very low rate.
- (3) Convicts from the various districts of Peru.

Paid at 1/6 per ton.

The contract for loading is let by the Government by public tender, and is known as the Cargino.

P.201. Picture of the Hotel near the principal Mole - an unsuccessful speculation, never opened as a hotel but used for schools, theatrical performances, etc.

'The sole food of the labourers on the South Island in August last consisted of the birds caught during the night'.

Vol. I, no. 48 (29.8.63):74 - 'Pind' .....

'Peruvian advices, via Tahiti, state that the government is determined to stop the slave trade. Two shipowners, who were among the projectors of the scheme, and several captains engaged in it, have been arrested. 1500 Polynesians had already been sold at Lima, nearly all of whom afterwards died. The 'John Wesley' arrived at Sydney from Fiji, reports that a slave ship is still engaged among the islands, and has captured twenty [20] natives at HAKOPI.

A merchant writes from Lima that slaves continue to arrive. The merchants, encouraged by their late success, are fitting out others. One armed vessel was sent, prepared to dispute any French interference.'

Vol. I, no. 49 (3.9.63):No. 4. - 'The slave trade in the Pacific'. 'A respectable English gentleman, who resided several years at Lima, in a Lima letter dated 9.2.63' ... 'The Government H.M.S. here should be the whole thing.' [I have this letter, which appeared in the 53 (17.8.63):54.]

Entered

Weekly Review and Messenger (Melbourne).

Vol. I, no. 24 (14.3.63):5.

'Two Peruvian slavers have been captured off Tahiti, with 400 slaves on board. The officers and crews of the vessels have been imprisoned'.

Vol. I, no. 30 (25.4.63):8.

'A system of rascally piracy in the South Seas has just been exposed. Some miscreants have been kidnapping the islanders, and selling them into forced labour in Peru. The French authorities at Tahiti have laid their hands on some of these fellows, and will doubtless do them justice. A sharper look out will be kept for the future, and the islanders themselves being now on the qui vive, will take precautions against similar depredations.'

Vol. I, no. 37 (13.6.63):2b,c. - (for photocopying).

Vol. I, no. 39 (27.6.63):1c,2a - editorial headed 'Slavery in the Pacific' - not worth copying - refers to meetings in Sydney and Adelaide and calls for one in Melbourne.

Ditto 9d,10a - brief report of Sydney meeting held on Thursday and taken from the SMH.

Vol. I, no. 43 (25.7.63):6d - very abbreviated report of Sunday Island incident, from a telegram from Sydney. Not worth copying.

Vol. I, no. 44 (1.8.63):3 'Slavers among the Southern Pacific Islands'. Text of report from Captain Lyons of the brig Ocean obtained from the captain of the Emily and copied from the SMH. Commences 'On the 23rd May the schooner Emily arrived at Apia .....

*Better check SMH date.*

and ends 'Sunday Island is uninhabited now'. [This report is said to be from the SMH of 23.7.63, but JDF has it as appearing in the SMH of 21.8.63:7, in which case how did it get into the WR&M for 1.8.63?].

Vol. I, no. 45 (8.8.63):8d. Full text of letter from Sir Henry Barkly, Gov. of Victoria, to S.o.S., 24.7.63. (for photocopying).

Vol. I, no. 48 (29.8.63):7d - 'Piracy in the Pacific'.

'Peruvian advices, via Tahiti, state that the government is determined to stop the slave trade. Two shipowners, who were among the projectors of the scheme, and several captains engaged in it, have been arrested. 1500 Polynesians had already been sold at Lima, nearly all of whom afterwards died. The 'John Wesley' arrived at Sydney from Fiji, reports that a slave ship is still engaged among the islands, and has captured twenty [20] natives at ORNEVEY.

A merchant writes from Lima that slaves continue to arrive. The merchants, encouraged by their late success, are fitting out others. One armed vessel was sent, prepared to dispute any French interference.'

Vol. I, no. 49 (5.9.63):8c,d. - 'The slave trade in the Pacific'. From SMH: 'A respectable English gentleman, who resided several years at Tahiti' [in a Lima letter dated 9.2.63] ... 'The Government ~~XXXX~~ here shuts its eyes to the whole thing.' [I have this letter, which appeared in the SMH for 25.8.63:5].

Vol.II, no.61 (28.11.63):8d - 'Trial of the Peruvian kidnappers'.  
From SMH - Capt. of Mercedes gets 5 years hard labour plus 3500 francs fine for violating revenue laws of the Protectorate and 15,100 francs fine for embarking natives without permission. Supercargo gets 10 years as an accomplice. The owners of the brig held responsible for their agents and therefore the vessel will be seized and sold if necessary to defray the above fines.

