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Canberra, 18 July, 1975

H.E. Maude, Esq.,
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Dear Harry:-

I thank you for your long letter of 6 Instant and for the Denning Handbook that you enclosed. Attached please find that Handbook and a photocopy of the manuscript that I turned over to Niel Gunson for publication in the Journal.

I have only had a chance to glance at the Handbook, but what I have seen is very impressive. I shall go through it more carefully for the re-write of my thesis, after I return from Canada. I have taken a copy of it.

My plans have been slightly affected by the birth of a new McCall, just after midnight on 16 Instant. Edwin Matthew Irving is coming along fine, in Canberra Hospital, and Julia expects to be coming out either Sunday or Monday. It is a good thing that her mother is here to help us out.


I did manage to get a manuscript typed up of the Peruvian business and delivered it (uncorrected) to Niel. I told him about the strictures on time, but hoped that he wouldn't mind. When I see him next week, I will make the more important corrections and then he can do with it as he wishes. If I just had a bit more time, I could go through another draft or two. Still, even this re-write of my thesis material has been helpful towards my main goal (the dissertation). I send you a corrected copy and if you have the time, I would appreciate your comments. Niel has already pointed out, on my Table One, that "Oura," is probably in the Tuamotu's and therefore not Rapanui, so I'll have to delete that one.

I appreciate your comments on Chapter Two and acknowledge that it needs considerable work, especially in the chronological arrangement, which I do not want. Your suggestion of thematic lines is what I had intended, but did not carry off. I agree on the changes in emphasis needed. As for Section 4, I go to Sydney on 11 August to read through Le Messager de Tahiti, in the Mitchell and hope to come up with some good stuff between 1880 and 1890. I leave Sydney for Vancouver on 15 August. If I am lucky, I will have some good material from that run-through.

Your comparative comments were particularly useful as you know I am very weak in the comparative Pacific literature. I will show you my Conclusions section, when I write it, for your comments.

I am informed that if the enclosed manuscript is accepted at the Editorial Meeting next week, then publication will be in early 1976. I must say that I felt great difficulty in restraining myself from putting in too much, but Niel seemed to think that a manuscript of around 5,000 words or so would be most appropriate. I look forward to the full study in order to display better some of the Peruvian material.

Best wishes to Honor and I look forward to hearing from you.



19th CENTURY LABOUR RECRUITMENT
AND EASTER ISLAND¹

By
Grant McCall

The use of Islander labour for the development of 19th century European projects in the Pacific has a long and iniquitous history, the details of which are coming to light in an increasing number of detailed studies of the period. While so-called "Kanaka" labour featured throughout the whaling and plantation period, the first wide-scale scheme of labour importation in Polynesia was the Peruvian Labour Trade that operated between 1862 and 1863. Considering its short life, the trade and its consequences wrought unparalleled havoc on a number of island populations.

This was particularly the case with Easter Island which, possibly due to its relative proximity to the Peruvian coast, suffered the greatest impact of this venture; its effect being to terminate that island's isolation from the rest of the world and to obliterate the highly developed culture of that island for all time.

Situated over 1500 km from its nearest inhabited neighbour, Pitcairn Island, Easter Island is the most remote of the Pacific Islands. Nevertheless, since its discovery in 1722 by the Dutch navigator Jacob Roggeveen, at least 523 vessels called at Easter Island before 1862. The outsiders who either landed or weighed anchor off the shores of the island known as Rapanui² to its present-day inhabitants, came for a variety of reasons - discovery, trade, supplies, ^{or} plunder. The natural resources, then as today, have never been considered remarkable and their most desired product has been the people themselves.

By the 19th century, Easter Island was known to sailors for its women. Moerenhout (1837:26-7) in 1830, was aware that there was "much trafficking in women," and he mentions the fear that venera^{e2}~~d~~ diseases were prevalent on the island at that time. Cook's men, in 1774, had noticed the paucity of women in their time and just over a decade later (Beaglehole 1961:337-60), La Pérouse (1798) opined that females had been hidden at the time of the famous British naviagor's visit. As for his visit, the Frenchman (La Perouse 1798:6) noted, "... they [the women] offered their favours to all those who would make them a present." With unusual perspicacity, La Pérouse (1786:17-8) wrote that some of the females were forced into this trade against their will:

They brought to us by force young girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age, in the hope of receiving pay for them; the repugnance of those young females was a proof that in this respect the custom of the country was violated. Not a single Frenchman made use of the barbarous right which was given him; and if there were some moments dedicated to nature, the desire and consent were mutual, and the women made the first advances.

Women were often brought on board ships that did not otherwise land, as for example, in the case of Dupetit-Thouars (1841:226-7) who stated that in three of the five canoes that approached his ship, an attractive woman was placed in the prow of each. Cumming's (ms.:10) coy remark that the Ensign of the Discover, had much to do with the Islanders while they lay off Hanganaroa for five days in 1827 may^{have been} ~~be~~ a reference to such behaviour. "Te'ree," beloved of Captain Bishop (1967:40-2) in 1795, was brought on board the Ruby, along with other maidens, precisely for the purpose of sexual intercourse with the crew of that ship. When strong surf prevented the landing of the Pilgrim, in 1801 (Delano, 1817:356) in addition to attempting to attract^r the crew with bunches of sugar-cane, yams, and other produce, the women also made clear by signs what commerce they offered.

While probably not a commercial venture, three ships reports contain a reference to Islanders actually wishing to be taken off the island. Captain Raine (De Salis, 1969:37-8), in 1821, refused to take an Islander with him who expressed a desire to leave, while quarter of a century earlier, Bishop (1967:37-8) notes that two young men specifically requested to be taken to "Britannice," which he refused to do. In about 1806, a South whaler, Captain Page, took a young man to England with him and his story is told in retrospect in a news story that was reprinted in a New England newspaper:

A few days since the youngest son of Crang-a-low, King of Easter Island, was baptised at Rotherhithe Church, in the name of Henry Easter, after the island. This prince came to England six years ago, in the ship Adventure, Captain Page, South Whaler, who touched there to refresh the crew, they having scurvy. When he departed, King Crang-a-low was supposed to be 125 years old, scarcely able to walk, and his hair as white as milk and the father of twenty three children, all of whom were alive. This young prince is, in every respect, a handsome man, about 22 years of age, five feet eight inches high, is very tractable, and will, in a short time, be able to civilize his countrymen, if an opportunity should offer (Ward 1967:230).

According to an Islander oral historical accounts, at least one other Islander voluntarily went off on a whaling voyage, to serve as crew.³

In only seven of the over fifty accounts is there a mention of European fear of Islander attack while of these, in five of these there are actual accounts of attacks. Looking at them in chronological order it seems that while some Captains feared attack, others enjoyed good relations, often even in the same year. Captain Chapman (ms.), in 1821, remarks, "This island [Rapanui] is inhabited by savages," though five months earlier Captain Raine of the Surry had enjoyed excellent relations (De Salis 1969:37-8). Before Raine, Captain Shubael chase had conducted extensive trade (Ward, 1967:230). In 1827, the Discoverer landed no personnel for fear of attack, but appeared to have had no difficulties during their stay.

La Pérouse (1798:15-6) experienced some pelting by stones in 1786, when some of his crew attempted to recover a grapnel stolen from the ship, but it wasn't until Captain Adams, in 1806, and Captain Windship, in 1809, that Islanders are alleged to have actually repelled visitors by attacking them.⁴ Von Kotzebue, (1821:16-8), in 1815, appears to have received a very chilly reception, though initial relations were amicable with trading of vegetables for small bits of old iron. When a landing was attempted, his men were repulsed, apparently without provocations.

A story that enjoyed a certain notoreity in the last century was the surprise attack on Captain Beechey's men, who attempted to land in 1825 at Cook's Bay, known locally as Hangaroa. Two published accounts exist of this incident (Peard, 1972, Beechey, 1831), though the manuscript version by Belcher, in the Turnbull Library is also full. Gough (1972:73) is quite incorrect when he states that "Roggeveen had a similar experience; a friendly reception gave way to native hostility;," as the Dutch difficulties are relatable to Undermate Cornelius Mens's timidity, as the original Dutch account makes very clear (see Corney 1980:12-3; Sharp 1970:94-5). In the Beechey case, it ^{was} ~~is~~ more difficult to explain just why an attack should ensue from initial friendly relations. Peard believed that the Islanders may have feared that the foreigners were about to move off, without further trading and so wished to prevent their departure. Beechey (1831: 48), from his vantage point on the deck of HMS Blossom notes: "About this time [of initial landing] one of the natives, probably a chief, with a cloak and head-dress of feathers, was observed...hastening from the huts to the landing place, attended by several persons with short clubs." What Beechey's men suffered may be related to some onshore conflict between the newly arrived chief and those already present, the result being a confused decision to pelt the outsiders.

Of all the incidents of conflict report, however, it is usually the European who has escaped unscathed and there^e is only one report of a foreigner's death on the island, and that was of Robert F. Weeks, boat steerer, who was murdered by Rapanui in 1856 (Ward 1967:239-41).

On the other hand, attacks on Islanders by Europeans did occur in the last century, even before the 1862 outrage that I shall recount shortly. The most notorious episode occurred in 1805 and is known from several sources, though all attempts to identify a schooner Nancy from New London, have failed.⁵ It was a well-known incident and even in the reports on violence against Europeans by Rapanui, newspapers and other commentators refer to the Nancy as an explanation for the attacks. Delano^o (1817:304-8), who arrived to the seal island of Más Afuera (Suan Fernández Group) in 1800 & 1805 provides a good description of the, then, infant industry. Between 1800 to 1804 between ten to twenty ships called at the small island for the purpose of sealing. The trade^{had} began between Canton and the sealers in about 1797. Delano estimated that as many as three million seals may have been carried off up to 1804, he himself being an important participant in the trade. He reported that he had been "... at the place when there were the people of fourteen ships, or vessels, on the island at one time, killing seals" (Delano 1817:306). Such work required labour and as Easter Island was the closest inhabited (and otherwise unprotected) territory to the sealing grounds, it is not surprising that unscrupulous captains looked to the Rapanui as a labour pool. In 1805, most reports agree, the Nancy carried off 12 men and 10 women. While the females remained on board, the men, given the first opportunity, jumped overboard to escape, most of them perishing as the ship was far out to sea. Englert (1970: 150-1) reports a tradition that one of these desperate Islanders actually managed to survive the long swim and returned to his island. Contemporary reports recorded that the Nancy returned to Rapanui for another raid shortly after their first one.

The only other reported incident of this nature was that of the whaling ship Pindos, in 1822. An enterprising first-mate, Waden, gathered up a quantity (by force?) of women and took them to his crew mates as prostitutes. The following day, the Islanders were released and thrown back into the water, left to make it to shore as best as they could. Shortly afterwards, on the same day, Waden amused himself by proving his marksmanship with a rifle. He felled an Islander on shore with a single shot, "son coup d'oeil," as he is known to have bragged. How many other such atrocities might have occurred is unknown, as the perpetrators undoubtedly would have preferred anonymity to infamy for their deeds. There is a veiled note ⁱⁿ Thomson (1891: 465) that another similar act may have been performed by Captain Rugg of the Friend at some time not specified.

The final year of relative internal harmony for Easter Island was 1862. In February, the Edwards, a New England whaling vessel, passed some miles distant, while the French warship, Cassini, hove off-shore for a few hours in September, or early October. Captain Lejeune believed that there were between 1200 to 1400 Islanders inhabiting the place and reported that trade was initiated with potatoes, taro, but only one chicken. The Islanders came out to his ship, with their produce, after he had sent two scout boats into shore to initiate contact. He recommended to the Sacred Heart's Missionaries in Valparaiso, to whom he spoke in October of that same year, that they might do well to send a mission to the island, for he believed the people to be docile and friendly.⁷

Previously accounts of what has been euphemistically termed "The Peruvian Labour Trade" in books about Easter Island (e.g. Englert 1948:152-5, ^{METCALIX} Merusux 1940:42-3), have erred in asserting that the trade lasted from 1859 to 1862 and I am at a loss to explain just how this misconception could have come about.

The great public edifices of Peru had been built with slave labour, imported from Africa, but this trade came to an end in the early 19th century with the emerging South American republics banning the practice (Ponce 1967).

Indigenous Indian labour had from early in the country's history, proven to be unsatisfactory, the Indians being able to escape too easily from their forced labour. For a while, the "sons of the celestial kingdom," as the hua chiao or oversease chinese, were known in Peru, served on the work gangs in agriculture, the guano exploitation, and other capacities where cheap and plentiful labour was required (Millones 1973:75-6). Though Chinese immigration was officially abolished in 1856, many ships continued to arrive and it is estimated that between 1861 and 1875, as many as 1,000,000 "coolies" were brought to Peru. One researcher is of the opinion that unsettled conditions due to a series of civil wars in south and southeast China may also have prompted Chinese to leave their homelands (Millones 1973:69).

Every month in the 1860s the front page of the main Lima newspaper, El Comercio, carried a detailed account of the export of guano, extracted principally from the Chincha Islands, located about 20 kms off of the coast from the ^opart of Pisco, also came from ahlf a dozen other less important sources.

An economic historian observes:

From the late 1840's to the early 1880's, guano dominated the commercial and financial life of Peru. It was the country's main commodity export for most of the period, and being the property of the state, the principal source of government revenue as well (Mathew 1970:112).

Contrary to previously published information, my evidence from the French and Peruvian primary ^r sources ^{Suggests} mentions nothing of any Polynesian involvement in the extraction of guano. Even if this were so, the impact of this activity upon the labour force of the country must have been enormous. Often, owners of cotton or sugarcane plantations would alternate their peons on agriculture and guano extraction, so the whole of the rural economy was bound up with guano. When Chinese labour became less available in the late 1850's, deserters and petty criminals were

often brought in to do the work under extremely difficult conditions (Vepes 1972:314-7). Mathew (1970) shows how the British market influenced Peruvian guano work and the demand for the fertilizer caused prices to come to a peak in late 1862. The labour, however, was not available in Peru and the Peruvian government was becoming worried.

A retrospective view of the Polynesian episode published in May of 1863 in the leading Lima daily, El Comercio, pointed to the alternatives that had been open to the labour contractors in 1862. According to the article, the hacienda owners, in whose interests the trade was principally promulgated, had three options: raise their rates of pay in order to attract Peruvian workers, bring well-paid colonists from Europe to establish themselves as small landholders, or look for cheap, nearly slave labour.⁸ On 20 April, 1861, the Peruvian Government gave in to the labour contractors and Chinese immigration, mainly from Macao, was instituted. In April of 1862, however, the Irishman, Byrne, of seemingly reputable credentials applied for and was granted a permit to import a quantity of natives of the Southwest Pacific Islands, for agricultural and domestic services.

Joseph Charles Byrne was a flamboyant Dubliner whose business was people and that was a scarce commodity in the ^{Peru}Perof of the 1860's. He had worked in labour migration schemes, his greatest success being with Natal in the 1840's, (Byrne 1848). His fortunes turned, however, in the 1850's, and he pursued immigration schemes in Brazil and Ireland. According to a report in the Sydney Morning Herald in 1863, Byrne had tried his hand in Melbourne, with an American called Clarke. When their ventures in Australia failed, they applied for and were granted an option to a permit to introduce 1,000 immigrants into New Caladonia. The venture never took place, though Byrne played upon the ingorance of his contacts in Peru to convince them that he had even become a French citizen in order to carry out the venture. Byrne was on his last legs, when he turned up in Lima with his scheme and his health was poor. It is somehow appropriate that he died on the return trip of the first ship to bring Polynoisans

When the 151 ton ship, Adelante docked in Callao on 13 September, 1862, it carried from Tongareva 266 Islanders, including men, women and children. Their contracts, apparently duly signed and attested, were sold for US\$200 the men, \$150 the women and \$100 the boys. If British Consular information on this voyage is accurate, then the ship's owners must have collected over \$35,000 for the voyage. In contrast to the Chinese voyages, where at least ten percent of the "cargo" would perish en route, only one woman died and four children were born on the Adelante's voyage. One editorial at the time even noted the benefits that would accrue to the Polynesians, being brought to a civilised country such as Peru. At this point, everyone seemed happy and, within the space of a few weeks, twenty-six more ships were outfitted and formally entered the trade.

But, even as the first license was being granted to Byrne, some notes of caution were being published in the Lima Press. This caution turned to criticism, with one editorial terming the proposed importation of Polynesians, "scandalous" already in September of 1862.

Sources contemporaneous to the events I describe suggest that while the labour trade emanated from Peru, it can in no sense be considered a wholly Peruvian venture. Both Government and private ^{CITIZENS} ~~citizens~~ of the country were strongly repulsed by the forced importation of human chattel. The Government's granting of the initial permission was in good faith and contingent upon the conditions of recruiting "colonists," as they understood them. Once it had been demonstrated conclusively that things were not as they had seemed, the trade was officially baned and ships were impounded. The caution and then the outrage of private citizens suggests that the desire for illicit labour was confined to a discreet group within Peruvian society and by no means indicates a general Peruvian participation in these dispicable events. Among the crew members and ships captains who participated, there were men from many countries. Ships from neighbouring Chile were also involved in some of the more distasteful incidents (see Véliz 1961: 147-52).¹⁰

Though the ^{initiator} of the trade ^(Byrne) had travelled to distant Cook Islands for his "colonists," most of these maritime entrepreneurs in human labour focused their attention on Easter Island.¹¹ In late December of 1862, as many as eight ships assembled off the western coast of Rapanui, intent on "recruitment".