This is followed in the same column by 'The Government and the Slave Traffic in Polynesia'. Copy of a letter from the Hon. A.H. Layard, M.P., Under-Secretary of State for the F.O. to a Glasgow citizen, dated 8.9.63, which says that H.M. Government are 'doing all they can' to put an end to the Peruvian slave trade.

Vol.II, no.65 (26.12.63) - 'Slavery in the South Pacific Ocean'. The Missionary Magazine says that Jerningham has protested and 'in consequence of these remonstrances, that Government has placed a vessel at the disposal of such of the islanders who, having been forcibly ~~XXXX~~ brought to Peru, were desirous of returning to their native country, and has ordered into a kind of quarantine such vessels as arrive from the Polynesian islands with slaves on board, in order that strict enquiries may be made into the means by which the islanders had been obtained. The "Tribune" has been ordered to the South Sea Islands, to communicate with our consuls, and afford such assistance as can be extended to the islanders.'



Entered

Peruvian slave trade of the 'La Concepcion' 1862-1863

Docker, Edward Wybergh, The Blackbirders. The Recruiting of South Seas Labour for Queensland, 1863-1907. Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1970. Pp.42-43.

.....  
'This work of actual recruitment and repatriation Towns left entirely to his man Lewin.

How much, though, did he know about Lewin? It is an interesting question, impossible to answer. His only direct contact with him had been in the sandalwood trade. He may not have heard that this former Royal Navy seaman and deserter was popularly supposed to have engaged in the Peruvian guano trade, in the carrying off of thousands of Pacific Islanders to labour in Peru's offshore guano deposits. Or he may have disbelieved the rumour. It had been a most bloody, violent business by all accounts, conducted mainly in remote places where the only European witnesses were a rather lawless breed themselves. But since the Peruvian Government had abolished slavery in 1855 there had been no other labour available to help gather up the millions of tons of valuable bird-droppings that must have otherwise gone unexploited. The Anti-Slavery Society had been among the most active of those opposing this traffic, being successful in persuading the British Government to make representations to Lima about it. But it was not really the result of British protests that brought the trade to an end in 1863 so much as the fact that half the islanders died in Peru, and the whole operation became untenable.

Whether this was where Ross Lewin had gained his first experience of large-scale recruiting cannot be proved. In any case ....., the islanders. Not being able to get on board their ship they stayed for five days with the missionaries at Suva, after which they were taken, in their sloop, to Nuku'alofa where the Resident sent them to Tahiti.

.....  
The La Concepcion, after waiting for the return of the ship for a couple of days, sailed off and a few days later was sighted on the coast of Tonga.

Translated from the Messenger de Taiti 27.6.63:128.

.....

The three-masted Chilean barque La Concepcion is lost on the island of Tahaa (Raiatea). The crew is saved and it is said that the ship has been sold to speculators, in the state in which she was after the shipwreck.

La Concepcion left Valparaiso on the 7th February last, bound for Caldera; after discharging her cargo, she took on water, provisions, several bales of clothing and set sail for Polynesia; it is said that it was at Caldera that the ship's papers were altered; but everything tends to show that the clearance of La Concepcion was made without any authorization from the Government of Chile and even unknown to it.

Attempts to recruit at Easter Island did not succeed; none of the natives of that unhappy land, where the ferocious acts were committed which the Messenger has published for its readers, wished to accompany the ship. After having sighted and unsuccessfully tried to reach the island of Elisabeth, La Concepcion went to Dominique (Marquesas Islands), where the captain sent ashore a boat manned by the mate and four members of the crew; during its passage it was accosted by a canoe in which there was one of the Catholic Mission Brothers to whom the mate stated that he had come to get natives; although the Brother's reply left no doubt about the failure of their attempt, the men had hardly reached the shore before their whaleboat was taken by the islanders. Not being able to get on board their ship they stayed for five days with the missionaries at Puamau, after which they were taken, in their sloop, to Nukuhiva, where the Resident sent them to Tahiti.

~~XXX~~ La Concepcion, after waiting for the return of the boat for a couple of days, sailed off and a few days later was wrecked on the coast of Tahaa.

Parker, N.Y., Missionary Storage in Marquesas Islands, a Journal of the Friends  
M.S. 11(1) 13 The mate of the ship, known on board by the name of Louis  
Fleury, is none other than a certain Julien Faucheux, a sailor  
[19] on the brig Le Railleur, who deserted at Valparaiso in 1859;  
the four men who manned the boat are Estevan Narvaes, a Chilean;  
Antonio Boggiano, an Italian; Jose Anta Miralo, a Chilean; and  
Manuel Fernandez, a Spaniard.

..... They succeeded in taking 10 from  
Napou and 5 from Puzon on Hivata.

Carverish, said on 27.12.62 Express called at Napou - natives deceived on  
board, contacted below, where an abundance of food had been provided for  
them. Enticed to drink to intoxication, when the hatches were fastened  
down over them. 8 men and 11 women taken.

Missionary at Athana, Hivata, says 2 ships came on 26.10.62. Saw 1000 men  
on shore and the natives took one of their boats and the ship left without  
getting any men. Went on to Omoa on Faluhiva.

Reported to the murder of a foreigner on Napou who had been long resident  
there. He was from South America and was suspected of being an abolitionist.  
[20] The repatriating ship brought mail for

.....

Parker, B.W., 'Missionary Voyage to Marquesas Islands; a Report'. The Friend, n.s.13(1):5 (Jan.1864); 13(2):13-15 (Feb.1864); 13(3):18-19 (March 1864).

.....

[15]. On our arrival at the islands, it was a matter of surprise to us that none of the natives came off to the schooner. We ran along near shore, and so near to Uapou as to see the natives, and near the shore of Nohuga - explained that natives feared the kidnappers - 5 ships from Peru had been among the Marquesas during the past year. They succeeded in taking 19 from Uapou and 6 from Puamou on Hivaoa.

Kauwealoha said on 22.12.62 Empresa called at Uapou - natives decoyed on board, conducted below, where an abundance of food had been provided for them. Enticed to drink to intoxication, when the hatches were fastened down over them. 8 men and 11 women taken.

Missionary at Atuona, Hivaoa, says 2 ships came on 26.10.62. Some crew came on shore and the natives took one of their boats and the ship left without getting any men. Went on to Omoa on Fatuhiva.

Resulted in the murder of a foreigner on Uapou who had been long resident there. He was from South America and was suspected of being an accomplice.

[16] The repatriating ship brought smallpox.

.....



A document in the archives of the Sacred Heart Fathers in Rome, compiled by the archivist Father Amerigo Cools, is entitled: "L'Île de Pâques et la Congregation SS. CC - Documentation - Appendix, 1975." It contains the following item (in French).

Item 22: Easter Islanders in the Marquesas.

One person disembarked on 21-8-1863 at Taioha'e, Nukuhiva, coming from Callao in the ~~Baix~~ Diamant. He was <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ Easter Islander called Huaraa (Arch. Eveche de Taioha'e).

L'an  
"Taioha'e: ~~Baix~~ de Notre Seigneur mil [neuf] cent-trois, et le 2 janvier, je, soussigné, ai uni par les liens du mariage Nikodemo Fova, âgé de 42 ans, (de l'île de Paques), avec Marie-Louise Hinapupua ou Kuamanui, âgée de 44 ans, ~~g~~ fille de Pierre Hoata et de Tahiarahioho. Les témoins ~~existants~~ ont été Mahia et Teikimohe. Pierre Chaulet."  
(Registre de baptêmes, &c. de Taioha'e depuis le mois d'août 1890, p. 75).

Entered

Wesleyan Missionary Notices No.24 (July 1863):369-375.

The news of the Peruvian vessels has led to a meeting of the Ministers of various religious denominations. A Deputation was appointed to see the Governor and a sub-committee constituted to make arrangements for a public Meeting. The Governor said that he had already sent two despatches to the Secretary of State on the subject, but would be glad to be the medium of any further communications.

There were six Resolutions passed at a large General Meeting:-

- (3) That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to the representative of the French Empire at Tahiti, for his prompt and decisive measures to put an end to the career of these enemies of the human race.

Then follows excerpts from the SMH with letters Maka to Gee, 16.2.63; Samuela to Ella, 31.3.63 (i.e. Ella's two letters to the SMH of the 2 and 9.6.63); and Murray's letter enclosing the one from Nisbet, 12.3.63; and finally a Memorial to the Governor for forwarding to the Secretary of State, signed John Eggleston, 15.6.63.

.....

Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the <sup>Foreign</sup> Office - Nos 141 and 142. Malpelo, Cocos, and Easter Islands. London, H.M.S.O., 1920.

.....