When I elicited oral history from my Rapanui informants in 1973-74, on the Peruvian episode, I received what I first took to be contradictory statements. From one source, I was informed that two Islander brothers had volunteered to sign on a Peruvian vessel and had even had time to ^{make} take a formal leave-taking. From another, I heard that the trusting Islanders, as they had done many times before, swam out to the visiting ship and when they had climbed on board, they were forced into the ship's hold and locked up. But, the version most well-known to Rapanui says that the foreigners arrived at Hanga Piko and there threw on the ground mirrors, pipes, and other trinkets. When the Rapanui approached to collect the objects, the numerous crew fell upon them. Those who tried to escape were trussed up like sheep ("haro mamoe", in Rapanui) and thrown into small boats to be taken out to the ships that were waiting. The attacks were launched also at Hangaroa and Tahai and one informant told me that an attack was also executed at Hanga o Hoonu, all of these likely places for ship's anchorage.

Sources in recorded testimonyⁿ at a trial of some of the Captains ^{captured} captured in French territorial waters held in Papeete and affidavits taken by British Consular officials now confirm these different Islanders traditions as all being correct, but representing the different approaches taken by the different captains to acquiring their desired quota of Rapanui. The account of Rapanui having been enticed on board and then the hatches being closed is related in testimonyⁿ in Le Messager de Tahiti, for 27 June, 1863. A similar episode was reported for another island in Cowan (1936:39-41). Testimony appearing in Le Messager de

Tahiti for 30 November, 1863 confirms the story that trinkets were thrown on the ground and that Rapanui were scooped up when they tried to retrieve the desired objects. However, in that same transcript of testimony, Captain Suasategui claims that his Rapanui "colonists" were voluntary and produced, to the Chilean Consul in Callao, a number of signed and witnessed contracts. He testified that when he saw the expeditionary force forming up off Rapanui in late December, 1862, he departed. That some Rapanui may have been eager to sign on for labour in Peru is suggested by the information that I present above of Islander willingness to depart in the pre-1862 period. It is possible that Suasategui's "colonists" may have been willing, as he affirms.

The principal assault on Easter Island occurred in December of 1862, but evidence from archival sources suggests that less violent contacts might have been made earlier. Early in November, the Serpiente Marina was detained in Papeete with two Rapanui on board. However, subsequent to the December attack, the island appears to have been used as a half-way point, where Islanders from points further west were transferred to ships to take them to Peru. British Consular records in Lima suggest that another violent attack occurred on Easter Island in March of 1863.

In Appendix 1, I have listed those vessels known to have called at Rapanui during this period, including the numbers ^{of individuals} collected, when known. This listing of 18 ships represents two thirds of those ships known to have participated in the Peruvian affair. I have listed these for separate consideration in Table One.¹² According to official Peruvian sources, who by mid-1863 were as disgusted with the trade as the foreign governments who had earlier protested, a total of 2069 Polynesians were known to have arrived in Callao. If this is so and my top figure of 1707 Rapanui landed is correct, then that means that over 80 percent of those Polynesians who are known to have landed at Callao were from Easter Island. If we allow that two or three hundred additional ^{Rapanui} might have been killed in the violent raids or landed elsewhere, then Rapanui's contribution to 18th century Peruvian prosperity could have been as high as 2,000!

But, Peru did not prosper from the trade and the individuals involved in it even less so. Eleven of the twenty-seven registered ships in the trade were lost, Captains were fined and jailed but most unfortunately, the Polynesians died in huge numbers.

As early as February, 1863 the following notice was published:

We have been assured that the Polynesians that are in the countryside are dying of smallpox; thus we call attention of the Government to this so that, if it is convenient, they might be vaccinated. After all, these unfortunates have been brought to our country, it is necessary to consider their life, for they are after all men. (El comercio 19 February, 1863)

As I mention above, there is little in the primary documentation to suggest that any Polynesians worked on the guano islands. There is, however, much evidence in the contemporary press in Lima for their employment as peons on large country estates and as domestics in prosperous Lima households. A number of Polynesians appeared in the Peruvian press, as escapees from domestic service and substantial rewards were offered for the recovery of "the goods."

In El Comercio of 30 January, 1863, scarcely a few months after the trade began, the following notice appeared:

LOST POLYNESIAN - Wednesday, at 5 o'clock in the morning a boy of 12 years of age, called Carlos and one of those recently arrived on the ELIZABETH MASON, left the house of his patron on Marcelo Street, No. 60. He is dressed in blue coloured cotton trousers and a light shirt. Will the person in whose custody he may be found please be so kind as to advise the occupant of the store at Number 75 Arvohia Street, where a reward will be given.

About a half a dozen such notices, of varying length and composition, appeared in the Peruvian press during 1863, together with ^{several} similar requests for lost or escaped blacks, Chinese, or Indian domestic servants. In the morning edition of El Comercio for 13 October, 1863, an announcement that may be relevant to Easter Islanders taken to Peru appears:

On the eleventh Instant at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a canaca called on his land Vacajiva and here Fransisco Alvarado fled from the house of the Count of Cartago; he is a boy of 16 or 17 years of age and his description is as follows: dressed in black pants, straw hat and shirt sleeves. A reward is offered to the person who delivers the sought person to the above residence and one who hides him shall suffer the penalties stipulated in the Police Code.

Vakahiva, as the Islander's name would be more properly spelled, is the name of a Rapanui known to have been taken to Peru, but who was never heard from again. In another, similar announcement, "coton^oberi [ko Toroveri]," another Rapanui known to have been abducted is sought by his "patrón," the merchant Cipriani brothers (El Comercio 22 April, 1863, afternoon edition). Though the names are the same, it may only be a coincidence, of course.

The general Polynesian reaction to their predicament was melancholia and commentaries about Polynesians dying appeared in the Peruvian Press of 1863. But, melancholia was only part of the depredations that the Polynesians had to endure. The records of only one Charity Hospital ("La Beneficencia") in the Lima-Callao ^{area} survive and they reveal a good deal about the composition of the population and the conditions under which it lived.

Over half^f of those who died from disease came from the middle-class Lima Parish of Santa Ana, while the next largest numbers were from equally prosperous areas of Cercado and Sagrario, as presented in Table 3. Two thirds of those who died were male and the ages range from 2 males who died at six months to 1 woman who died at forty-five years. About a fifth of those males who died were only twenty years of age and the same proportion appertains for the females. With respect to the diseases that attacked them, sixty five ^{percent} of both sexes died of pulmonary or intestinal diseases - the maladies of the poor and ill-kept while only about a sixth perished from smallpox (See Table 4)

From March, 1863 onwards, a growing number of Islanders were retained in a large warehouse in Callao, awaiting return to their islands. Events conspired, however, to deprive the Polynesians of even this possibility of happiness for on ~~the~~ 24 May of 1863, the Lima newspapers routinely reported that an American whaler, the Ellen Snow, had been put into quarenteen as there was evidence of smallpox on board. Less than a fortnight later, her crew was allowed to land and what followed was one of Lima's worse smallpox plagues in decades.

The citizenry of Callao-Lima were concerned for their health and flocked to receive the (then) newly discovered vaccine. The Polynesian captives, however, had no such advantages and a "concerned Chalaco (citizen of Callao)" while lamenting the unfortunate circumstances of the Polynesians, nevertheless recommended that the warehouse be cleared with all haste, so as to protect other members of the community.¹⁴

These tragic events did not go unnoticed, for objections to the trade were published in a variety of forms in Peruvian sources, until and after the trade was officially terminated in March of 1863. One form of criticism produced by Peruvians took the form of sometimes very subtle satire of those involved in the trade. In the morning edition of El Comercio of 24 January, 1863, the following announcement appeared in the "Comercial Section":

POLYNESIANS AT FOUR REALES

Two are for sale, female and male - the woman is old, has false teeth, plaited hair like a corpse ["trenza de muerto"], drooling mouth and gives cries like a cui [a guinea pig]. The man is a gander of first class hide, doesn't suck much who can be managed like any ignorant thing.

Applications to be made in Lima in Polvos Azules Street, in the study of a big Doctor [Doctorazo] and in Vivero Street, also in the second Colon Street, just before the second block of Barlovento Street.

I suspect that the occupants of these addresses were known to be involved in the Trade, and judging from information given to me about the importance of the addresses, may have been prominent politicians. The descriptions of the two Polynesians "for sale", use ^d terms appropriate for the selling of horses and other farm animals, the irony of which ~~did~~ ^{could have} not _d escape the targets of the jest.

More subtle still was the notice appearing in El Comercio for 14 March, 1863, again apparently referring to those with political or commercial (or both!) *interest* in the importation of Polynesians:

THE POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE is taught grammatically and in a short time in Polvos Azules Street number 192.

Also, wanted to buy a Canaca who has come voluntarily to Peru, under stipulated conditions and with a contract signed by him.

Throughout the course of the discussions pro and con in the Peruvian dailies, a number of individuals emerged as politically interested in the traffic or caught dealing in the human cargo. The reactions of these people varied, probably according to degree of involvement, but unknown (to me) factors may have determined ^{the} different reactions. For example, in June of 1863, the wealthy planter, John Montero publically proclaimed his innocence of any wrong doing and offered to send those Polynesians on his properties back to their homes at his own expense. Though owners of large agricultural tracts ("haciendas"), were criticised as a class, it was the urban politician and merchant who often received his reprimand for his part in the trade on an individual level. A prosperous trader named Juan Dockendorff announced in the afternoon edition of El Comercio for 13 March, 1863 that he was disassociating himself from his import trade and the "cargo" of Polynesians brought under his auspices in the ship Genera. This appears, however, to have only been so that three days later he could advertise Chinese contracts for sale. Within a week of the announced Dockendorff change, a severe editorial appeared in El Comercio, condemning the selling of human beings, no matter under what legal fiction. The public version of the affair ends with a satirical "advertisement" published in El Comercio on 26 March, of the same year:

POLYNESIAN DOMESTIC SERVANTS - The contracts of six men and ten women of those recently arrived on the "Genera" has been transferred. These come from a different island than the others; they are more robust and healthy, not one of them has become sick; they know how to wash a bit and they learn anything they are taught in just a few days; for the business, see Dockendorff and Company, Callao, Commercial Street Number 86.

However, protests also came from the international community in Lima. Leading the Consular protests in Peru was the French Chargé d'Affaires, de Lesseps. The involvement of the French Government in protesting the trade was undoubtedly prompted by humanitarian concerns, but the contemporary conflict between Mexico and France may also have played a part in making de Lesseps an implacable foe. At that time, France was attempting to place the Emperor Maximilian on the throne ^{of} in Mexico. The Mexican Nationalists ^{refused} ~~opposed~~ this and Peru, as well as other South American nations, opposed France and supported Mexico. Through the years 1862 and 1863, when the diplomatic protests were most active, benefit balls were being held in Lima to collect money to support Mexico. The Battle of Puebla, a turning point in the French-Mexican conflict, and raging during much of the Labour Trade's existence, received wide coverage in the Lima Press, including maps of the battle lines, and strong affirmations of support. Anti-French statements were made in newspapers, editorials and even suggested in Government communications. The French Chargé d'Affaires took a very stern line with the Peruvian government over the Polynesian scandal and insisted that all Polynesians be rounded-up and transported back to their islands, whether they wished to or not. A scouting party was even organised to comb the countryside around the farming region of Chancay, a short distance from Lima, in order to bring in any Polynesians found there. Just over thirty ^{individuals} resulted from the search and after some of them were dispatched on a French ship, the Consul appears to have dropped his interest in the affair.

In the second half of 1863, when already a number of Polynesians had perished from disease, the growing menace of their enfeebled state prompted the outfitting of two ships to take what remained of the more than two thousand Islanders who had originally arrived. Together, the two ships boarded only about forty percent (842 persons) of those known to have arrived a few months earlier in Peru. The two ships (see Appendix I) were the Barbara Gomez and the Adelante.

The return of the Polynesians was conducted in most haphazard manner, with the Chilean Consul even suspecting that Captains of some smaller shipments had accepted Peruvian Government money for transport, only to discharge their human cargo on the high seas, once out of sight of land. The two documented transport schemes supported by the Peruvian Government took place in August and September of 1863.

The Barbara Gomez did manage to reach its destination, Polynesia, but of the 360 Polynesians who ^{had} ~~had~~ ^y ~~began~~ the voyage, only about fifty managed to survive to be debarked in Rapa, in the Austral group (see Hanson 1970:33). The Naval Officer who accompanied the trip, Guilleramo Balck, was ^s ~~so~~ horrified by the events of his voyage to Rapa, that he refused to comment ^{on it} ~~,~~ to the Lima Press when he returned.

The fate of the other ship, the Adelante, which had initiated the trade, was even more disastrous. The Captain apparently lost his way and became unhinged by the scenes on board his ship. In a tempest, the ship floundered off of the Cocos Islands, presumably loosing all of the nearly four hundred Polynesians on board. According to a report published in El Comercio in December of 1863, the Captain subsequently committed suicide. Though survivors of the wreck were spied by a whaler in October of 1863, the disease prevalent among the ill-fated group prevented any rescue (Ward 1967:201-2).

When I had embarked upon my research in Peru in 1973, I had had hopes of possibly discovering some descendants of Polynesians who might have escaped from the fate that doomed so many others. A tradition exists on Easter Island that when a contingent of Rapanui returned home, one of them, Roe 'a Tea, carried back news that two of the Rapanui who had voluntarily signed on for the Peruvian venture had settled in Peru and were living with "Peruvian women." They sent back blankets and other trinkets to their relatives. Further, a Rapanui named Hito, who worked on whalers in the late 19th century, when visiting a Peruvian port he said was "Pakatemayo" (the northern port of Pacasmayo?) had met a Peruvian woman married to a Rapanui.

When I mentioned my hopes of finding descendants to a Museum Director in Lima, she informed me that the term "canaca" was a derisive term for a lazy person, but was unaware that the word was Polynesian. Other, older Peruvians were familiar with that use of the term, including Angel Narvay, whose nurses in the Callao "Casa Asilo de las Hermanitas de los Ancianos Desamparados (Assylum House of the Sisters for Abandoned Elderly)" claim was born in 1855. However, Kany (1960:177-8) wrote that "canaca" means a member of "the yellow race," in Chile, but also signifies a brother keeper. He further comments that a slang verb, canaquear, means to "frequent brothels." I was unable to discover any trace of the Polynesians, either in popular memory ~~nor~~, for that matter, in any degree of depth in Peruvian contemporary historical sources.

The older Rapanui today however, remember those events of over a century ago and recount with some ^{pleasure} the story of a Peruvian who returned to the island sometime in the 1880's: I will quote from the Rapanui original, as ^{my informant} Leon Tuki told it to me:

When the Peruvians arrived here, they tied up people. Tori arrived. He went to a place called Ana o Nono. The bullets of the rifle of a man [Peruvian slaver] ran out. When he [Tori] arrived at Ana o Nono, he met this Peruvian man. Tori ran after him. When Tori ran after him, he was very close. There, and by a hut, he shouted, "Hey, young man, where are you running off to? Turn around and let's fight. Turn around and let's fight. Let's make war. Where are you running off to?" He ran to Ana o Nono. He ran away to Pou a Kare. "Hey young man, where are you running to. Wait ... " Tori was right behind him. "Turn around so that we can

fight. Where are you running off to?" Tori could easily have thrown his mataa [spear] and have killed that man, but he did not want to throw at the man's back. "Turn around with your face at me so that I can throw and we can fight." That's how he shouted. "Where are you running off to, young man. Turn around and let's fight." They arrived at Apina Nui. They arrived at the same time. Tori shouted the same thing. "Hey, young man - where are you running off to? Turn around and let's fight. They arrived at Puku Paka Kina. Well. He shouted again the same phrase - Tori's cry. [The Peruvian] captured that part of the phrase that said, "he pea." At the same time, a boat from the [Peruvian] ship came ashore, having seen the chase. It came to shore this boat of the ship. The man ran away and arrived at the place called Apina Iti and there he left. At that place, that man went directly down to the boat. This man [Tori] stayed up above. They took him [the Peruvian] away.

Now, this [next part] happened in the time of Paea [Tati Solomon, Manager of the Easter Island ranch for John Brander from 1878 to 1888]. Now, a ship arrived here and that same man [Peruvian] came. He was the one that in ^{Rapanui} pascuense is called by the name, "Tono Panioro". I don't know what is his original name, but they always said "Tono Panioro." That was the name that they called him. Well, then. Paea went on board the ship and the man asked Paea. You see, when that ship arrived, this man came in that ship. "Ask when you go back on shore if there is a man who was around when we came here to tie people up who chased me and shouted, "ki pea taua." In Spanish he asked this. His conversation was in Spanish, but the part, "ki pea taua," was just like that. Ask about a man who chased after me and said this phrase - "he pea." He shouted, "he pea." And when we arrived at Apina, I climbed into the boat. Well, he saved my life. I tell you, I want to meet that man. Perhaps he died or perhaps he still lives. I want to give him presents like blankets, tobacco, "paha-paha" [meaning unknown, ^{Tommy informant}]. I want to give gifts to that man because he didn't kill me and for that that he shouted at me." Good. Paea said, "All right," and returned to shore and asked about who chased a Peruvian man in the time when the Peruvians came to tie up the Rapanui and shouted, "Ki pea taua." That is the only thing that is remembered, "ki pea, ki pea." That was the only phrase that he caught. Tori said that he was the man and that he chased him from Ana o Nono to Apina Iti. "I will tell him, old fellow, what this phrase means that I shouted at him. I said, "Don't run away young man. Turn around with your face to me so that we can fight. I don't want to throw my spear at your back. I could have easily thrown my mataa at your back and have killed you but I didn't want to. What I wanted was for you to stop, turn your face so that we could fight together. That's what "he pea" means when I shouted it at you." That's what he told that man. That's what old man Tori said. Paea returned to the ship. He told the man. "That man is alive. He explained the conversation up ^{these} on the ship. "That phrase that was shouted at you means, 'Where are you going, turn around your face, wait and let's fight.'" "That's what it means." "He didn't wish to cut you with his mataa from behind. You would now be dead with his mataa. He didn't wish to cut you from behind. 'Turn your face first and wait so that we can fight.' That was the phrase that he shouted at you. That was the phrase when you fled. That man is here." [The Peruvian said] I love this man and I want to carry him my gifts, blankets, tobacco, pipes."