[There is nothing on the Peruvian repatriation episode under Cocos.]

On Easter Island: [42] 'By that time, however, [i.e. the date of repatriation] the majority of them, including Maurota, had died; and when the remnant of the victims - just one hundred in number - were embarked about the middle of that year, they carried small-pox with them. Only fifteen individuals survived to reach their native soil, and these infected the inhabitants left behind. In consequence of these events, no more than 1,200 persons, out of a population which the best authorities compute to have once numbered [43] 3,000, remained alive when Frère Eugène arrived; and the epidemic was still raging.'<sup>1</sup>

1 Nautical Magazine (1863) 608-14, 681-3 (for Peruvian slave-raids); Powell (Geogr. Soc. of Australasia, Royal - Proceedings of the S.A. Branch, vol.III); Caillot, Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale, 450-490; Annales de la Prop. de la Foi 38 (224):44-71; (225):124-45; 52 (420): 367-8, 373-83.

,.....



*Exceed*

CLOUGHOGUE (pseud.), "'Blackbirders": kidnapping incident in Cook Islands, 75 years ago'. Pacific Islands Monthly, X (10):49-50 (May 1940).

.....  
This is the same story as was given to me by Bill Coppell, told by Eriakima and translated by J.J. Murray. It omits a few bits at the end about his wife's deficiencies and adds a:

'Translator's Note: It was gathered from Eriakima that the larger ship was a brigantine, and the smaller a schooner. The sailors were dark men, like Maoris, with black beards. In the fo'castle there were many pictures of Mary and the Saints, and some Crucifixes. There were no cannon aboard, that he saw. The sails were much patched and the ships were very filthy. They were most probably from Peru. Ships from Peru and Chile, during the nineteenth century, enslaved thousands of Polynesians, and practically depopulated some groups.'

.....  
je n'avais que plus de 100 catéchumènes n'attendaient pour recevoir le baptême; mais les pirates n'avaient devancé, je trouvait les pays presque désert. ... les prisonniers avaient pour la plupart déjà cessé de vivre. D'autres gens, naturellement si doux et si sages, on les a traqués comme des bêtes fauves; comme il se virent au pouvoir des pirates, leur première pensée fut de prier leur catéchiste de les baptiser, puisqu'ils ne pouvaient plus s'attendre.

Annales Prop. Foi 39 (1867):128-143

.....

Lettre de Mgr. Elloy, coadjuter de Mgr. Bataillon, au T.-R.P. Favre, supérieur général de la Société de Marie. Apia, 10.2.66. Pp.128-43.

[141] In the Tokelaus two Catholic islands with a catechist on each.

From Apia we try to visit them from time to time.

The population of these islands 'était encore, en 1862, de 600 habitants, aujourd'hui elle ne dépasse pas 200. Les pirates de Pérou ont enlevé de force la partie la plus valide de cette paisible population. Au commencement de 1863, j'allai [142] pour visiter nos néophytes, je savais que plus de 100 catéchumènes m'attendaient pour recevoir le baptême; mais les pirates m'avaient devancé, je trouvait les pays presque désert. ... les prisonniers avaient pour la plupart déjà cessé de vivre. Pauvres gens! naturellement si doux et si soibles, on les a traqués comme des bêtes fauves; comme il se virent au pouvoir des pirates, leur première pensée fut de prier leur catéchiste de les baptiser, puisqu'ils ne pouvaient plus m'attendre.'

.....

Entered

Finney, Ben, 1964. 'Un souvenir Tahitien de la "Traite des oiseaux noirs".' Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques 12:384-386.

.....

Finney cites a family living at Paea on Tahiti who were allegedly descended from a Niuean. A 'man-stealing ship [pahi 'ia **Ca'ata**] arrived at Niue and gave a feast on board, which the ancestor attended. He was thrown into the hold and taken to Rapa, where he lived until a ship called from Tahiti and engaged him as a sailor. Later he married on Raiatea and still later came to work in the Paea district on the plantation of Tati Salmon.

Finney speculates that he could have been taken from Niue to Rapa by a Peruvian slaver, which got wrecked at Rapa, or else taken to Tahiti by Bully Hayes in 1868 where he retailed this fantastic story.

.....

Pestilence broke out in the crowded, insanitary ship. Denied entry to every port, the captain callously dumped the visitors ashore in Deans Bay and left them there to die. The settlers tended them as humanely as possible, with the inevitable result that a number of them contracted the disease, died, and were buried hurriedly in rough mass-graves at the head of the Bay. Some time later the survivors were taken off by a passing whaler which put into the bay in response to urgent signals.

Ten years later Chris Johnston and a companion arrived in the Bay with their wives and families, built new huts and established gardens.

The Bells arrived in 1878.

*Entered*

Morton, Elsie K., Crusoes of Sunday Island. London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1957.

.....

23. 'At the time of Captain Denham's visit [Captain H.M. Denham, H.M.S. Herald, 1854], an American named Halstead was living in Denham Bay with two Samoan wives, a number of children and a kanaka servant. During the years that followed, several other parties of pioneers arrived, some being satisfied with very brief visits, others remaining longer.

Grimmest of all episodes in the shadowed history of Sunday Island was the dumping in Denham Bay of a party of plague-stricken Tokelau Islanders in 1860. These unfortunate kanakas had been recruited by a black-birding, or slave-trading, schooner as labour for the Peruvian silver plantations and were being shipped to Callao for sale under the cruel and iniquitous system then in operation.

Pestilence broke out in the crowded, insanitary ship. Denied entry to every port, the captain callously dumped the <sup>victims</sup> ~~visitors~~ ashore in Denham Bay and left them there to die. The settlers tended them as humanely as possible, with the inevitable result that a number of them contracted the disease, died, and were buried hurriedly in rough mass-graves at the head of the Bay. Some time later the survivors were taken off by a passing whaler which put into the bay in response to urgent signals.

Ten years later Chris Johnston and a companion arrived in the Bay with their wives and families, built new huts and established gardens.'

The Bells arrived in 1878.

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*Entered*

Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Archaeology of Easter Island.

.....

[67] The Peruvian Slave Raid. A few years later still, about 1859, some natives were again kidnapped on Easter Island, and this time sold as slaves to work on the guano islands off Peru. Similarly, in December 1862 Captain Aiguirre left Callao, Peru, to recruit more guano workers in Polynesia. Arriving on Easter Island he found seven other Peruvian ships which had already anchored off the coast for the same purpose. They all decided to cooperate, and eighty armed men were set ashore spreading trade goods on the ground to attract the natives. When about five hundred of the Easter Islanders were gathered, mostly on their knees examining the trade goods, the slave raiders fell upon them and captured two hundred, while nearly a dozen were shot dead. The rest escaped by climbing up the rock or diving into the sea. The captives were tied and carried onboard the various ships, where they met with a great many more of their countrymen who had been captured while coming out to the foreign guests for the purpose of trade. Among those kidnapped were the island king, ~~MAURATA, AS WELL AS NEARLY ALL THE~~ Kaimakoi, and his son Maurata, as well as nearly all the maori, or learned men, all of whom died on the guano islands. Bishop Jaussen of Tahiti protested against this crime to the French Minister at Lima, and the Peruvian authorities ordered the return of the enslaved Easter Islanders, about a thousand in all. Diseases and the rough unaccustomed life as guano workers had, however, killed about nine hundred in less than a year, and of the remaining one hundred the great majority died of smallpox on the return voyage, only fifteen surviving the experiences [68] to be repatriated on Easter Island. These fifteen brought a smallpox epidemic to the rest of the island population, and although the natives all resorted to secret underground dwellings for fear of further raids, they were unable to escape the disease. Famine and misery followed due to the abandonment of the cultivated fields, and the population was quickly reduced to a few hundred (Eyraud, 1864, p.54; Olivier, 1864, p.50; Lapelin, 1872, pp.543-544; Croft, 1874, p.320; Jaussen, 1894, p.242; Powell, 1899, p.141; Routledge, 1919, pp.205-207).

*\* Captain of the Corva.*

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- (7) Routledge, K. (1919): The Mystery of Easter Island. The story of an Expedition. - London.

the sailing ship. .... The natives say that one thousand Inall  
were so removed from the island, and, unfortunately, there  
were among (1) about 1866; (2) 1866; and (4) 1875.  
of the most learned, and the rest of the ariki, or chiefs.  
Representations were made by the French Minister at Lima,  
and a certain number were put on board ship to be returned  
to their home. Smallpox, however, had been contracted by  
them, and out of one hundred who were (206) to be repatriated,  
only fifteen survived. These, on their return to the island,  
brought the disease with them, which spread rapidly with  
and fatal results to the population.

Routledge, Mrs Scoresby, The Mystery of Easter Island: the story of an expedition. London, Sifton, Praed & Co. Ltd.

.....