On the Peruvian side, there was disgust in some quarters ^{PT} that those involved in the trade had gotten off so lightly. Aside from losses of a few ships, the trial in Papeete by the French, and the few confiscations of Polyneisans landed after the official termination of the trade in March of 1863, none of the major figures whose names figured as sponsors of ships were inconvenienced. Just after the official section of El Comercio on the morning of 7 September, 1863, the following small notice appears:

Polynesia

It is said that the Honorable Consul named for Tahiti, has been lost.

That the Vice-Consul has come back, that the salaries paid to both has been ...

That the Peruvians involved in the affair ought to be very rich, such that they remain silent, seeing that their interests are so well taken care of by the Ministry. - Stupid people.

El canaca curioso [Inquiring Canaca]

The episode, which lasted less than twelve months and proved so traumatic to so many innocent Islanders ceased to be a topic of interest in the Peruvian newspapers of the time, ^{after 1863,} The matter was closed, as far as the Government was concerned and the whole distasteful affair was brushed under the collective capret of the Peruvian people. Many of the same ships involved in Polynesian labour importations, returned to merchant cargoes and the huge China Clippers once more began depositing their coolie cargo.

NOTES

1. This work is based upon eighteen months fieldwork on Easter Island and four months spent in archive research in Chile and Peru, all between 1972 and 1974. The month spent travelling in Peru was financed jointly by a Ph.D. Scholarship in the Department of Anthropology and a special grant from the Department of Pacific and South East Asian History, both of the Australian National University. Professor H.E. Maude has supervised the research and provided me with valuable information and direction in my research. I am grateful to Dr. Michael Young, who has read earlier versions of this paper and to Dr. Niel Gunson, who assisted me in the publication of it. [Add Peruvians to thank].
2. "Rapanui," is probably a name that is new to the island, dating no further in time than the 1860's when, for the first time, the Islanders came to meet other Polynesians (See Métraux 1940:33-6). Today, however, when speaking in their own language, the Islanders use "Rapanui," to refer to themselves, their language and their island. In this paper, I will respect their choice and only vary "Rapanui," with "Easter Island" for stylistic purposes.
3. There is an ethnohistorical account of Henry Easter, known as Ure Hina 'a Tuke in Rapanui, and I intend to publish this text in the near future. There is also another, long tale recorded by me concerning Toroveri, who went to sea as a whaler, which includes a detailed description of his initiation ceremony. These texts, and the one which closes this present paper, were collected by me from Leon Tuki, an extremely knowledgeable Islander who was kind enough to recount this information to me.
4. Captain Raine's account was originally published in the Sydney Gazette of 9 June 1821. This is reprinted in part in a privately published biography of Raine, ^{written} published by his ^{grand}daughter (DeSalis 1969:37-8). The account of the visit of the Discoverer in November of 1827 is contained in the manuscript journal of Hugh Cumming (n.d.), held in the Mitchell Library,

Sydney. The visits by Captain Alexandre Adams, in the Kahumana, in 1806, and Captain Windship in the Albatros in 1809 are mentioned by von Kotzebue (1821:20).

5. The identification of the schooner Nancy, said to have participated in the 1801-1802 raid on Easter Island, has proven extremely difficult. Richard C. Kugler Director of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society Whaling Museum (New Bedford, ^{ford} Massachusetts, USA) knows only one ship that might have been involved in the incidents carrying the name Nancy. She was a brig of Salem, Massachusetts, and sailed on a sealing voyage in 1821-2, to the Falkland and South Shetland Islands. ~~(pers. com.)~~ Edouard A. Stackpole, Director of the Nantucket Historical Association, Peter Fougler Museum (Nantucket, Massachusetts, USA), is "more or less certain" that this Nancy from Salem was the probable one. (both personal communications).
6. The Pindos affair was reported by the trader Moerenhout (1837:278-9).
7. My information on the visit of the Cassini to Easter Island in late 1862 comes from a letter from Father Pacome Olivier to the Very Reverend Father Rouchouze, Head of the Sacred Hearts Main House in Paris. The letter is dated "Valparaiso, December, 1864," and is contained in Lettres des Missionnaires, pages 159-67. A copy of this and other documents dealing with Easter Island and contained in the Rome Archives of the Sacred Hearts Mission, ³⁵ were kindly sent to me by Father Amerigo Cools.
8. The precise reference is to the short-lived magazine of Lima's principal newspaper, El Comercio, called Revista Americana and is on page 236 of the edition of 20 May, 1863. The town vs. country conflict, still prevalent today, I am informed, appears to have been the case in 19th century Peru, for other newspaper writers of the time attribute the impetus of the Labour Trade to the greed of holders of large land tracts ("haciendas") of agricultural land. In an unsigned article in El Comercio for 10 October, 1862, the cheap price of the importation of Polynesians is noted and their suffering linked to hacienda owners. In a more satirical style,

a writer who signed himself "un Chalaco [resident of the port of Callao], shames the hacienda owners for their greed, affirming that they ought to seek legitimate colonists and pay them fairly (El Comercio 13 October, 1862).

9. Professor Derek Freeman, Department of Anthropology, The Australian National University, collected a number of important documents in the Foreign Office and other London archives between 1946 and 1948. His copybook has been extremely useful in locating a variety of sources and as an aid to an overall comprehension of the Peruvian Labour Trade. A main source of information on Byrne is contained in Hattersley (1950: 102; 109-10). Byrne tells his own story in a rare two volume work published in 1848 (Byrne 1848). For details on Byrne's activities in New Caledonia, I am indebted to Dr. Bronwyn P. Douglas⁹ (Department of History, La Trobe University), who supplied me with the references to the Bulletin Officiel de la Nouvelle Calédonia (1858) and to other sources discussing Byrne's early activities.
10. References in El Comercio commenting adversely upon importations of Polynesians and their appalling treatment appeared in editions of 17 and 20 September, 10 October, 2 and 24 December all of 1862. More notices opposing the trade were published in El Comercio throughout 1863.
11. This present article is mainly concerned with what happened to the Easter Islanders involved in the Peruvian Labour Trade and a sketch of what befell the Polynesians in general when they arrived in Peru. Much detailed information has been left out here as a fuller and more broadly conceived study of the entire episode from a variety of sources and perspectives is currently under preparation by Professor H.E. Maude. I will assist him in this work regarding the Easter Island and some of the Peruvian source material. I am greatly indebted to Professor Maude who provided me with access to much of the non-Easter Island material cited in this paper.

12. The ships that I have listed in Appendix I of this paper are only those that were connected with Easter Island. A more complete listing is to be contained in the forthcoming study (see note 11). Even so, our sources are limited to the principal Peruvian port of Callao. Especially after the banning of the trade ⁱⁿ March of 1863, captains fearful of confiscation of their "colonists," may have diverted to secondary ports, such as Islay, Pisco, or Pacasmayo, in the north. One landing is reported in my listing of a Chilean ship, in Lambayeque, and others may have followed a similar course.
13. My search in the Archives of El Comercio extended from the ^{editions of the} first of May, 1862 to the first of March, 1874. These dates, including ^{those of the} those of the labour trade at its height, simply reflect my lack of time and have no other significance. As the Sociedad de Beneficencia Pública of Lima, I checked Register entries from the end of 1862 to the end of 1867. Again, time prevented me from going any further. The last entry of a Polynesian death in the records of this Charity Hospital was for 10 August, 1867.
14. In El Comercio, the morning edition of 5 October, 1863, the correspondent from Callao for the paper regrets the treatment that the Polynesians have received in Peruvian hands, but also asserts the necessity to clear the warehouse of its "dangerous" contents and to send the Polynesians back to their islands. Ten days later, the Adelante departs on its ill-fated voyage. Earlier, a similar article appeared in El Comercio for 19 August, 1863 (afternoon edition) and just nine days later, the Barbara Gómez departed with its assumed charges, most of whom perished. In both cases, the writers were aware that those Polynesians who would board those cramped vessels had contracted smallpox.

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28

SHIPS CERTAIN TO HAVE CALLED AT EASTER ISLAND

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Misti	2			2
José Castro	18	3	21	
Barbara Gómez	9	14		22
Serpiente Marina	2			2
Rosa y Carmen	78	35	15	128
Hermosa Dolores	138	22		160
Teresa				203
Jeoncora	19	24		43
Cora	4	1	1	6
MINIMUM TOTAL	270	99	16	788

SHIPS THAT PROBABLY CALLED AT EASTER ISLAND

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Island given</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Urementa y Ramos	"Necua"				31
General Prim	"Pay-Pay"				126
General Prim	"Frinaley"	101	73		174
Bello Margarita	"Oura"	142	12		154
Eliza Mason	"Estea/ Paypay"	140	86	12	238
Rosalia	"Hayram"	149	37	10	196
ADDITIONAL TOTAL		532	208	22	191

TOTAL POSSIBLE NUMBER OF RAPANUI LANDED IN PERU

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Total</u>
Certain Ships	270	99	16	788
Uncertain Ships	532	208	22	191
MAXIMUM TOTAL	802	307	28	1707

Table 1 - Number of Rapanui landed in Peru.

Source: As indicated in Appendix 1.

MALES = 101

TOTAL - 155

FEMALES = 54

Ages at Death

AGES	6. mos.	4	6	7	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	22	23	24	25	26
NUMBERS	2	1	1	2	4	4	1	4	5	2	3	2	20	3	2	4	4	2

AGES	28	30	34	36	40	?
NUMBERS	1	6	1	1	1	25 = 101 Males

AGES	10	11	12	14	15	16	17	18	20	22	23	24	25	27	28	30	31	45	?
NUMBERS	2	1	1	7	1	4	2	4	12	2	2	3	2	1	1	4	1	1	3

= 54 Females

Table 2 - Frequency of age of death for Polynesians in
Lima Charity Hospital, "La Beneficencia", 27 March,
1862 to 10 August, 1867.

Source: Hospital Register
Archive Numbers: 02536 to 02538

<u>Poz de Policia</u>	<u>Huerfanos</u>	<u>San Bartolomé</u>	<u>San Marcelo</u>
1	1	1	1
<u>San Sebastian</u>	<u>Cercado</u>	<u>Sagrario</u>	<u>San Lazaro</u>
4	26	26	17
<u>Santa Ana</u>			
78	= 155	TOTAL	

Table 3 - Origin of Polynesians who died in Lima Charity Hospital, "La Beneficencia", 27 March, 1862 to 10 August, 1867.

Source: Hospital Register
Archive Numbers: 02536 to 02538.

<u>Disease Designation</u>	<u>Male fatalities</u>	<u>Female Fatalities</u>	<u>Total</u>
Tuberculosis	21	25	46
Disentary	20	9	29
Smallpox	16	9	25
Diarrhoea	14	0	14
Pneumonia	8	4	12
Measles	5	3	8
Fever	5	0	5
Typhoid	2	0	2
Anemia	1	0	1
"Gastric Attacks"	1	0	1
Burn	1	0	1
Cancer	1	0	1
Colic	0	1	1
Delirium Tremens	1	0	1
Hepatitis	0	1	1
Cardiac arrest	0	1	1
Yellow Fever	1	0	1
Misc.	4	1	5
Total Fatalities	101	54	155

Table 4 - Fatalities by disease and sex in the Lima Charity Hospital, "La Beneficencia", 27 March, 1863 to 10 August, 1867.

Source: Hospital Register,
Archive Numbers
02536 to 02538.

APPENDIX I

Ships known to or thought to have called at
Easter Island and involved in the Peruvian Labour
Trade, 1862 - 1863

<u>Name of Ship</u>	<u>Known dates</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Source (s)</u>
ELLEN ELIZABETH	Arrived in San José de Lambayeque, Peru	Not known from which island - said to have returned passengers after Peruvian Government payment.	Chilean Consular Records, (National Library, Santiago) Letter of 20 October, 1863.
TERESA	Left Callao 25 Oct., 1862. Arrived Callao on 6 March, 1863. Arrived Callao again on 21 February 1863.	On first arrival carried 200 Rapanui; On second arrival, from "Independencia" Island with 203-Crew member stated that second voyage from Rapanui also.	El Comercio, 25 October, 1862; Foreign Office (London) 61/210, 6 March 1863; Foreign Office (London) 61/210, 20 March, 1863.
SERPIENTE MARINA	Late October?	Arrived early November, 1862 in Papeete and found to have 2 Rapanui on board.	Foreign Office (London) 58/96 29 November, 1862.
CORA	Arrived Rapanui on 19 December, 1862.	Captured on Rapa and turned over for trial in Papeete; 6 Rapanui on board.	Nautical News November, 1863; 611; Messenger de Tahiti 30 November, 1863; Lettres des Missions 159-167.
ROSA PATRICIA	Left Callao on 9 December, 1862.	Told HMS Orpheus that Rapanui was rendezvous point for Labour Trade.	Nautical News November, 1863; 611 PRO 560, Adm. 1/5817, Folio 139, Number 3.
GUILLELMO	Left Callao 5 December 1862.	One of the first group of ships lying off Rapanui in December, 1862.	Nautical News November 1863; 611.
MICHAELA MIRANDA	Left Callao on 9 December, 1862	One of the first group lying off Rapanui in December 1862.	Nautical News November 1863; 611

<u>Name of Ship</u>	<u>Known dates</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Source(s)</u>
GENERAL PRIM	Left Callao 27 November, 1862; Arrived Callao, 7 January 1863; Arrived Callao, 19 July, 1863.	First arrival with 126 "colonists" from "Pay-Pay" island; Second arrival with 174 "colonists" of whom 73 were females, from "Frinalaley" Island.	Foreign Office (London) 61/212, letter of 21 July, 1863
BELLO MARGARITA	Arrived Callao, 23 November 1862.	Arrived with 154 adults, of whom 12 female, from "Oura" Island.	Tahiti British Consulor Papers Volume 5 - Uncatalogued manuscripts, Set 24, item 8, letter of 28 November 1863.
ELIZA MASON	Left Callao 1 October 1862; Arrived Callao on 17 January, 1863.	Arrived with 140 males, 86 females and 12 children; Claims signed contracts from "Estea cr Paypay" Island.	Chilean Consulor Records (National Library, Santiago), letter of 20 January 1863.
CAROLINA		Said to have participated in December incidents on Easter Island.	<u>El Comercio</u> 9 May, 1863.
HERMOSA DOLORES	Left Callao on 5 December, 1862; Arrived Callao on 27 January, 1863.	Arrived with 138 males, 22 women from Rapanui.	Nautical News November 1863: 611; Foreign Office (London) 61/210, Letter of 28 January, 1863.
ROSA Y CARMEN	Left Callao on 10 December 1862; Arrived Callao on 10 July, 1863.	Arrived with 78 males, 35 females and 15 children.	Nautical News November 1863: 611; Foreign Office (London) 61/212, Letter of 21 July, 1863.
JOSE CASTRO	Left Callao on 6 December 1862; Arrived Callao on 20 April, 1863.	Arrived with 18 males and 3 females.	Nautical News November 1863: 611; Foreign Office (London) 61/211, Letter of 28 April, 1863.
MISTI	Arrived Rapanui on 12-13 March, 1863.	Said to have enticed Rapanui on board; freed at Papeete, 2 Rapanui.	<u>Messageur de Tahiti</u> 27 June 1863

<u>Name of Ship</u>	<u>Known dates</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	<u>Sources(s)</u>
ROSALIA	Left Callao on 16 December 1862; Arrived Callao on 2 March, 1863.	Arrived with 149 males, 37 females and 10 children from "Hayram" Island.	<u>El Comercio</u> , 3 March 1863, Evening edition.
JEONCORA	Arrived Callao on 9 March 1863.	Arrived with 19 males and 24 females from Rapanui.	Foreign Office (London) 61/211, 20 March, 1863.
BARBARA GOMEZ	Arrived Callao on 11 June 1863; Left Callao in September (?) 1863.	Arrived with 3 males and 14 females; Later took 360 Polynesians to Rapa, of whom 310 died <u>en route</u> .	Foreign Office (London) 61/211, 11 June 1863; Foreign Office (London) 61/212, Despatch 121 of 28 December 1863.
URMENETA Y RAMOS	Arrived Callao on 17 July 1863.	Arrived with 31 "colonists" from "Necua" Island.	Foreign Office (London) 61/122, 21 July 1863.
DIAMANT (DIAMANTE?)	Left Callao on 21 June, 1863.	Departed with 16 Polynesians; known to have stopped at Marquesas with Interpreter Hoki on board.	National Archives (Paris) 138, Pièce Number 4, attached to Despatch of 13 July, 1863, Dir. Politique Number 75 Delmas 1929.
ADELANTE	Arrived Callao on 13, September 1863,	First ship in the trade - Departed Callao with 482 Polynesians to return them to their islands, but floundered at Cocos Islands.	Foreign Office (London) 61/212, Despatch 121 of 28 December 1863; Ward 1967: 201-2.

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Department of Anthropology
THE RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE:

BOX 4, P.O., CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600

Telegrams: "Nativiv" Canberra

TEL. 49-5111

49-3278

Canberra, 21 January, 1975

H.E. Maude, Esq.,
77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603.

Dear Harry:-

I thank you for your letter of 21 December and for the three photographs that you sent to me. I will have them copied by the Visual Aids Unit, as soon as they have some spare time - that is, when MNZAAS ends. I will then return them to you.

I look forward to your starting on the Peruvian business. I would still like to work with you on this, if you are still interested in the collaboration. In any case, all of the material that I gathered in Peru is at your disposal. A few days ago, I received some more micro-film from the French Archives in Paris, but I have yet to look at it.

Tony Hooper, from Auckland University, has arrived to take up a three week appointment as a "Visiting Fellow" in our Department. During his work, with Judith Huntsman, on the Tokelaus, he came accross a number of references to the Peruvian business. He gave me an interesting reference, which I am trying to track down. According to him, there is a story reputedly told by a Polynesian who was in Peru. His discription of their captivity in a warehouse in Callao tallies with the material that I collected in Lima. The rēference is:

James Cowan, Suwarro Gold (Published in
New Zealand)

If I find the reference, I will have copies made of it for both of us.