205. 'In the sixties of last century the great series of changes took place which brought Easter Island into touch with the modern world. The first of these largely broke the chain with the past which the archaeologist now seeks to reconstruct. Labour was needed by the exploiters of the Peruvian guano fields, and an attempt which was made to introduce it from China having failed, slave-raids were organised in the South Sea Islands. As early as 1805 Easter had suffered similarly at the hands of American sealers, and it was amongst the principal islands to be laid under contribution in December 1862.

It is pathetic even now to hear the old men describe the scenes which they witnessed in their youth, illustrating by action how the raiders threw down on the ground gifts which they thought likely to attract the inhabitants, and, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for them, tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. The natives say that one thousand in all were so removed from the island, and, unfortunately, there were amongst them some of the principal men, including many of the most learned, and the last of the ariki, or chiefs. Representations were made by the French Minister at Lima, and a certain number were put on board ship to be returned to their home. Smallpox, however, had been contracted by them, and out of one hundred who were (206) to be repatriated, only fifteen survived. These, on their return to the island, brought the disease with them, which spread rapidly with most fatal results to the population.'

SECRETARY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Attention of the Catholic 'Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary' in Valparaiso drawn to Easter by an account received from a passing ship. Determined to commence a mission. Three left for Tahiti, en route, and Brother Eugene Eyraud proceeded on, landing in Jan. 1864.

In March 1866, visits Chile, and returns with Father Roussel, and later in the year by two more. By Aug. 1868, when Eyraud dies of Phthisis, no heathen left. Phthisis = pulmonary consumption. (207) 'The ravages of this disease, following on those of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ smallpox, reduced the population, which at the time of the arrival of the mission had stood at twelve hundred, by about one-fourth.'

..... tells how he had interviewed Easter Islanders then living in Tahiti, and had questioned them about 'the probable cause of /the/ difference between the stature of their ancestors and their present height.' Graft then goes on:

They stated, in answer, that some twelve years ago their island was visited by a number of Peruvian vessels, as many as nine at one time. These vessels sent a part of their crews on shore, armed, and then the vessels surrounded their island, firing on them with cannon, while the boats' crews, combined, were driving and firing upon them with muskets. In this manner a number of them were killed, for they had no firearms, and were too timid to make close work of it. The survivors were obliged to surrender, and after

their pillage was over, proceeded to select all the largest and most powerful men, and after ~~xxxxxxxx~~ putting them on board, took them on board the vessels and carried them off to



Churchill, William, 1912. Easter Island: The Rapanui  
Speech and the Peopling of Southeast Polynesia, Washington  
(Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 174).

On pp. 317-323, Churchill transcribes two letters from Thomas Croft, dated Papeete, Tahiti, April 30th, 1874, to the president of the California Academy of Sciences. They were published in the Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences, vol. V, /date ?/. In one of the letters, Croft refers to a Mr. De Greno, a Swede, who had lived on Easter Island for 'some months' after the ship he was traveling in was wrecked there. He also tells how he had interviewed Easter Islanders then living in Tahiti, and had questioned them about 'the probable cause of /the/ difference between the stature of their ancestors and their present height.' Croft then goes on:

They stated, in answer, that some twelve years ago their island was visited by a number of Peruvian vessels, as many as nine at one time. These vessels sent a part of their crews on shore, armed, and then the vessels surrounded their island, firing on them with cannon, while the boats' crews, combined, were driving and firing upon them with muskets. In this manner a number of them were killed, for they had no firearms, and were too timid to make close work of it. The consequence was, they were obliged to surrender, and after being collected in one place, their pilliless conquerors proceeded to select all the largest and most powerful men, and after securely putting them in irons, took them on board the vessels and carried them off into

*non sense*

Powell, W. Rehears, 'Detailed Report upon Easter Island, or Rapa-nui'. Naval Geographical Society of Australasia, 3, 4, 1841  
 Hrs: slavery, to carry heavy sacks of guano on the Chincha Islands. They have some boys, however, growing up, and who promise to make large men...

at seeing a number of ships come into the bay, and anchor close to the land. Churchill, p. 320. They are described as Peruvian, and a great many men and boats. The natives, who had many canoes, crowded round the ships, and went on board to barter. Suddenly they were all seized, tied up, and put below; a few got away and reached the shore. The people in the ships, finding that no more came off, landed in a number of boats, and by firing their muskets and chasing the natives at last got them hemmed in where they could not well escape, and several hundreds were taken. Some slight resistance was made, and two of the Peruvians were killed with stones. The poor creatures thus kidnapped were taken off, with others that had been obtained at the Marquesas, to the Chincha Islands, to work guano.

As might be expected, they soon died; indeed so rapidly that when the Peruvian Government were obliged, under pressure from foreign countries, to take back the "engaged" they had kidnapped at the ~~Marquesas~~ Marquesas, only a few of the natives of Easter Island remained. They were, however, sent back at the same time, most of them dying in the passage.

This may be termed the turning point of their history. The king and a number of the chiefs had been carried off by the Peruvians, and in a short time everything fell into anarchy and confusion; the ~~chiefs~~ chiefs were all killed off, and the people lived as they best could, each one plundering his neighbours. Even the restitution of the captives proved a great calamity, for they brought back with them scorpions, and the island was soon depopulated. It was whilst they were in this state that the first missionaries landed.

(140) 3,000 before Peruvian raids. (142) 1,500 when Eyraud was and 800 when Powell called 1-7, 11, 1868.

Entered

PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE

1862-1863

Powell, W. Ashmore, 'Detailed Report upon Easter Island, or Rapa-nui'. Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, S.A. Branch, Proc. III:138-142. (1899)

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(141) 'About five years ago the islanders were astonished at seeing a number of ships come into the bay, and anchor close to the land. They had colors which are described as Peruvian, and a great many men and boats. The natives, who had many canoes, crowded round the ships, and went on board to barter. Suddenly they were all seized, tied up, and put below; a few got away and reached the shore. The people in the ships, finding that no more came off, landed in a number of boats, and by firing their muskets and chasing the natives at last got them hemmed in where they could not well escape, and several hundreds were taken. Some slight resistance was made, and two of the Peruvians were killed with stones. The poor creatures thus kidnapped were taken off, with others that had been obtained at the Marquesas, to the Chincha Islands, to work guano.

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This may be termed the turning point of their history. The king and a number of the chiefs had been carried off by the Peruvians, and in a short time everything fell into anarchy and confusion; the animals were all killed off, and the people lived as they best could, each one plundering his neighbours. Even the restitution of the captives proved a great calamity, for they brought back with them smallpox, and the island was nearly depopulated. It was whilst they were in this state that the first missionaries landed.

(140) 3,000 before Peruvian raids. (142) 1,500 when Eyraud came and 800 when Powell called 1-7.11.1868.

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Entered

The Aborigines' Friend and Colonial Intelligencer. Vol.II,  
(Dec.1866), pp.534-7.

[534]

The Kidnapped Polynesians in Peru. Letter from the Rev. Thomas Powell, of the Samoan Mission. 24th May, 1866.

My object in writing now is, by sending you a copy of the Resolution to which I referred last evening at the Aborigines' Protection Society's Annual Meeting, to let you know just the kind of aid we need.

Copy of Minute IX, passed by the Missionaries of Samoa, at their General Meeting, held Dec. 6th and 7th, 1865.

"From the Report of the late voyage to 'Ellice Group', it appears that 370 of the natives of that part of the Pacific were taken off by the Peruvian slavers. From other places in close proximity to our Mission here, viz Savage Island, Puka-puka, and Tokelau, we know to a certainty that 530 more were taken, making in all about 900 natives, from our stations in this part of the Pacific alone, who were kidnapped and are still missing. The greater part of these natives were professedly christian, some of them Church members, and some teachers. We feel deeply grieved that these poor people are still missing, notwithstanding the assurances of the authorities at Peru to our Government that they would send back the Polynesian natives to their respective islands. We feel, also, that we are in duty bound to make further efforts to rescue those of them who, we have reason to believe, are still to some extent in bondage in Peru, and without the means of returning to their homes.

Resolved - That we lay this matter before the Directors (of the London Missionary Society), and solicit for it their best consideration and speedy action. If by some movement on the part of our Government Mr Consul Williams, or some other person well acquainted with the natives, could be sent to Peru, for the express purpose of searching for the missing natives, and affording them an opportunity of returning to their homes, we believe a number of them would be found; and if we could succeed in recovering two or three natives of each of the four groups

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Governments. The French authorities at Tahiti captured some

just referred to, who could give an account of the fate of their fellow-countrymen, it would be a lasting favour conferred upon the poor people, and fill their hearts with gratitude to their benefactors.

From this, Sir, you will see that we have no faith in any further appeal to the authorities at Peru. We want some one to go, under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government, and seek out and bring home these poor natives. This could easily be accomplished if our Government could be induced to send instructions to the Australian naval station to allow Mr. Williams to proceed to Peru in any of Her Majesty's ships which may pay the annual visit to Samoa.