I will be starting soon on that chapter of my thesis which deals with the Peruvian period and when it is finished, I will send you a copy of it for your criticisms.

If you would like to meet Hooper, please ring me here at the office so that we can arrange a time convenient to you.

Best wishes to Honour and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



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Department of Anthropology

DF:JL

3 September 1973

Mr H.E. Maude,
77 Arthur Circle,
FORREST. A.C.T.

Dear Harry,


I enclose a copy of Grant McCall's report on his transactions in Peru carried out on behalf of the Departments of Anthropology and Pacific and South East Asian History.

I shall send the appendices that accompanied the report on to you after I have discussed them with Deryck Scarr.

I do hope that Grant McCall has unearthed information that will be of real use to you.

With every good wish.

Yours ever,



Derek Freeman

CONFIDENTIAL

Report on the Peruvian Research



This research is the result of a proposal made from Easter Island on 25.5.972, the funds for which were approved later on that same year. It was financed by funds provided by both the University and from a private grant made by H.E. Maude.

The Report itself is divided into the following sections:

- I. Leads and information about Peruvian arrivals on Easter Island;
- II. Itinerary;
- III. Results in:
 - A. Mollendo-Matarani;
 - B. Lima:
 - 1). Personal contacts;
 - 2). Archives consulted;
 - 3). Other investigations.
 - C. Callao;
 - D. Pisco-Chincha Islands;
 - E. Arica-Tacna.
- IV. Other results;
- V. Budgetary notes.

I. Leads and information about Peruvian arrivals on Easter Island

Before embarking on the research in Peru, I was given good reasons to believe that new information might be discovered if a personal visit was made to the principal known sites connected (or, reputed to be connected) with the arrival of Polynesians to Peru in 1862 and in 1863. These "leads" and other information are summarised under five major headings:

A. Traditional and modern stories

Throughout my stay on Easter Island from 1.4.972 to 28.4.973, I received stories and other information about the arrival of so-called Peruvian ships to the Island, the experiences of some Pascuense who were in or near Peru and the stories which have been passed down from those who returned from their experience in Peru in the last century. These stories may be con-

Peruvian two

sidered in two categories: 1). Traditional stories, known by several of my informants, with some even being published in past reports by others over the years about the Island, and, 2). The "modern" stories, where various Pascuense have claimed in recent years to have met descendants of their unfortunate (and distant) ancestors in or near Peru.

1). The traditional stories

Several persons know that the so-called Peruvian ships arrived first just off Apina and landed a group of men there. First, these men scattered gifts such as tobacco, mirrors, pipes, etc. in front of the Pascuense there assembled and as the Islanders scrambled to pick them up, the invaders attacked and trussed up many of the people. Those who resisted were shot. Later, more men attacked and took people at Hanga Roa and at Tahai, along the same coast. Another version holds that the slavers landed first at Hanga Piko and there threw their gifts out. In another part of the Island (possibly the north coast), a ship drew up to the coast, and Pascuense swam out to meet it, as was their custom with new arrivals. They began to dance and to sing and then went below decks to continue the party. As night fell, the hatch was quietly closed and the ship set sail. Two persons came up for air from the festivities and discovered the trick and they and various others jumped over-board. Only four of those who jumped managed to get underway swimming and only one actually made it to shore. He did this, according to Lazaro HOTU IKA, by swimming and alternatively floating on his back and warming his heart with his hands. Another version says that the three attacks were at Hanga Piko, Tahai and at Hanga o Hoonu.

One family preserves the tradition that two of their members, Macomacoma and Upa Ea (brothers of Veriamu, who has passed the story down to the Tepano family) went voluntarily, with their respective pregnant wives. They came to the cave where Veriamu was living as a young girl and said goodbye to their younger sister, preferring to walk to the ship, rather than be tied up and dragged.

The oldest woman on the Island, Maria Tekena, claims that her older brothers were taken on the Peruvian ships but, also, that others voluntarily signed on previously to ~~the~~ Ameri-

Peruvian three

whaling vessels. These events occurred before she was born.

Another tradition mentions a Pascuense called, Huku Kahu, who escaped from the attackers by taking his clothes off when one of them grabbed on to them to carry him off. His name indicates this life saving maneuver.

According to various traditions, there is a large flat rock which has the number of Pascuense taken away during these raids incised or marked upon it. A rock that was pointed out to me as such was located at Tongariki, in Hotu Iti and was photographed on Roll LXXXIII-6,8. At other times, however, I have independently come across just as likely candidates for this in other parts of the Island with the same sort of counting (I suppose) device. These were found mainly on the north coast and figure on the following rolls: LXXIX-2,7; LXXVIII-10,13; LXXVIII-15,18; and, LXXVII-15,14.

The last surviving son of one of those taken to Peru still lives, but he was born after the incidents in a later marriage and not raised by his father. Therefore, Nicolas PAKOMIO ANGATA knows only a little of what happened to his father, Pakomio Maori. What he does remember is that the Pascuense worked in gangs of twenty on the guano islands and that their food for the group for one day's work was a can (about the size of a five gallon paint container, he indicates with his hands) of meat.

Leon TUKI HEI, one of my chief informants on all aspects of the Island's history, tells that "Ure Kino," as Pakomio was known by his detractors (Ure = Man - Kino = Useless), returned from Peru with a Pascuense girl friend that he had picked up while captive there. The ship that they came back on was loaded with a lot of very sick people. The ship first arrived at Motu Maratiri and, there, the dead were thrown into the sea. Then, the ship moved over to the beach in a sector called Anakena. Ure Kino's girl friend then took sick, but Ure Kino did not. Now, the ship put down a boat to take various Pascuense ashore. The number usually given is fourteen, plus Ure Kino. Ure Kino was worried, however, as Anakena was ko peka (enemy territory) for him. He had been a matato'a (warrior chief) before being carried off and had many persons who wanted to kill him, especially in the sector of Anakena. Ure Kino's safe ground and home was near Ana

Peruvian four

o Neru, on the Poike peninsula. So, Ure Kino took a blanket and put it over his head like a shawl and sat in front of the boat like a woman. He let his red hair peek out from under the shawl and sat quietly while the boat was rowed to the sandy beach. No one ashore knew that it was Ure Kino. When the boat scarcely had touched the beach, Ure Kino threw off the blanket. At once, the Pascuense on the shore saw his full red hair and knew that it could only be Ure Kino, but they realised it too late. He ran off to Ahu Runga on high ground from Anakena and was away from danger. As he was the fastest runner on the Island, no one could catch him.

Efforts to elicit the names of those fourteen persons who accompanied Ure Kino in the boat referred to above have not met with success. Instead, I have a list from Leonardo PAKARATI RANGITAKI of fifteen persons who are known to have gone to Peru and returned, though they arrived on the Island over time from 1863 (?) to 1888. This list has been given to me as:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Terongo 'A Kena | 2. Pakomio Maori-Ure Kino |
| 3. Angata | 4. Tepano Rau Hiva |
| 5. Maanga | 6. 'a Ringa |
| 7. Renga Rite | 8. Vero Tangata |
| 9. Te Hei | 10. Matias Punahae |
| 11. Marate Haka Hira | 12. Gabriel Revahiva |
| 13. Renga Roa-roa 'a Hare Kai Hiva | |
| 14. Papa Rona | 15. Hereveri |

This list may also be compared with the rough one which I have drawn-up from my genealogy book. (Appendix I) According to another tradition, a man called Peroa returned from Peru and brought with him a kind of banana which still bears his name. This information came from Melchor HUKI TEKENA, who generally receives all of his data from his grandmother, Maria Tekena.

With respect to returning Easter Islanders, and the story of Ure Kino, it has occurred to me that there is only one ship known to have brought Islanders directly to the Island and that was the Suerte, which brought Lay Brother Eugene Eyraud. As his letter about his first nine month^(s) stay on the Island indicates, he arrived on the Island with four men and one woman, all of whom apparently abandoned him quickly, as they never appear

Peruvian five

again in his relation. As the landing also took place at Anakena beach, Ure Kino may have been among them.

Leon Tuki's tradition has it that the first person to die of smallpox after the Pascuense began to return from Peru was a young girl in the region of Ahu Runga. She lived with four other persons and they too soon died. From there, the disease spread to the rest of the population. Another disease is also reported as having come from outside of the Island and that is one which particularly affected the family of Hei. He had fifteen brothers and ^{one} sisters. This family lived at Ma'unga 'ori, on the south coast. The sickness involved the knee swelling-up and death soon followed.

There is a story known by various people about dogs devouring the dead and near dead who were too weak to resist. The story was made more precise by Maria Tekena. In 1863 - that is, after the raids, but before the arrival of Brother Eugene - a ship arrived at Ovahe. It was an American ship and it carried "dogs good for snow." They were big and the ship was going to use them during its voyage. However, the food gave out on the ship and the dogs were put ashore at Ovahe just after the sickness started (?). These huge dogs, which had not been seen on the Island before, went from house to house and cave to cave and ate the sick people. Maria Tekena knows what such dogs look like now as she saw the same ones that her elders had told her about when the American Admiral Byrd arrived in the 1930's on his way to the South Pole on ^{an} expedition.

Leon Tuki says that a man who took care of him when he was young, was called Mata Kau Va'e. He used to live in Mata-veri. After the sickness had started, three men from the north coast (where the disease eventually took fewer lives) went walking along the south coast, the home of their traditional enemies and where the majority of the people who fell ill died. The three men designated themselves titles in the following way:

Ngure	He kape o te miro
Vaka Ariki (father of Hanga Rau)	He "first mate" o te miro
Mata Roa	He mataroa

As noticed by various 19th century visitors to Easter Island, the Islanders knew well the composition of a ship's crew and the

Peruvian six

various officers. Ngure, the grandfather of my neighbour, Juan RIROROKO MAHUTE, designated himself "Captain," while Mata Roa ("eyes long" or "sharp eyes") called himself simply "sailor," which also happens to be his name. Vaka Ariki, like Leon when he told me the story, used the English, "first mate." Then, they went walking in the devastated section and if they met someone, they would pretend to be from a ship just off of the coast and would ask: "I hia kanakita o te henua i mate?" (How many little kanakas are dead in this land). It was seen as a joke and they walked from Hotu Iti to Vinapu and then to Matavereri, where they met Mata Kau Va'e and asked him their question.

Another story known by many concerns Hito Rangi, who went on a merchant ship and one day found himself in a place called, "Paka te Mayo," in Peru. He remarked that it was a poor place. There, he met a woman whose husband was a Pascuense and had stayed behind after the raids. The exact time of the arrival of Hito's ship to Peru is unknown, but it must have been before 1888, for he was back on the Island then. For phonetic changes from the Peruvian original to a Pascuense pronunciation, I have supposed this to be the north peruvian port of Pacasmayo.

There are other stories of subsequent Pascuense travelling between their time in Peru and their return to the Island, but they are not directly related to the Peruvian episode. One last story, however, I will quote from the Pascuense original, as Leon Tuki told it to me:

When the Peruvians arrived here, they tied up people. Tori arrived. He went to a place called Ana o Nono. The bullets of the rifle of a man [slaver] ran out. When he [Tori] arrived at Ana o Nono, he met this peruvian man. Tori ran after him. When Tori ran after him, he was very close. There, and by a hut, he shouted, "Hey, young man, where are you running off to." Turn around and lets fight. Turn around and let's fight. Let's make war. Where are you running off to?" He ran to Ana o Nono. He ran away to Pou a Kare. "Hey young man, where are you running to. Wait..." Tori was right behind him. "Turn around so that we can fight. where are you running off to." Tori could easily have thrown his mataa [spear] and have killed that man, but he did not want to throw at the man's back. "Turn around with your face at me so that I can throw and we can fight." That's how he shouted. "Where are you running off to, young man. Turn around and let's fight." They arrived at Apina Nui. They arrived at the same time. Tori shouted the same thing. "Hey, young man - where are you running off to? Turn around

Peruvian seven

and let's fight. They arrived at Puku Paka Kina. Well. He shouted again the same phrase - Tori's cry. [The peruvian] captured that part of the phrase that said, "he pea." At the same time, a boat from the [peruvian] ship came ashore, having seen the chase. It came to shore this boat of the ship. The man ran away and arrived at the place called Apina Iti and there he left. At that place, that man went directly down to the boat. This man [Tori] stayed up above. They took him [the peruvian] away.

Now, this [next part] happened in the time of Paea [Tati Solomon, Manager of the Easter Island ranch for John Brander from about 1877 to 1888]. Now, a ship arrived here and that same man [peruvian] came. He was the one that in pascuense is called by the name, "Tono Pañioro"[this has no meaning in pascuense and is thought by Leon to be a Spanish name that was deformed by the Pascuense]. I don't know what is his original name, but they always said "Tono Pañioro." That was the name that they called him. Well, then. Paea went on board the ship and the man asked Paea. You see, when that ship arrived, this man came in that ship. "Ask when you go back on shore if there is a man who was around when we came here to tie people up who chased me and shouted, "ki pea taua." In spanish he asked this. His conversation was in Spanish, but the part, "ki pea taua," was just like that. Ask about a man who chased after me and said this phrase - "he pea." He shouted, 'he pea.' And when we arrived at Apina, I climbed into the boat. Well, he saved my life. I tell you, I want to meet that man. Perhaps he died or perhaps he still lives. I want to give him presents like blankets, tobacco, "paha-paha"[meaning unknown]. I want to give gifts to that man because he didn't kill me and for that that he shouted at me." Good. Paea said, "All right," and returned to shore and asked about who chased a peruvian man in the time when the peruvians came to tied up the pascuenses and shouted, "Ki pea taua." That is the only thing that is remembered, "ki pea, ki pea." That was the only phrase that he caught. Tori said that he was the man and that he chased him from Ana o Nono to Apina Iti. "I will tell him, old fellow, what this phrase means that I shouted at him. I said, "Don't run away young man. Turn around with your face to me so that we can fight. I don't want to throw my lance at your back. I could have easily thrown my mataa [lance] at your back and have killed you, but I didn't want to. What I wanted was for you to stop, turn you face so that we could fight together. That's what "he pea" means when I shouted it at you." That's what he told that man. That's what old man Tori said. Paea returned to the ship. He told the man. "That man is alive. He explained the conversation up there on the ship. "That phrase that was shouted at you means, 'Where are you going, turn around your face, wait and let's fight.'" "That's what it means." "He didn't wish to cut you with his mataa from behind. You would now be dead with his mataa. He didn't wish to cut you

Peruvian eight

from behind. 'Turn your face first and wait so that we can fight.' That was the phrase that he shouted at you. That was the phrase when you fled. That man is here." [The peruvian said] I love this man and I want to carry him my gifts, blankets, tobacco, pipes."

Because of these acts which occurred so long ago, the pascuense have a special dislike to all (nearly) peruvians who have come to their Island. Anti-peruvian feelings on the part of some chileans from the mainland may also play a part in keeping this near hatred alive.

2). The modern stories

These stories, especially in recent years as pascuense travel off the Island has increased, have abounded to the point of absurdity. An example of this is that the Chavez family on the Island always feels a close kinship to any person with the surname, "Chavez," when they come from Peru. They are the only Peruvians given an unambiguous welcome on Easter Island. In the Pascuense case, all persons with the family name of Chavez are ultimately related to one man in the last century called, Te Ave. Because of the close phonetic resemblance between the pascuense initial "t" and the Chilean spanish "ch" and the Chilean tendency to drop terminal consonants, "Te Ave" (a personal name converted at baptism to a surname) became "Chavez." Thus, the likelihood of any other pascuense who went to Peru also being called, "Te Ave" and following the same phonetic changes in the Peruvian context would be very small.

In late august of 1972, the story started to circulate that a Peruvian singer by the name of Alberto Paté had appeared on Radio Americas (Lima). Paté is also a pascuense surname. Later versions of the story added that this same singer had acknowledged his pascuense origins.

Finally, there was the hope of at least one Islander that any possible relatives in Peru might be wealthy or have lands that the Pascuense could claim, as they have done and are trying to do with their relatives in Tahiti.

By far, however, the largest group of stories ultimately came from a Pascuense travelling businessman who spent many years in Continental Chile called, José Nahoe. I have eight first references in my notes to his stories and many more supposed references.

Peruvian ten

Koho mai koe	Welcome
Mai a nua era	Bring me that mother
Mai a koro era	Bring me that father
Mai te kainga	Bring me the land
Mai vai a potu te rangi	Bring me the water of the extremes of the sky.

This is perfectly good Pascuense, but there is nothing strange or "old" about it. It is also strange that the old man should have greeted Leviante's mother ("nua") when she could not possibly have been there. "Bring me the water of the extremes of the sky," which, while being poetic, is hardly "old" or special. In my second interview, he also claimed that the old man had two boys and one girl and that the two sons had promised to come to Pascua one day. He also said that his son Alberto had met a Pascuense descendant while in military service in Arica, in northern Chile.

The next group of stories, which also enjoy a certain popularity, are those brought back by some of the forty odd Pascuense young men who have been conscripts in the Chilean Army, in Arica. According to these stories, when the first group of Pascuense conscripts arrived in Arica, a group of them were playing the guitar and singing in front of the main military post, the Rancagua regiment. An older woman, who was said to be a descendant of the Pascuense in Peru, invited them to her house and has continued to invite other conscripts since to visit her family. She is married to "a Chilean." Stories vary that there is one family or two families, but the ascription of Pascuense descent is constant. I secured the address of one of these women, Gabriela Chavez.

The last of the modern stories is one which eventually comes from Martin RAPU PUA which he, in turn, received from his mother. Three uncles of his grandfather were taken away in the Peruvian raids. One was Emilio, who returned and stayed to die in Tahiti, the other was Eduardo, who eventually came to live in Valparaiso, Chile, and the name of the third is unknown, but he is thought to have lived in the south of Peru. Emilio figures in the Tahiti land claims registered in 1887, while the son of Eduardo (also called Eduardo Pua) is supposed to have come to the Island in 1956 as an official on the Allipen, a vessel of the Haberbeck Company. When he came to the Island, he told Filomena Pua (Martin's mother) about their mutual ancestor's adventures in Peru. According

Peruvian eleven

to my informant and his brother, Eduardo Pua still lives and is in Valparaiso. Further, a certain Carolina Pua works in the City Hall of Valparaiso in the Health Section. The relationship between Eduardo Pua and Carolina Pua was not specified.

A final short story is told by Pedro TEAO RIRORCKO, who lives in Valparaiso. When he arrived in Valparaiso fresh from the Island a man on the dock helped him to find his way. This man explained that his grandfather was a Pascuense who had gone to Peru in the last century as a slave and that his family came from Hakarava. After the man helped Pedro Teao out, he disappeared and was never seen again.

The latter two cases have yet to be investigated here in Valparaiso.

In addition to these stories from the Island, there were also other items which led me to consider the trip to Peru and northern Chile.

B. A STATUE exists in the British Museum (London) with the following entry in the catalog:

Nro. 8700. Easter Island.

Wooden figure in the form of a man, with a fish's mouth, and finny hands. The eyes inlaid with shell and obsidian. At the back of the neck a pierced projection. From the Chincha Is. Peru. Presented by A.W. Franks, Esq, 29.Oct., 1872 (Boucard).

No other information is available at the present time about how this object came to London or, even, the kind of wood out of which it is made. Through the kindness of the British Museum, I secured three photographs (different angles) of the statue to take with me to Peru. The style of the statue is undoubtedly from Easter Island and the motif is a well-known one. It is, in reality, a tangata moko (man lizard).

C. A REPORT written by M. Eucher Henry about his mission to Chancay details the presence of polynesian agricultural workers in this valley in 1863. The report was sent to me by H.E. Maude.

D. IN PORTFOLIO 138, NO. 36 OF THE ARCHIVE OF THE ARCH-BISHOP OF SANTIAGO, with the date of 2. December, 1869, a certain Pierre Mau sold his house and property on Easter Island to the

Peruvian twelve

Catholic Mission and asked that two hundred and fifty francs be paid to him personally and a sum of six hundred and fifty francs be sent to Lima for the Reverend Mother Superior of the Nuns of the Sacred Heart.

E. FINALLY, DR. RAMON CAMPBELL, who lived on Easter Island for one year as the medical doctor and who has published a book about the Island is about to publish another, tells that when he went to Matarani in 1970, he and his wife went by taxi to Arequipa, in the south of Peru, for a tourist visit. On the way back to the port, in a taxi, the driver said that about one hundred years ago, a group of Indians from across the ocean came to the area. They arrived sick and were put into warehouses to be isolated from the population. There, they died and were buried in a special cemetery near Matarani. When Campbell got to the ship with this news, the British Consul in Antofagasta, who was travelling on the ship, told him to wait for dinner to see a certain Ernesto Jeager who was said to have had a large collection of Pascuense objects. The man never arrived on board for dinner and the ship sailed. Campbell wrote to Matarani twice and on the second time received word that Jeager had died.

Before leaving for the trip to Peru, letters of introduction were sent from Canberra and by me to various suspected points of interest. Every effort was made to contact as many of the places as possible so that time could be saved once in Peru.

Though not all of the above is related to the investigations which follow, I have included it here so as to be a general report to H.E. Maude about information relating to Peruvians on Easter Island.

II.

Itinerary

26.5.973	-	2.6.973	La Serena-Coquimbo, to visit Dr. Alfredo Cea and former governor of Easter Island from 1.934-1.936,+1937, Hermann Compejo.
3.6.973	-		Microbus, fr. La Serena to Arica.
4.6.973	-	7.6.973	Arica, + travel to Mollendo, Peru
8.6.973	-	10.6.973	Mollendo-Matarani
11.6.973	-		Arequipa + travel to Lima
12.6.973	-	29.6.973	Lima-Callao

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30.6.973	-	4.7.973	Ica-Pisco-Chincha Islands
5.7.973	-		Microbus to Arica from Ica
6.7.973	-	10.7.973	Arica-Tacna, with evening flight to Santiago

III. Results in:

Little time was spent at first in Arica as all of the people that I wanted to visit were either in Santiago or, in the case of one, in Spain.

A. Mollendo-Matarani

In Mollendo, the town in which most who work in the new (25 years) port of Matarani live, I rapidly located information about the German, Ernesto Jeager. I did not use his name, but was led to him through questions among the dock workers in the port of Matarani. Jeager was a former Manager of the Mauricio Hochschild Company and lived a solitary life. I did, however, manage to speak to a number of people who knew of him. His collection, according to his housekeeper for many years, was a result of his travels and ^{was made up of} ~~were~~ souvenirs, which included a Pascuense moai kava-kava, as well as a stone Inca figure which dispensed cigarettes out of its mouth and had a cigar lighter in its head. I carried with me a small Pascuense carving just to elicit such information. The majority of the collection is still in the storehouses of the Company in Matarani, as Jeager's sister in Germany doesn't wish to be bothered with the shipping and custom's formalities. Her address in Germany for future reference is:

Frau Berta Haeusser,
Hauptstrasse, 151,
7119 Sorchteneberg,
GERMANY.

The story that the taxi driver told Ramon Campbell could be a confusion of one of two things. In 1871, a ship with members of a Peruvian military regiment came to what is now Matarani and they carried bubonic plague, which eventually wiped out the port of that time, which was called Islay. The driver may also have confused the ~~h~~istory with one from about the same time when a ship load of Chinese coolies arrived in Arica (a Peruvian port, at that time) and were put into warehouses because of yellow fever that they carried. These Chinese were buried in a special Chinese Cemetery,

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which is today largely in ruins. Information about these two episodes in Peruvian history is contained in any good history of the country, but I also purchased books dealing precisely with these topics. I explored the still standing ruins of the old port of Islay and photographed the salient features, but found nothing resembling the cemetery of the story. A search of a Peruvian Atlas of the time which contained a number of town plans also failed to reveal an "Indian cemetery," in the region of Islay. Matarani, in the last century, in any case, existed as a place name, further inland than the present-day port. Research also showed that it is of Quechua origin and the same name exists in three other parts of Peru. (Mariano Felipe PAZ SOLDAN. 1877. Diccionario geografico estadístico del Peru. Lima).

I did not go any deeper into the Matarani matter and consider that it was a false lead.

B. Lima

1). Personal contacts.

I was fortunate in getting the cooperation of Hermann Buse De la Guerra, a lecturer in geography, writer on South Sea's topics and journalist for the leading Lima newspaper, El Comercio. He agreed to publish a front page (Appendix III) announcement about my work on 19.6.973 as a kind of call for help and, most important, facilitated my access to the very complete archives of El Comercio (founded 1839). This latter allowed me to photograph a number of items for the context of the trade, as well as to photograph those items which were not available for Lucila Valderrama's thorough exploration for H.E. Maude in 1970, as indicated in her letter of 16.6.970 to him. A Xerox copy of the listing of the items that I photographed accompanies this report (Appendix IV), as well as notes I took on items that I did not photograph. (Appendix V). In El Comercio, I photographed seven categories of things:

- a). The departures and arrivals of all ships involved in the trade;
- b). The immediate history of those ships involved in the trade in 1862;
- c). All articles specifically dealing with the presence of polynesians in Peru;
- d). The context of contract labour in Peru with Chinese and Indian ("Cholo") labourers;

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- e). A full record of the trade situation in the Chincha Islands, with monthly figures of extraction and exportation and changes in administration;
- f). Examples of French antipathy towards the Peruvian government at that time due to the war in Mexico and vice versa;
- g). The history and presence of smallpox in Lima-Callao in 1863 and the Polynesians's contact with it.

Lucila Valderrama G. of the National Library was consulted for further paths to follow and these included the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Finance. Neither of these, as I indicate below, proved to hold documentation that could be investigated in the time available. That is, the possibility of finding something existed, but it was a remote one.

I also consulted with a number of Peruvian historians about possible sources and archives, both public and private. These were Felix Denegri Luna, Jorge Basadre, Alejandro Lostaunau and Fernando Ponce. The latter showed me a Chilean publication that published much information about the Peruvian raids from the archives of the Chilean Consuls in Peru at that time:

VELIZ, Claudio. 1961. Historia de la marina mercante de Chile. Santiago de Chile, Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile.

This latter lead will be followed-up in Santiago if time permits.

Denegri Luna confirmed a story on Easter Island about a Peruvian who had come to purchase stock from the Williamson, Balfour Company and who had been rebuffed by the Islanders. According to him, Miguel Muelle Leon was the man, who thirty years ago went to the Island. At first, he did not mention his nationality and he had a very pleasant time. As soon as he said that he was Peruvian, he had to return to the ship. An Engineer names Alberto Chaparro Melendez had told Denegri Luna about the episode.

With respect to Chancay, I spoke to José MATOS MAR, Director of the Institute of Peruvian Studies. He and his colleagues had carried out extensive studies in the valley of Chancay and he informed me that if Polynesians has been in the haciendas of this area, then he had never come across any traces of them. Someone with a great deal more time could profit from a thorough investigation of the few individual hacienda archives remaining, as well

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as an examination of the archives of long-established notaries in the area.

Luis Milliones, who has recently published a small book on black and chinese workers in Peru, could only provide me with comparative information from these similar cases. He noted that it would be unlikely that the Polynesians had retained any vestiges of their original names, as there were strong superstitions in the work gangs against unbaptised workfellows.

Pablo Macera, and others, informed me that Port Captain archives and most archives from the Merchant Marine of the time had been lost in the burning of many public buildings in the War of 1879 with Chile.

Jorge Basadre, whose history of Peru since the Republic of 1821 is now into fourteen volumes, suggested that any serious research into Peru's history must be done in Washington, D.C. (USA) where a better collection of archives has been maintained in the Library of Congress. This is particularly true in the case of periodicals.

I also spoke with Heraclio Bonilla, who is completing a study of French and English relations with Peru in the nineteenth century. He informed me that no records of use were available in Peru and that I would have to go to the respective archives in France and England.

2). Archives consulted

Through the above persons, I found out about and frequently got information about a number of archives in Peru .

The Archives of the Ministry of the Government (today, called, Ministry of the Interior) were not actually consulted, but I was informed by a member of the Investigations Section, who did try to find out for me, that nothing remained from that period in the Ministry archives and that their records are periodically destroyed in any case.

My visit to the Ministry of Economy led me to believe that the only possible information that might be found there would be the papers on the indemnization paid by the Peruvian government of thirty thousand pesos in 1863. These records too are disorganised and periodically "cleaned out" as well. The Director of the Archives,

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Durant Flores, was in Europe when I called and was not available in Lima during my time and so could not personally be consulted.

Photographic archives turned up only one photograph of Callao in 1860 and this was copied in the National Library. The Archives, in general, of the National Library suffered heavily in the War of 1879 with Chile and also with the complete burning of the National Library in 1943, by accident.

A cursory search in the Archives of the Archbishop in Lima failed to turn up any important informations, but a more thorough one might. Those in charge of the archives, however, felt that research would be carried out in the actual parish records. The time was not available, however, for me to undertake such a task.

The Archives of the government company in charge of the development of the Chincha Islands, among other things, SENAFER (The National Company for Fertilising Agents) were equally barren for the time period involved, though I was promised some copies of old black and white photographs by the Director of the Department for Guano, Demosthenes CABRERA QUIROZ. These have yet to appear by post.

A great deal of hope had been put into finding something in the archives of the French Embassy. According to M. Jean de Souza, the Consul with whom I spoke on 19.6.973, these old archives had been packed off and sent to France some two months previous to my arrival when the Embassy and Consulate moved from their old quarters on Nicolas de Pierola to Plaza Francia. I have initiated efforts to have a friend of mine, a trained librarian who is also French, to make a thorough search in Paris for these records.

The most rewarding suggestion for archives was made to me by Felix DENEGRI LUNA, who recommended that I examine the books of the Charity Hospital (La Beneficencia) of Lima. In Appendix VI, I have included the results of my search, which is the names of one hundred and fifty five polynesians who died of various diseases between 27.6.863 and 10.8.867. At the end of this, I made up some tables showing the distribution of diseases, ages, and, more important, parts of Lima (by parish) from which these deceased originated. A later researcher with more time could then examine these parishes in detail in order to find records and possible evidence

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of descendants. The Parish of St. Ane's should prove to be particularly interesting.

These records in Lima indicate that these Polynesians undoubtedly worked as domestic servants in the houses of well to do Limeños, whose surnames they often bear. This latter assumption is heavily supported by the fact that Polynesians were advertised in the press for this purpose, as well as being reported as having escaped from such private homes. I have photographed these advertisements from El Comercio.

Attempts were made to find more complete listings of patients from the Lima Hospitals from that time as well as to locate similar records for Callao, but these do not exist any longer. The Lima records are missing in a more complete form and the Callao ones are not to be found at all.

Municipal Archives from the time were also sought in Lima and Callao, but these were not found, many of them having been destroyed due to various causes.

3). Other investigations.

During the research in Archives, attempts were constantly made to try to find descendants of the Polynesians by newspaper publicity and by personal searches with photographs of Pascua and examples of Pascuense carving. No certain information was gained from these constant questionings. Both my wife and I practically memorised a patter to explain our presence in Peru and we solicited information from all with whom we came into contact. We found people generally helpful, but not sufficiently informed.

In the National Library, a series of drawings and engravings of places connected with Polynesians in Peru was copied from:

PAZ SOLDAN, Mariano Felipe. 1865

Atlas geografico del Peru. Paris, Libreria de Fermin Didot Hermanos, Hijos y Cia.

Archive and historical questions were complicated by the fact that the Polynesians probably did not retain any vestiges of their Island names and so only archives which showed the place of origin of the persons in it were of use in my research.

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C. Callao;

As mentioned, archive sources in Callao were non-existent and so, by an idea given to me by my wife, I went to the Old Peoples' Home, operated by Nuns:

Casa Asilo de las Hermanitas de
los Ancianos Desamparados,
Constitución, 779
Callao.

There, I encountered Angel Narvay, who claims to have been born in the Department of Ica on 8.7.855. He could still speak with difficulty, but moved in small steps and was hard of hearing. He was also losing his vision. He had lived in the region of Chincha as an agriculturalist during the 1870's and his clearest memory was of the War of 1879, which he insisted upon relating in great detail as it affected him. He did not recognize any of the clues as to "canacas," "polinesians," "Indians from the Ocean," etc., that I gave him and did not know anything about the Chincha Islands. In the two hours that I spoke to him, he was very eager to speak (about the War), but professed ignorance of the events of my interest.

In a personal search in Callao, my wife encountered a woman called, "Teresa Kanaka," but she turned out to be of Japanese descent. The showing of the statues only turned up a retired Danish shipwright who sold small Pascuense statues, among other trinkets. He was:

Jörgen Bjelke,
2. de Mayo, 749/301,
Callao.

The Library and Institute of Culture did not have any information.

D. Pisco-Chincha Islands;

Through the Regional Museum of Ica, I contacted a local historian in Pisco (the Port for the Chincha Islands), Luis Velarde. He was not familiar with the Polynesian episode, but took me to the Pisco Inspector of Culture, Mamerto CASTILLO NEGRON, who has written possibly the most complete compendium about Pisco, Monografia de Pisco, published by himself some years ago and now out of print.

Castillo told me as much as he knew about the operations

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on the Chincha's using Chinese workers. He knew nothing about the Polynesians working there, but he did confirm that such foreign workers were mostly not allowed to keep their original names, as persons unbaptised were called, "Morros (Moors)," and were thought to be responsible for work accidents. He also explained that at that time, Pisco was not the Port of the Chincha's, but that workers were brought directly from Callao, lived on the Islands and then were taken back to Callao after the period of guano extraction.

I mentioned the theory expressed by Campbell and Silva in their paper on the Polynesians in Peru about workers from haciendas being used on the Islands and he said that if there was a connection, it was not with haciendas in Pisco province. At that time, there was only one hacienda and that was Caucato, which had a specialist production in chancaca and rum from their sugar cane plantations and employed almost exclusively resident black workers.

He suggested that I go to the Parish Church in Pisco and consult the Parish records, which survived the War of 1879 through clever priests hiding their records and relics in the thick church walls. During the time of work on the Islands, there was always a resident priest.

As noted in the two photocopies from my notes in Appendix VII, I did find two books from Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes de las Islas de Chincha, which was the church on Islands during the period of my interest. I have photographed the marriage and death books, but no Polynesian names nor origins were encountered in any of these. Still, these books do point to a very large foreign and Peruvian settlement on the Chincha's at the time of the supposed Polynesian arrivals there. A further search is being carried out by the Spanish parish priest, Father Antonio, in more detailed archives and the results of that are to come by post.

No municipal or charity hospital (or any other) records exist from the 1860's because of their destruction during the War of 1879 with Chile.

On 3.7.973, through the help of the Pisco Port Captain and the local manager of SENAFER at La Puntilla (near Pisco), I was able to visit the Chincha Islands. As time was limited and the sea journey takes about two hours each way, I chose to go to the Island with the greatest concentration of people in the 1860/s, as

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a small map in the above-named Atlas indicates (Appendix VII). This was North Chincha. The time allowed was also short as there was no possibility of staying the night and the sea was too rough for travel in the afternoon. My investigations were hampered by the need to respect the guano producing birds, which are very nervous and scare easily if approached.

The skipper of the tug that took me out, Victor PAREDES SIFUENTES of the "Remoquedor Tommy," had been employed with SENAFER for fifteen years. He came from Yungay and had started working as a common guano extractor and, so, knew the Islands well. I showed him the photograph of the old plan that I carried to try to elicit some information about what he might have seen. He said that nothing remains of the two towns indicated, but that in the place that I have marked on the plan, he recalls that corpses, with their skin dried and clothes in tact, were often dug up while guano was being excavated. I surmise that these bodies are those of the Europeans and Peruvians whose names appear in the church books that I photographed.