Having put you in possession of these views, I shall of course be most happy to furnish any aid or information in my power.

Thomas Powell."

MEMORIAL TO LORD STANLEY

To the Right Honourable Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

It is probably within Your Lordship's knowledge that several years ago large numbers of the native inhabitants of the Polynesian islands were kidnapped by Peruvian slavers, and forcibly conveyed to the Chincha Islands, where they were put to labour on the guano deposits - an employment which was at once deadly, loathsome, and unintermittent. Every circumstance connected with these outrages deepened their atrocity. The people were torn from their homes by force; they underwent the horrors of a protracted voyage in ships which afforded them the barest necessaries and none of the decencies of life; and on their arrival at their destination their strength was overtaxed by bad food, cruel treatment, and the poisonous effluvium exhaled from the guano beds.

The exposure of these iniquities, which took place in 1863, led to prompt action on the part of the English and French Governments. The French authorities at Tahiti captured some

of the pirates, and punished them with great but deserved severity. Both England and France remonstrated with the Peruvian Government; and the result was, that the nefarious trade was abandoned, and a promise made that the poor creatures, who had been stolen from various islands of the Polynesian group, should be returned to their respective countries.

Public opinion was satisfied with this concession, and it was (536) confidently believed that the Peruvian authorities would honestly make good their pledges. But we have received communications from ~~xxx~~ Missionaries in the Pacific which render it certain that, while the traffic has been abandoned, large numbers of the people who were kidnapped are still held in slavery. It appears from a Minute passed by the Missionaries of Samoa at their General Meeting, held on the 6th and 7th of December last, that 370 natives taken from the Ellice group, and 530 from islands in proximity to the London Society's Mission - some 900 souls in all - were still missing. Many of these persons had been converted to Christianity; while some were teachers, and, in a peculiar sense, the hope of the country.

There is reason to believe that the majority, if not all, of these unfortunate Polynesians are still labouring in the mines or guano islands of Peru. We would therefore earnestly suggest to your Lordship the expediency of permitting Mr. J.C. Williams, our Consul at Samoa, or some other qualified person, to visit Peru, under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government, for the purpose of discovering and returning to their homes the natives who are still detained in that country; or, if this course be deemed impracticable, we pray Your Lordship to address such friendly remonstrances to the Peruvian Government as may induce them to carry out in good faith the promise which they made to Lord Russell four years ago.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

Alfred Spencer Churchill, Vice-President.

R.N. Fowler, Treasurer. F.W. Cresson, Secretary.

Lord Stanley's Reply.

Foreign Office, Dec. 20, 1866.

Sir, - With reference to Mr. Egerton's letter of the 20th of September last, I am directed by Lord Stanley to request that you will lay before the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society the following particulars which I have received from Mr. Barton, with regard to the Polynesian Islanders imported into Peru.

It was stated that about 1200 of these labourers had arrived in Peru; of these the Peruvian Government had sent back to their islands in the ship

Barbara Gorner	....	360	✓
Adelante	.....	482	✓
Diamante	.....	29	✓
		<hr/>	
		871	✓

Of the remaining 329 it is stated that at least two-thirds had died of small-pox and other diseases in the hospitals, or on the estates, and that there remained in Peru about 100, from whom no complaints have been received.

Chinese coolies are said to be the only persons employed at the Chincha Islands.

Mr. Barton adds, that of the 360 embarked in the Barbara Gorner, only 40 arrived alive at the Gambier Islands; and that of the 482 shipped on board the Adelante, 200 died from small-pox, and were thrown overboard at sea, and the remainder were abandoned by the master of the vessel on the Isle of Cocos, 40 of whom were subsequently saved, and landed at Paytie.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

E. Hammond.

The Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society."

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Turner, G.A. 1878. PMB 129.

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Notes

Presumably to the 1878 voyage.

Tokelaus. 'In 1863, 247 men, women and children were kidnapped by the Peruvian slavers from Tokelau, only one has returned from Peru. He died soon after of consumption and from his reports of cruelty, disease and death the Tokelau people do not expect to see any more of them. Fākafo population had increased 50 in 10 years. Atafu - population has increased 70 since slavers - no old men or women because all that generation kidnapped.

.....

Nukulaelae - 250 people were taken from this [island] by the Peruvians - only 65 left - in 1878 population 104.

Funafuti - Peruvians kidnapped 170 from this island. Feyned [?] the missionary and said they were taking the ~~people~~ people to school to an island close by and would bring them back in a month!'.  
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