This notion was further supported by Mario ALLCCACO CHOCÑA, the young Quechua who is one of the two men who live all year around on the nearly deserted Island and who was my guide. He said that the poor and especially the Chinese (about whom he knew) when they died, were taken out to sea with a heavy weight and their bodies thrown into the sea. He also knew about the place where bodies are dug up on North Chincha, but was quite surprised to see the two towns indicated in the map, as he knew nothing about them. He did, however, know about a rotted stump along the shore near those places which is all that remains of an old loading dock. He recommended that when the Chief Guard, Eduardo Melendes, returns from other guano extractions on the Island of Asia in November of this year, that I write to him as he has worked for the Company for a long time and knows much about the history of the place. Chief Guards have a tradition of passing ~~away~~ along stories about the past of the Chincha's from older to younger. I will write him from Easter Island.

It occurred to me that Peruvian historians have missed much by not having attempted to write a social history of the exploitation of the Chincha Islands.

E. Arica-Tacna

Arriving in Arica, I returned the next day to Tacna. Transport between the two towns is very easy. Through Jorge Basadre, a native of Tacna, I had the name of the Directress of the Tacna Institute of Culture, Virginia LAZARO VILLAREL. She immediately put me into contact with a local historian whose local interests, among others, include the Chinese migrations to the area. He is Luis Cabañaro.

He informed me that he had never come across any persons with Oceanic or Polynesian origins, let alone Pascuense, though he did have thorough records of Chinese who had come to Tacna.

The charity hospital records for Tacna had disappeared in a fire in the early 1860's and because Tacna was a Chilean possession from 1879 to 1929, the best collections of old documents for the area would probably be found in Santiago de Chile or in the former centre of that part of Peru before 1879, which is Iquique, now deep into Chilean territory.

He suggested that I might make a re-study of the Parish records for Samo, where Chinese had worked in cane plantations between 1860 and 1870 and also have a look at the general Parish records for Tacna. Unfortunately, the lack of time and a prospect for ^{No} encountering easily the information forced me to abandon this research. Cabañaro has promised to write me if he should encounter anything in his researches relevant to my work.

The last point to be investigated was the so-called descendants of Pascuenses living in Arica. Through a contact with Juan ARAKI KAITUOE, I met Pablo HEREVERI TEAO. The former has been established for some time in Arica, working for ENTEL, the Chilean Telephone Company, while the latter had just completed military service in precisely the Rancagua Regiment in Arica. We also carried a letter for Hereveri from his mother on Easter Island. Araki knew nothing of ~~the~~ ^{THE HITORANGI} story, but it was through them that I encountered Gabriela Chavez and Gustavo CONTRERAS ORELLANA and their families.

The two families in question first began to have contact with Pascuense conscripts in 1968 and, on the 14. April, 1968, they made a list of the first group that they had entertained in their

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homes. It carried twenty one names and, they assured me, that they have attended to at least another twenty since then. Their interest was simply one of curiosity - Mrs. Contreras first saw the boys, as they had told me, playing Pascuense songs in front of the Regiment and invited them home for their own interest. They are not Pascuense nor do they have any inkling that there is any other connection with the Pascuense than just their own friendliness. They have no economic ends for their help and appear to be simply generous people. Gabriela Chavez's mother was Bolivian, but that is about as exotic as the family lines become. They said that after the first group, other Pascuense conscripts would arrive to their homes with a special map, showing the route with all details, from the Regiment Rancagua to their doorstep. These two families were known to be helpful and kind people. For example, in Hereverri's case, Contreras provided him with a job in the bicycle factory, through a mutual friend.

It is my opinion that the Pascuense with whom I spoke felt a special closeness to these people and perhaps could not conceive that a Chilean, whom their parents had always told them to distrust, would want to do them disinterested good. Their way of dealing with this anomalous situation was to try to imagine them as somehow related. Disinterested family relations are understandable, but a Chilean simply helping out without other ends is, unfortunately, rare in the Pascuense experience. I could cite other examples where other helpful Chileans have been given kinship status for their kind acts.

My penultimate paragraph in this section may also explain "the Pascuense" that Nahoe met, as they too were kind to him.

IV. Other results of the Peruvian trip;

Before actually arriving in Peru, I had already received a letter from:

Maria Mercedes Rotalde,
Congregation of the Sacred Hearts,
Avenida Alvarez Calderón, 761,
San Isidro, 27 - Lima,

in which she explained that she had had a look at her Congregation's archives and had found nothing about Pierre Mau's gift nor the presence of Pascuense or other Polynesians in Peru.

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An interesting prospect was offered to me by José MATOS MAR, Director of the Institute of Peruvian Studies. He manifested a strong interest in publishing a small book about the Polynesians in Peru. He proposed that I write a chapter on Pascuense traditions about the Peruvian raids and my Peruvian research. Then, as another chapter, he would publish the paper that Ramón Campbell and Jorge SILVA OLIVARES wrote. Finally, a Spanish translation of the letter of the French M. Eucher that H.E. Maude sent me could be included. For using the latter, of course, I will have to have Maude's permission.

As a result of my contact with Matos and the Institute, I secured the Campbell-Silva paper, a copy of which I can send at a later time.

I do not feel that my contribution to this volume will in any way betray my confidence nor compromise my obligations to Maude. Before absolutely accepting and completing this task, however, I must have his permission. This additional task would not measurably interfere with my other research that I am at present carrying out here in Valparaiso.

Should the publication be possible, it will mean that Peruvian students who read the book will come up with valuable additional information that was not possible to obtain during my short visit. [REDACTED] The point of the publication, as Matos and I agreed, was to call attention to the historical problem, to show what had been done in Peru and in Chile on the problem and to suggest further avenues of research.

Arriving in Chile, I again contacted Campbell (whom I had met for the first time in Lima on 17.6.973) and he agreed to the publication of his paper in the volume. I also renewed my contact with Jorge Silva, whom I had previously met on Easter Island, and we decided that it would be advantageous to both of us if we could do it together. Thus, instead of my Pascuense stories only, there would also be a larger section detailing Peruvian and Chilean sources which we would both write. He and I will begin work on our respective sections while I am occupied here in Valparaiso with various other sorts of topics. It is Matos's intention to publish the small volume before the end of the year.

Finally, I would like to make a special note of thanks for

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R.H. Howard and the staff of the Australian Embassy in Lima for their cooperation in both the study and its practical side.

V. Budgetary notes.

I have continued the same system of collecting receipts for all items during the time in Peru and connected with the transport to the North of Chile. The details of this will have to be presented later, as the time required for this task is not now available.

Neither the University nor H.E. Maude are responsible for any amounts in excess of the budgeted A\$ 500.00 allotted for this work and no expenses were incurred which were prejudicial to the main requirements of my study.

One large effect on this budget was the obligation of Paragraph Two of the Supreme Resolution of the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Relations, dated 21.3.972 that every tourist must exchange a minimum of US\$ 8.00 per day per person while in Peru. This meant that I was obliged to change US\$ 16.00 per day during the stay of my wife, my child and myself.

This report is being sent to Canberra via the Australian Embassy in Santiago de Chile to whom I am very grateful for assuring the safe arrival of my report. A copy should be sent to H.E. Maude.



Grant McCall,

Concón, 30.7.973.

Chapter Two

From contacts to contracts: Easter Island from ~~1882~~¹⁷²² to the present

Précis

The aim of this chapter is to provide the ^{recorded} historical context for the sociol~~ogical~~ cultural events that will be discussed in the remaining three parts of this thesis. I begin with a discussion of the explorers and navigators ~~whom~~ known to have called at Easter Island from 1722 to 1862, taking ~~in~~ a thematic approach under three categories: 1). General character of islander-outsider interaction, 2). Specific instances of trade, and, 3). Hostilities. It is appropriate that the first section should end with hostilities for, in December 1862, a period of severe strife and subjugation began that takes in the arrival of slavers, missionaries and settlers. Section three takes up the shattered and de-populated island at 1872 and discusses the waning Tahitian influence as Chilean interest gains in momentum to the first positive acts in 1917. The last section deals with a brief summary of salient events from 1917 to the present time.

Introduction

I do not wish to provide here a mere chronology of events, but more a commentary upon significant themes in the cultural experience of the Rapanui. As I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter VII, Rapanui vs. the world, these events are remembered and retold as important elements in the modern Rapanui consciousness. They are sometimes offered as justification for stances taken to authorities and are implicit for many attitudes prevailing among even some of the younger members of the population.

However, a chronological perspective is also necessary, if one is to gain a more accurate understanding of the sequence and development of events. For this reason, I have composed my

to still permit!

"Registry of visits to Rapanui" (Appendix C) and "Registry of authorities on Rapanui. (Appendix D)." The justification for the Registry of Visits and the Registry of Authorities is to allow me to discuss thematically my interpretation of Rapanui history, but to still permit my reader to consult and to assess the primary sources upon which my perspective is based. Further, especially with the Registry of Authorities, I am including one of the research tools that I used to establish ^{the} chronology (and sometimes matters of demography) that ~~are~~ is found in subsequent chapters.

on A

The ~~xxxxxxx~~ recent history of Rapanui is largely a ship's history, as this was the principal source of written information ^{on the island} for my study. It was not until 1866 that Europeans came to dwell permanently on the island and even then, few written materials have emerged from that residence.¹² ~~the~~ ^A ships' calling was the only time when written materials were transmitted and, often, the only occasion for the compiling of such data. There is another side to ~~this~~ Rapanui history, and that is what might euphemistically be termed, the view from the shore. Within the ^{limited} small scope of this present thesis, such ethnohistorical data can only be touched upon lightly.¹³

line

I divide my present chapter into ~~four~~ sections and these designations refer ~~primarily~~ ^{manifested} to the outsiders and their intentions. I have done this because as contact between Rapanui and outsiders became more intense, the behaviour of the island's population became more a reaction to conditions imposed upon them, than acts deriving from any over-all strategy, as was the case on some other Polynesian islands (e.g. Pearson 1970). The four sections are:

1. Explorers and navigators;
2. ~~settlers~~ ^{The Peruvian episode;} settlers & missionaries;
3. ~~settlers~~ settlers & missionaries;
4. Exploiters and colonisers;

5. The ~~main~~ ^{Chilean} era

~~Exhibit~~ It seems that each section is also a stage in historical development. The sequence develops ~~and~~ evolves; one period building upon ^{the characteristics of} another, rather like the prehistorical phases discussed in Chapter One.

In the accounts of visitors to Rapanui, I will largely ignore their commentaries and speculations upon the island as they saw it and concentrate upon the actual relations between the outsiders and the Islanders. The accounts of Cook, Roggeveen, Thomson and so on have been as iduously mined for information to corroborate ethnological reconstruction by Barthel (1974), Heyerdahl (1961: 21-88), Métraux (1940), Routledge (1919) and many others of lesser renown. In the Registry of Visits ~~xxxx~~, I have supplied bibliographic references and these may be consulted by those interested in such ethnological detail.

Section 1, ~~xxxxxxx~~ Explorers and navigators.

Even if it is conceded that inter-island (or continental) voyages occurred in the pre-^{contact} ~~1722~~ epoch, it must be confirmed that the island did not generally become known to outsiders until a Dutchman searching for terra australis happened to come upon the tiny territory on Easter day, 1722.¹⁴

Poor weather appears to have prevented the three ships, Den Arend, Thienhoven, and Africaansche Galey, from approaching ~~the~~ Rapanui itself until two days after their initial sighting on the 5 April, 1722. But, on the morning of the seventh, a lone Islander approached the Thienhoven and boarded her. Captain Pöman's entry is the first known record of an Easter Islander dealing with a European. He notes that his visitor was:

...a man well into his fifties, of the browns, with a goatee after the Turkish fashion, of very strong physique. He was much astonished at the make of our ship and all that belonged to it, as we could perceive from his expressions. As we could not in the least understand each other, we had to make it out from his expressions and signs. We gave him a small mirror, wherein he looked at himself, at which he was very frightened, as also at the sound of the bell. We gave him a glass of brandy wine, which he poured over his face, and when he felt the strength of it he began to open his eyes wide. We gave a second glass of brandy wine with a biscuit, ~~none~~ none of which he used. He had some shame because of his nakedness when he saw that we were clothed. He went therefore and put his arms and head on the table, appeared by this to make a speech to his deity, as was evident from his actions, and raised his head and hands many times to the sky, used many words in a loud voice, being engaged thus for half an hour, and when he stopped this he began to leap and sing. He showed himself very merry and gay. We tied a piece of sailcloth in front of his private parts, which wonderfully pleased him. He was naturally cheerful of face. He danced with the sailors when they had the fiddle played before him. He was not a little astonished at the sound and make of the instrument. His little craft was made of small pieces of wood and held together by some plant, being provided from within with two pieces of wood. It was so light that one man could easily carry it; it was for us wonderful to see that one man alone dared to proceed in so frail a craft so far to sea, having nothing to help him but a paddle, for when he reached us we were about three miles from the shore. (Sharp 1970: 91-2)

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ferry once?
also (?)

The following day, other followed what may have been a chief's or headman's example and also came to the same ship, in small canoes and on poro, the Rapanui bullrush swimming aid. On the ninth of April, word had apparently gotten around about the unusual visitors and all of the ships had Islander visitors. The first notation of what Ferdon () has termed "forced exchange" and to which most European visitors have referred as theft, occurred on the third day of contact, when hats and caps were taken. One crafty Islander, possibly recalling the fine sailcloth obtained by the advance scout, made off with a table cloth from the Africaansche Galey.

That phase of shipboard interaction completed, it was up to the Dutch to make their move. Five landing craft (three boats and two sloops) were outfitted and manned with a formidable party of 134 men and sent in on the morning of the tenth, their landing probably being effected at La Pérouse Bay (Hanga o Hoonu).

In spite of the threatening aspect that the Dutch wished to communicate, they being heavily armed, the Islanders were not deterred and soon after landing, the light-hearted pilfering that had occurred on ship, emerged once again, but this time with lethal consequences. Apparently frightened by the Islanders rapaciousness, a young Under Mate ordered his colleagues to open fire and a swath of death ~~was~~ ripped through the encroaching Rapanui throng. Ten or twelve men fell dead and a number of others lay wounded as a result of the incident.

This macabre turn of events does not appear to have dampened Rapanui desire to come to terms with their ~~un~~ unpredictable visitors for a man who may have been a chief ordered that, "...all that they [the Rapanui] had, consisting of fruits, vegetables and fowls," should be fetched and brought from all sides. for. (Sharp 1970:95). Sugarcane, fowls, yams and bananas were brought and the Dutch collected about 60 birds and 30 bunches of bananas, for which they, "...paid them the value amply with striped linen, with which they appeared to be well pleased and satisfied." (Sharp 1970:96).

The ensuing description of what the Dutch observed suggests that the party may have strolled about the immediate area and the other Chronicler of the Roggeveen expedition, Friedrich Behrens, notes that the ~~Rapanui~~ Rapanui attempted to entice members of the ship's company (Sharp 1970:100), in much the same manner as the later Spanish expedition was to experience in 1770 (Corney 1908: 97). Regrettably for our further knowledge of Easter Island at that early (for Europeans) date, Minheer Roggeveen declined to go to the, "... main place of their land-cultivation and fruit-trees....," because the weather took a bad turn (Sharp 1970:102).

Upon returning to their ships, the flotilla departed, presumably that same day, without further contact with the Islanders.

Though the Rapanui ~~XXXXXX~~ are not known to have had contacts with Europeans prior to Roggeveen's arrival, it is surprising

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now similar the character of the Dutch encounter was to those described for other, more visited islands. This is particularly true with respect to exchange and reciprocity (see Pearson 1970: 122). I ~~mentioned above~~ referred above to this episode as representing a pattern, but I should have said more accurately that it was the foundation of a pattern.

This was that all subsequent contacts (to 1862) were most often initiated by an Islander (or a small party) coming out to the European vessel and then, later, possibly on-shore interaction with a landing party. Regrettably, details of these interactions are sometimes lacking in some of the accounts.

Between 1722 and 1770, no contacts are known to have occurred, though the arrival of the Spanish ships San Lorenzo and Santa Rosalia did not appear to perturb the Islanders, who again dealt with their visitors in a permissive, though interested manner. This permissiveness even extended to allowing the party, under the command of Captain Felipe Gonzalez, to erect three flags on a trio of parasitic cones, located on the Poike peninsula. The actual commentary upon the Spaniard's six day visit is ~~scattered~~ in the ~~extreme~~ and what ~~is~~ "embarrassing behaviour" that may have transpired during this visit has been omitted (cf. Pearson 1970:122).

The Spaniards also landed at Hanga o Hoonu and the exchange began with the customary scouting party, this time of three men, who were later joined by a fourth. Within two days from the initial contact, Islanders swam out to the ship in large numbers (Corney 1903:97, 120). The Spaniards were generous with their initial trading partners, as they were given, "...ribbons, shirts, trousers, seaman's jumpers and small gift metal crosses," as well as biscuits, salt pork, ~~and~~ rice, "etc." These amicable exchange relations existed throughout the sojourn, including the relations that the party on two small launch's circumnavigating the island had.

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prestations (?)
As opposed to the taciturn Dutch traders, the Spanish explorers were free with their ⁽³⁾prestations and ⁽³⁾counter-prestations and little commentary appears in the accounts to suggest the sort of wholesale rifling that so upset Easter Island's first group of foreign tourists. The Spanish philosophy in their relations with the Rapanui is summed up ~~by~~ in Sub-Lietu. Juan Hervé's account:

The officer, Don Cayetano de Lángara, issued orders to our people that no one, under pain of a severe flogging, should accept any article from the islanders without giving some equivalent in return, or something of greater value than that which they received, since it was known there was a disposition to exchange articles; and such in fact was put into practice (Corney 1903:122)

It is not surprising, then, that when an elaborate ceremony was performed, on 20 November, the Islanders were not at all fearful of the gunfire and musketry that accompanied the erection of crosses and the signing of papers ~~xxxxxxx~~ (Corney 1903:126). Though good relations characterised the Islanders's initial encounter with Spaniards from Peru, less than a century later this happy episode was to be obliterated forever from the Rapanui consciousness.

As I stated at the beginning, I do not propose a chronology of events to encompass ~~in~~ the forty-nine ~~known~~ known ships that either called or approached Easter Island from 1770 to 1862. After establishing the above points regarding general islander amicability and trading relationships, I would now like to pass on to some specific features of contact in this time period.

Referring to the Registry of ships, in Appendix C, it is apparent that about a quarter of the ships associated with Easter only sighted the island, but came no closer than a few miles. I have included them to indicate how well known a reference point the island was for mariners, particularly in the nineteenth century. This suggests to me that there may have been many more contacts

will
between the Islanders and outsiders than I have been able to locate, though it is unlikely that such accounts, discoverable in the future, shall add much to the general picture that I am here presenting.

I have included in the Registry seven visits the exactitude of which I am not certain and, given my interest in exchange aspects of the contact situation, they bear some discussion.

Two accounts are known only because of the wooden statues alleged to have originated from Easter Island in the Peabody Museum (Harvard) collection. One is very obscure and purports to have been collected in 1840 by Oliver Perry Stone, during one of the many whaling voyages of that time. The other is associated with the famous (or infamous) "Mad Jack" Percival, a United States Naval Captain in the 19th century. ^(Wescott 1935) According to the Museum catalogue card, Percival collected his statue in 1843, on Easter Island. This is unlikely, as he was off-duty in that year. According to my sources, he may have collected the statue in 1826, during his voyage as Captain of the USS Dolphin, though one account of the voyage makes no mention of a call at Easter Island (Paulding 1970). The other possibility is that he collected it from another navigator during his spell commanding the USS Constitution between 1844 and 1846. Accounts of "Mad Jack's" behaviour in other ports suggests that Easter Island is perhaps better off never to have encountered such a rambunctious individual.

Why mention this
The visits of Captain Blyth in 1826 and Captain Thibaud in 1829 are known to me only through secondary sources and nothing is known about the character of their contact with the island. Finally, Captain Charles R. Cary, in 1839, ~~was~~ stayed just off-shore of the island in late February, but mentions nothing in his log about his relations with the Islanders.

There are two other possible contacts about which little is known and they each are important, but for separate reasons.

As will be discussed in greater detail below, Chile took possession of Easter Island in 1888, though their interest in the territory antedates that annexation by nearly two decades. Most Chilean publications dealing with ~~the~~ Rapanui credit the Chilean naval vessel, Colo-Colo, with a call in 1850 (Marin n.d.:83, Ramirez 1939:26, Stephan-Chauvet 1965:372, etc.). When I discussed this trip with a retired Chilean Admiral, who is publishing the official history of the Chilean Navy, he informed me that the Colo-Colo had been de-commissioned and sold in 1841 and that its ~~commander~~ alleged commander for the voyage, Leonicio Señoret, was otherwise engaged at that time. I was prepared to accept this authoritative view until I was informed that a descendant of Commandante Señoret, in Santiago, was selling a large collection of Easter Island statues. The purchaser, who has assembled probably one of the finest private collections of Easter Island carvings of the last century, knows his product and attested that their style revealed that they were certainly pre-1862 and possibly even earlier. In addition, they were carved from the now rare toromiro wood and were finished with an exactitude unknown to present-day island carvers. A glance at the Registry of authorities, however, indicates that a possible descendant of the Comandante, was Military Governor of the island in 1943. In either case, the collection is a very fine one and, from my exchange point of view, an extensive one. If Señoret did call at Easter Island in 1850, he must have sustained a lengthy bartering session to procure the fine pieces that his modern descendant possessed.

The other uncertain contact may have occurred in 1843 and is very different in nature for the Europeans involved may have been overcome and ultimately eaten by the Rapanui! If this is so, then it is the only occasion on which it occurred on such a large scale. The ~~only~~ evidence pro and con is found in inference and in oral traditions elicited in the last century.

There is only one fact in the affaire and that is that Monseigneur Etienne Rouchouze, the Bishop of Nilopolis and 23 priests, novices, lay brothers and nuns disappeared, along with their ship the Marie-Joseph. It is alleged that the Bishop and his party arrived on Rapanui and were overpowered by the Islanders. Information obtained in Mangareva in 1872 mentions that there was a gr at battle between those on the ship and the Islanders, culminating in a large ~~XXXX~~ cannibalistic feast at Anakena. Another version, collected at the same time and place, however, states that the Bishop stayed only one day but departed due to hostilities, but the other version prevailed among the Mangarevans, who persecuted the Rapanui for having eaten a Bishop. Still another priest, in Haapape, Tahiti, however, ~~XXXX~~ doubts the Mangarevan assertions and believes that the Bishop was only wounded when he arrived and departed the island without further harm. The last, and perhaps most accurate word, in 1898, suggests that the story of having eaten and attacked the Clergymen was a confusion with actual events known to have occurred, such as the killing of Robert F. Weeks, of the Prudence, in 1856. Nevertheless, the story continues to haunt the Rapanui imagination and, according to Englert (1948:152), the Islanders who visited Tahiti in 1926 made special inquiries and "discovered" that the Bishop was, in fact, eaten by Tuamotuans, whose descendants today still preserve memorabilia in the form of vestments. Further, most visitors to the island, even today, may be taken to see the pit at Anakena wherein the Bishop and his companions are supposed to have been cooked.¹⁶

The remaining thirty ~~XXXXXX~~ thirty known instances of contact may be divided, only for convenience's sake, into those thirteen who actually effected a landing and the ~~XX~~ other thirteen who merely remained offshore. The number of visits, growing to more than one per year in some years of the 19th century, is partly due to the island being designated as a known source of

Refuse
a re-visit

fresh vegetables and fruits. As is evident from the Registry, many/^{American}whaling vessels called there for just that purpose and other, particularly ~~BR~~ British, ships may also have done so. Accounts from these mostly trading voyages suggest that the Islanders were used to dealing with such commercial exchanges. Though some visitors, such as Cook's company, complained of the lack of fowls, sweet potatoes and bananas appear to have existed in adequate quantities. In 1848, Joseph Mitchell II, on the New England whaling bark, Three Brothers obtained 80 barrels of sweet potatoes, yam and forty bunches of bananas. In 1851, the Potomac's master traded for 30 barrels of yams and sweet potatoes, ^{and there are other, less precise examples in the} Registry.

One whaling captain, in 1821 on the Foster, appears to have accomplished sufficient contact with the Islanders to not only have traded for vegetables, but also obtained information about the moiety social organisation that I will be discussing further in Chapter Three below. He also, like La Pérouse before him, presented different kinds of seeds and instructions for their planting. Thomas Raine, in that same year, on the merchant ship Surrey, did likewise a few months later.

These commercial enterprises were well established by the late 18th century, as James Baker, in the Jenny called at Easter for the needs of his crew, and Charles Bishop of the Ruby, in ~~18~~ 1793 and 1795, had ~~learned~~ the Island's location and attributes as part of his secret orders. Another merchant, Amasa Delano, in 1801, though unable to land, observed the Islanders along the shore holding up produce for trade. In 1838, Dupetit-Thouars notes that the Islanders appear to be accustomed to interaction (and exchange) with visiting ships, though he was not satisfied with the produce he received.

The Islanders made it clear to their guests just what they wanted in return for their garden items. Since La Pérouse's

(Cumming (?))
distribution of cheap medals on chains, such adornment continued to be a welcome item. Lisiansky, of the Neva in 1804, distributed Russian copper money on a string, along with empty mustard bottles, and even copper earrings. Captain Raine, in 1821, also tied a bottle around the neck of an Islander, with the name of his ship in it and six years later, Hugh Cumming reported that ~~many~~ empty bottles were a favoured trade item. In a more long term connection, Captain Bishop in 1795, amused some Rapanui men by shaving off their beards and this unusual ceremony was demanded by the ten men who came on board Admiral Dupetit-Thouars's vessel in 1838. In fact, by that time, it would appear that the Easter Islanders had gained sufficient sophistication to specify that they did not wish one particular European item, but another. Dupetit-Thouars's knives and scissors were turned down and graphic signs made that fishhooks were the ~~desired~~ coveted good. In the early days of the Spaniard's visit, Sub-

~~Enxvvezablexprouzexwas~~ lieut. Hervé remarked that their trade goods were hidden by the Islanders as soon as they were acquired, but Belcher of the Blossom, in 1825, noted that a chiefly figure wore a European felt hat.

Aside from the vegetable market that Rapanui became for South Pacific mariners in the 19th century, it also became known for other attractions. On the material side, Easter Island statues became popular with sailors, as the various museum collections in the United States and Europe can attest. Of course, some collectors such as Cook, were "scientific" collectors, but many others were merely searching for a souvenir. In 1825, Belcher noted that though a great deal of showmanship went into the statue trading, the Islanders were obviously eager to part with their carvings in exchange for the right European item. Wood and fishhooks purchased for Cumming and his companions in 1827 figures of animals and humans and Dupetit-Thouars, in 1838, acquired a double-headed figure,

from an aspiring entrepreneur who swam out to the ship as the vessel was gliding past. The whalers on the George, in 1839, obtained idols from Islanders who swam out to the ship with them and Rear-Admiral Frederic Proby, of H.M.S. Portland traded fishhooks for "small idols." One of these carvers may be the man sketched by one of his crew that I reproduce here at Figure 8. The opinion held by Islanders in this century probably reflectstheir similar views held, especially, in the last century:

Local opinion regarding the intelligence of the visitors is not high. One man brought to us a wooden figure which he said was 'very old.' 'Indeed,' remarked my husband, 'it has grown up quickly; it was a new-born infant when I saw it being carved in the village a few weeks ago.' 'Ah,' said the proud possessor, slightly disappointed, but nursing his creation like a child and stroking it affectionately, 'he very fine, muy antiqua [sic], I keep him for ships; capitano man-o-wari, all same damn fool (Routledge 1919:271).'
(NOTE: force, force, 1919, 1919)

There is only one instance known to me where Islanders ~~obtained~~ desired food supplies from European ships and that is reported by Captain Henry Buncker of the Whaling ship Paragon in 1822:

We obtained sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, plaintains, sugar cane, etc., all of which were brought off by the natives of both sexes who swam out to the boat (whale boat) lying at the back of the surf, and for their produce they took nothing but whalescraps, which they devoured with great eagerness (Stackpole).

The George, in 1839, also reported that the Islanders wanted scraps of whale for their produce.

By the 19th century, Easter Island was also known^h at least some of its women to sailors, in exchange for trade goods. Moerenhout, in 1828, was aware that there was "much trafficking in women," and there was a fear that venereal diseases were prevalent on the island at that time. Cook's men had noticed the paucity of women in 1774 and just over a decade later, La Pérouse opined that females had been hidden ~~from~~ at the time of the ~~English~~ famous navigator's visit. As for his visit, he notes, "... they [the women] offered their favours to all those who wou'd make them a present." ¹⁸³⁹ He expressed, however, his gratitude

to the Anglo-saxon restraint that ~~men~~ made the gallic pleasure possible. However, with his usual perspicacity, La Pérouse(1786:17-8) also noted that some of the females were forced into this trade against their will:

They brought to us by force young girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age, in the hope of receiving pay for them; the repugnance of those young females was a proof that in this respect the custom of the country was violated. Not a single Frenchman made use of the barbarous right which was given him; and if there were some moments dedicated to nature, the desire and consent were mutual, and the women made the first advances.

Women were often brought on board ships that did not otherwise land, as for example, in the case of Dupetit-Thouars who noted that in three of the five canoes that approached his ship, an ~~woman~~ attractive woman was placed in the prow^{of each.} Cumming's coy remark that the Ensign of the Discover, had much to do with the Islanders while they lay off ~~the~~ Hangaroa for five days in 1827 may be a reference to such behaviour and "Te'ree," beloved of Captain Bishop in 1795, was brought on board the Ruby, along with other maidens, precisely for the purpose of ^{sexual} intercourse with the crew of that ship. ^{OK to say comment} When strong surf prevented the landing of the Pilgrim, in 1801, in addition to attempting to attract the crew with bunches of sugar-cane, yams, and other produce, the women also made clear by signs what commerce they offered. ¹⁸

In only seven of the accounts is there a mention of European fear of Islander attack, while of these, in ~~only~~ ^{and in} five of these there are actual accounts of attacks. Looking at them in chronological context, in the Registry, it is clear, however, that while some Captains feared attack, others enjoyed good relations, often even in the same year. Captain Chapman, in 1821, remarks, "This island [Rapanui] is inhabited by savages," five months earlier Captain Raine of the Surry had enjoyed excellent relations. In 1827, the Discoverer landed no personnel for fear of attack, but appears to have had no difficulties during their stay.

While ~~xxxxxxxx~~ probably not a commercial venture, three ships reports contain a reference to Islanders actually wishing to be taken off the island. Captain Raine, in 1821, refused to take an Islander with him who expressed a desire to leave. A quarter of a century earlier, Bishop notes that two young men specifically requested to be taken to "Britanniee," which he refused to do. In about 1806, a South whaler, Captain Page, took a young man to England with him and his story is told in retrospect in a news story that was reprinted in a New England newspaper:

A few days since the youngest son of Crang-a-low, King of Easter Island, was baptised at Rotherhithe Church, in the name of Henry Easter, after the island. This prince came to England six years ago, in the ship Adventure, Captain Page, South whaler, who touched there to refresh the crew, they having scurvy. When he departed, King Crang-a-low was supposed to be 125 years old, scarcely able to walk, and his hair as white as milk and the father of twenty three children, all of whom were alive. This young Prince is, in every respect, a handsome man, about 22 years of age, five feet eight inches high, is very tractable, and will, in a short time, be able to civilize his countrymen, if an opportunity should offer.

According to oral historical accounts, at least one other Islander voluntarily went off on a whaling voyage, to serve as crew.¹⁹

La Pérouse experienced some pelting by stones in 1786, when some of his crew attempted to recover a grapnel stolen from the ship, but it wasn't until Captain Adams, in 1806, and Captain Windship, in 1809, that Islanders are alleged to have actually repelled visitors by attacking them. Von Kotzebue, in 1815, appears to have received a very chilly reception, though initial relations were amicable with trading of vegetables for small bits of old iron. When a landing was attempted, his men were repulsed, apparently without provocation. A story that enjoyed a certain popularity in the last century was the surprise attack

on Captain Beechey's men, who attempted to land at Cook's Bay (Hangaroa) in 1825. Three accounts exist of this incident, though they are all relatable to the ~~commanding~~ officer's report submitted by Lieut. George Peard (1972:70-4). Gough (1972:73) is quite incorrect when he states that "Roggeveen had a similar experience; a friendly reception gave way to native hostility;" as the Dutch difficulties are relatable to Cornelius~~x~~ Mens's timidity, as the account makes very clear. In the Beechey case, it is more difficult to explain just why an attack should ensue from ~~xxxx~~ ^{initial} friendly relations. Peard believes that the Islanders may have feared that they foreigners were about to move off, without further trading and so wished to prevent their departure. Beechey, from his vantage point on the deck of ~~the~~HMS Blossom notes: "About this time [of initial landing] one of the natives, probably a chief, with a cloak and head-dress of feathers, was observed...hastening from the huts to the landing place, attended by several persons with short clubs"(Beechey 1831:48). What Beechey's men ~~may have~~ suffered ~~may be~~ related to some onshore conflict between the newly arriving chief and those already present, the result being a decision to pelt the outsiders.

Of all the incidents of conflict report, however, it is usually the European who has escaped unscathed and there is only one report ~~that~~ of a foreigner's death on the island and that was of Robert F. Weeks, boat steerer, who was murdered by Rapanui in 1856.

On the other hand, attacks on Islanders by Europeans did occur in the last century, even before the 1862 outrage that follows shortly. The most notorious episode occurred in 1805 and is known from several sources, though all attempts to trace a schooner Nancy from New London, have failed. It was a well-known incident and even in the reports on violence against Europeans by Rapanui, newspapers and other commentators refer to the Nancy as

an explanation for the attacks. Delano, who arrived to the seal islands of Más Afuera (Juan Fernández Group) in 1800/^{& 1805} provides a good description of the, then, infant industry (1817:304-8XX). Between 1800 to 1804 between ten to twenty ships called at the small island for the purpose of sealing. ~~and~~ The trade began between Canton and the sealers in about 1797 and Delano estimates that as many as three million seals may have been carried off up to 1804, he himself being an important participant in the trade. He reports that he has been ~~anzmanuxkazzfouezkbnexshix~~, "...at the place when there were the people of fourteen ships, or vessels, on the island at one time, killing seals" (Delano 1817:306). Such work requires labour and as Easter Island is the closest inhabited (and unprotected) territory to the sealing grounds, it is not surprising that unscrupulous captains might look to the Rapanui as a labour pool. In 1805, most reports agree, the Nancy carried off 12 men and 10 women. While the females remained on board, the men, given the first opportunity, jumped overboard to escape, most of them perishing as the ship was far out to sea. Englert (1970: 150-1) reports a tradition that one of these desperate men actually managed to survive the long swim and returned to his island. Contemporary reports, however, record that the Nancy returned to Rapanui for another raid shortly after their first one, (~~Mooren-~~ ~~hout 1837b;277-8, Von Kotzebue 1821:19-20~~). There is a veiled note in Thomson (1891:465) that another similar raid was ~~en~~ perpetrated by a Captain Rugg of the Friend at some time unspecified.

~~Not unexpectedly, reports of such atrocities are infrequent, the perpetrators preferring anonymity to infamy.~~ The only other reported incident of this nature was that of the whaling ship Pindos, in 1822. An enterprising first-mate, Waden, gathered up a quantity (by force?) of women and took them ^{to} his crew mates as prostitutes. The following day, the Islanders were released and thrown back into the water, ~~he~~ left to make it

decade opens with the determination of the Sacred Hearts mission in Valparaiso to send Lay Brother Eugène Eyraud to Easter Island. The House had heard of the condition of the island when Captain LeJeune of the ~~Cassini~~ French warship, Cassini had visited the Chilean seaport in late 1862. Eyraud, a Frenchman who had made his fortune as a merchant and mechanic in Argentina and Bolivia, eagerly volunteered to work on the Mission.

I do not propose to provide here a mission history for Easter Island, for that has been done elsewhere.³² The details I included above regarding the Peruvian-related events were necessary as many of these have never been recounted and I wish to provide some detail of the traumatic events so that their subsequent effects could be better appreciated. I have discussed above the numbers involved in the trade, but for Easter Island I must also add that among those who were carried off to Peru, figured Maurata, the last lineal king of Rapanui, as well as most of his court and principal advisers. In Chapter Two I will detail the rise in power of the matato'a (war lords), but here I only mention that these were the ~~only~~ individuals ^{in power} remaining by the end of 1863, along with their followers. The situation that the missionaries came into was an open one, where power was there for those who wished to take it. I will discuss the events between 1864 and 1872 mainly from the point of view of the Islanders, BUT with necessary reference to those Europeans involved.

While the first missionary on Rapanui was Eyraud in 1864, it was not until March of 1866 that a true mission was at last established on the island. Brother Eyraud's account of his nine months among the fierce and divided Rapanui testifies to the power struggle that existed subsequent to the Peruvian episode. Early on, Eyraud becomes associated with a matato'a called Torometi, whose role in later events will be considered below.

Scarcely a few months after the disasters recounted above, Brother Eugène arrived on Easter Island in early January, 1964. His (Eyraud 1864) account of his first contact with the Rapanui includes his returning of Pane 'a Pabhu, Adrien, Tamateka and three other Rapanui. On the voyage out from Tahiti to Rapanui, Pane promised to aid Brother Eugène in the setting up of the mission, but appears to have abdicated this role upon arrival, for we read no more of him. The party landed first at Hangaroa, ~~with a young~~ with a young Hangarevan taking them ashore, while Eyraud waited on board. When Daniel the Hangarevan returned, he exclaimed the ferocity of the Rapanui and urged Brother Eugène not to land. Daniel also noted that of 100 Rapanui embarked at Callao and returned to the island, only 18 had arrived alive a short while before and that they had carried with them smallpox from Peru which was infecting the whole island. The Captain offered to return Brother Eugène to Tahiti free of charge, if he would abandon his plan to ~~go~~ go ashore, ~~but~~ The determined Lay Brother chose to disregard this advice and landed. He found himself surrounded by an apparently hostile crowd and only the presence of Pane appears to have mollified the gathering's unfriendly intentions. All were armed and not surprisingly, on their guard. Eyraud fled with his companions and spent the night in a cave, on the road to Anakena.

The next day he arrived to find that the ship, possibly fearing the smallpox, had deserted him. He was left alone on the island.

that his effects had been debarked at Mangaroa, before the ship had departed. A man called Temanu presented Eyraud with three chickens and it is then that Torometi first appears. Later, Brother Eugène reflects upon the character of his chief protector, and antagonist:

Torometi is a man of 30 years, large and very much like the natives of the island. His false and contrary airs ~~give~~ inspire in one a feeling of defiance and justifies the bad reputation that he has, according to the others. I was told that he was not a member of the Easter Island race. Possibly he is really a canaca; he has his siblings and a numerous family; and I perceived that he ~~enjoyed~~ enjoyed a ~~great~~ great ~~power~~ power over his neighbours (Eyraud 1864:181).

Before long, Torometi has stripped Eyraud of his goods, clothing and even his dignity and the Lay Brother becomes a member of Torometi's entourage, being dragged about by him as the matato'a's fortunes change. In later years, Father Hippolyte Roussel was to recognise that Torometi's interest in associating himself with the missionaries (initially) was because of his thirst for power and that his interest in religion as such was marginal to his larger aims.

Eyraud notes that seasonal festivals were practiced during his initial residence and he was present at some of these, though the Spring Mataveri he mentions (which I will discuss in greater detail below) ~~was~~ was only, "...un espèce de champ de mars ou l'on se réunit. (Eyraud 1864:186)." While treated as Torometi's chattel, he nevertheless was considered to have some sort of magical powers. This is demonstrated by an incident in which he attempted to tell his irgil about the afterlife. Eyraud's knowledge of Rapanui was sparse and only when he pronounced "e pohe oe," (his rendering of "ou shall die") did Torometi respond not with theological understanding, but with fear that a spell had been cast upon him! Being a "papa," as Eyraud renders the Tahitian term of for "foreigner, or white man," he was also expected to know about

boat construction and to this end, a collection of driftwood, pieces of European origin, such as oarlocks, were brought to him to assemble. Eyraud tried to convince them that he wasn't expert in naval matters, but Torometi and his companions insisted. Eyraud remarks, when the fragile craft was launched, that as soon as the boat entered the sea, the sea entered the boat and that was the end of the project (Eyraud 1964:200-1).

About the 3rd or 4th of September, 1864, a "mataveri" was held and Torometi lost to his rival Tamateka. Torometi was originally from Anakena, but had occupied an estate in the Hangaroa area, at least during Eyraud's time. When Torometi lost the annual contest, Tamateka drove him from Hangaroa and Eyraud chose to follow his tormentor-protector. Less than one month later, Brother Eugène departed from the island, but with a determination to return.

Less than two years later, Eyraud made good his desire and did return to Rapanui, but this time accompanied by an even more determined Father Hippolyte Roussel. Father Hippolyte was a very different man from Eyraud. Though younger by six years than the pioneer missionary, he had been a priest for over twenty years and for some of that time, a successful missionary to the Marquesas, Tahiti, and Mangareva missions. He was an experienced man with very definite ideas as to how a mission should be organized and conducted. When he and Eyraud arrived on the island, he later told Palmer of the Topaze, "...it happened that one of the principal chiefs took up a stone with a menacing gesture and made as though he would brain him; but Roussel was equal to the occasion, and quietly felled him with his walking stick... (Palmer 1869:372).

A short while later, Eyraud and Roussel were joined by Father Gaspard Zumborn and Brother Théodule Escolan. After a slow start, the Mission progressed rapidly and by late 1868, Roussel could

claim that all Rapanui had been baptised and, presumably, entered into the church. From the onset, Eyraud appears to have exercised a calming effect upon Roussel and Zumbohm and Escolan went off to the other side of the island to establish the mission at Vaihu. Zumbohm favoured bringing the church to the Islanders, while Roussel was of the opposite opinion. He wish to gain complete control of the Islanders's activities and discourage "pagan" festivities and paraphernalia. The prized Easter Island carvings were either destroyed or sent off to the scholar-Bishop Tepano Jaussen. Zumbohm, however, was more tolerant it appears. His main task was the establishment of an orphanage.

Though both eventually converts, Torometi and Romá, representing the west and east factions, appear to have continued their rivalry, but more quietly. The main stream of conflict appears to have been between Eyraud and Roussel, for the former left the house of the latter and refused to live with him. After Eyraud's death in 1868, Zumbohm appears to have taken on the Lay Brother's views and appears in opposition to Roussel's centralist plans. On the other hand, it was Zumbohm who promoted the idea of a police force, the muto'i, to which Roussel refers as a "secret police." (Roussel 1868). Roussel favoured the creation of a central village, with a government and council to judge difficulties. In this, he was aided by a French Captain in the Merchant Marine, Jean-Baptiste Onésime Dutrou-Bornier.

Dutrou-Bornier, in his forties when he first arrived on Easter Island, as Captain of the Tampico to bring Zumbohm and Escolan from Chile, had been an officer in the Crimean War. In 1865, he had come to the South Seas and had participated in inter-island trade. He had also recruited Islanders from French Polynesia for plantation work and had even tried to recruit a work gang on Rapanui in February of 1867. His relations with the missionaries, when he arrived then, were very good and he had

Scared Heart's house in Valpo.
 sent a very laudatory letter to the ~~Eikrapzu2xZahkzk~~, praising
 the work of the missionaries (Dutrou-Bornier 1867). In late
 1867, he appears to have run out of luck and was advertising
 transport to Liverpool. A similar advertisement, by the house
 of the wealthy/^{English-Tahitian}merchant, John Brander, however, appears to have
 received the greater public response, for the Tampico remained
 at the dockside, while Brander's ship departs. A month later,
 in February, 1868, Dutrou-Bornier loses his ownership of the
Tampico and becomes captain of the small, 69 ton Aorai, in which
 he and an associate/^{Christian Schmidt}depart for Easter Island.³³

Initially, Dutrou-Bornier and Roussel closely cooperate
 and the Captain assisted the missionary in bringing in Rapanui
 living outside of Hangaroa. In 1869, The mission, John Brander
 and Dutrou-Bornier enter into a cooperative contract to develop
 Easter Island commercially. While Zumbohm had established himself
 at Vaihu and Roussel at Hangaroa, Dutrou-Bornier chose the sacred
 site of Mataveri for his headquarters. Torometi appears to have
 recognised the rôle that Dutrou-Bornier might play and associates
 himself with the Mataveri mob. ⁽³⁾ Roma, however, remained with
 the missionaries.

Early in the mission's history, Roussel had proposed that
 the dying population should be transferred to Mangareva and that
 the island should be abandoned. Father Auguste Jamet, after
 speaking with Zumbohm, who had secured a large plot of land in
 the south of Chile, suggested transporting the entire population
 there. And, Dutrou-Bornier still had his interests in obtaining
~~Zakrakahourerez~~ plantations labourers for Brander's Tahitian
 properties. In this regard, the Europeans on Rapanui had very
 similar notions of what should be the final fate of the island's
 population. I suspect that it was the details of these arrangements
 that eventually resulted in the conflict that erupted in 1869, as

well as the clashing wills of the Rapanui protagonists, Torometi and Roma.³⁴

The main point of conflict between Roussel and Dutrou-Bornier appears to have been over the witnessing of some land deeds. ~~xxxxx~~ ~~xxxxx~~ Roussel refused to witness them, though Zumbohm's position on this is obscure. The Vaihu mission appears to have enjoyed friendly relations with Dutrou-Bornier. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ While Torometi and his "pupuranga" were tearing up Hangaroa crops and firing upon Roussel's adherants (including Roma, of course), Dutrou-Bornier and Zumbohm were exchanging pigs! A short while later, when Zumbohm fell ill, Dutrou-Bornier visited his friend on more than one occasion. Roussel (1870) is greatly displeased by this amity. Dutrou-Bornier tries to convince Zumbohm that the only difficulty on Easter Island is Roussel and that if other missionaries were to come to the island, than troubles would cease. The only time that Dutrou-Bornier sought to justify his actions was in a letter dated 25 February, 1871, to the Bishop of Tahiti, in which he claims that Roussel, in an early act at centralization, forced Rapanui at gunpoint to leave their homes in Anakena and Hotuiti and to come to Hangaroa. According to Dutrou-Bornier, the main source of conflict was over his allowing a certain part of the population to return to their homes in Anakena and to live there, as they choose. Roussel sends a force to destroy this encampment and it is from that, according to Dutrou-Bornier, that the real devastation arises (Dutrou-Bornier 1871).

Whatever the European motives might have been, Torometi emerges as Dutrou-Bornier's champion. Above, I mentioned that Torometi had been humiliated and thrown out of Hangaroa. Now, with the aid of Dutrou-Bornier's armaments (and a keg of powder from a Chilean ship in 1870), he was able to exact his revenge. It appears from contemporary accounts that what Torometi was

consistent with "Mataveru behaviour." It was not until the middle of 1870 that European arms were used in the conflict, on Dutrou-Bornier's side. In the early conflicts, in which Torometi and his companions tore up crops, Dutrou-Bornier did not appear, but also in 1870, he fires a blank at Roussel, apparently to scare him. Today, Rapanui still point to a low promontory and affirm that it was from that locale that Dutrou-Bornier would amuse himself by firing upon the mission at Hangaroa. Under the Mataveru government, with Torometi as its prime protagonist, there is an apparent return to "paganism" and a revival of old customs. In the missionary accounts³⁵ ten Rapanui are mentioned specifically as being followers of Dutrou-Bornier, though the missionaries admit that he had as many as 80 followers. Like Torometi, those other nine known Rapanui were from westcoast clans and were, in fact, all Miru, while the only opposing Rapanui, Roma, was from Tongariki. The revival of this continuing conflict, which I discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, is evident.

In late 1870, Zumbohm falls gravely ill, ~~and~~ leaves the island, and the situation rapidly deteriorates. Even a visit by John Brander, in 1871, fails to solve the problems and by this time, Mataveru raids on Hangaroa and (after Zumbohm's departure) on Vaihu, have ~~reduced~~ devastated these areas. The Bishop ~~orders~~ orders Roussel to abandon the island in April of 1871 and, at the same time, Brander and Bornier contract workers for a coconut plantation at Haapapa. In June of 1871, the Brander ship, Sir John Purgoyne, brings 109 rapanui to Tahiti and 168 stop in Mangareva with Roussel, though Roussel's first letter from Mangareva lists only twenty-nine adults and Jaussen () in a later publication avers that Roussel only took with him "about fifty." According to the missionary accounts, all save a few stalwart Dutrou-Bornier supporters, wished to come to

depart, but ultimately 175 were left behind on the burnt-out plantations of Rapanui. Even Roma and Torometi left their homeland, ~~but~~ though both perished in Tahiti in subsequent years.

~~Enzkeztetnzkxl&zx Enzkeztetnzkxl&zx~~

~~Enzkeztetnzkxl&zx~~ By the end of 1872, 247 Rapanui had come to reside in Tahiti and within one year the unfamiliar climate and, probably, poor conditions, had claimed the lives of 95 (38 o/o) of them. More were to perish, until ~~Enzkeztetnzkxl&zx Enzkeztetnzkxl&zx~~ the Easter Island presence in Tahiti was to all but vanish. The missionary affirmation that Dutrou-Bornier prevented Rapanui from leaving the island with the missionaries does not bear up to the proof of continued migration to Tahiti throughout 1872. Further, the French captain felt secure enough of his position in early 1872 to leave the island and journey to Sydney, where he purchased 407 merino lambs and shipped them back to Rapanui.

As I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter ^{Four} ~~Three~~, the population by 1872 had been reduced to only about five percent of its estimated 1862 level. Mataveru and Hangarua had become the centre of government and authority on the island and Rapanui had firmly entered into contact with outsiders. Those islanders who remained behind, arrived at an accommodation with their tavana (governor), as Dutrou-Bornier had declared himself. Later, probably for a variety of reasons, Dutrou-Bornier was to be murdered by his Islander associates. ³⁸

4. Exploiters and colonisers

The next phase in Rapanui's development history extends from ~~1722~~ 1872 to 1888. During this period, the island was nearly depopulated and while de facto a colony of French Polynesia, was de jure an independent state. The majority of the contact was with Tahiti, through at least two Grandeur ships each year. Though this

time is closer to the modern-day population, very little is known of it in the traditional history. Moreover, there is little in the way of documentation to inform us of activities on the island. It was perhaps because it was such a tranquil period that little is remembered, save for the expedition to Tahiti, discussed below, by the "king" and his entourage. The period ends with a discussion of the growing Chilean interest in the island, that was to eventuate in annexation in September, 1888.

The main activity on the island during this period was the raising of livestock, as is amply demonstrated by the records of sheep arriving from Rapanui during the period. In all, 780 sheep were known to have been brought for sale in Papeete and, according to the report of the H.M.S. Constance, in 1884, between twenty-five and thirty tons of wool per year was produced on the island. The last woolshipment to Tahiti was 5,766 kilogrammes of wool, in late 1888.

According to Islander traditions, the old ways were practiced once again, particularly ~~when~~ during Alexandre Salmon's time on the island. The Orongo ceremony, which had ceased under missionary influence in the 1860's, was revived, and European clothes were worn only when ship's visited. Salmon himself wore the traditional hau, or breachcloth, when relaxing with his Rapanui employees.

Salmon, or Ari'i Paea, as he is remembered on Rapanui, was the son of the Englishman, Alexandre Salmon, his mother being of the Solare family. ^(RAMSDEN 1440, O'Reilly and Teisler 1962:416-9) He was a young man, under thirty, when he first arrived on Rapanui, to take over the management of the Brander interests. He and the younger John Brander were cousins. After D. Trou-Bordier was murdered in August of 1876, the Mataveru management was taken over for a time by a Chilean, called Chavez, who barricaded himself in the ranchhouse and went about heavily armed. In late 1879, Paea arrived to take over the Rapanui interests and was in effective control until 1888 (See Appendix D).

The first European caller at Rapanui after Dutrou-Bornier's death reports that his "queen", Koreto, had taken over, ~~with~~ as regent for the Frenchman's two daughters, Carolina and Marta. By the time Father Hippolyte returned to the island for a brief visit in ~~XXXXXX~~ 1878, however, she was under the command of an old chief, called Mati. Koreto, whose nickname was "Mamoe"(sheep) had become Dutrou-Bornier's wife shortly after his arrival to the island and in petitions sent to Tahiti ~~in~~ calling for French protection, during Dutrou-Bornier's time, she was presented as the Queen of Rapanui, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ When the Frenchman was murdered, however, a distant uncle of her's spirited the Queen and her two daughters away and hid them in a cave for a time. By 1877, however, she was free to receive foreign visitors and in an engraving (Fig 12) appears with her eldest daughter ~~crowned~~. In 1882, however, Father Hippolyte urges that the "pagan" (meaning Mati) government be abandoned and organises a Tahitian style King, with two counsellors and two judges. Atamu Tekena and his wife, Eva Uka Hei, are proclaimed king and queen as being faithful Catholics, though inevitably an anti-Hiru arose to challenge this authority in the form of the Tupahotu, Pakomio, who associated himself with Mataveru. While in the census of 1886 (Appendix B) the King and Queen still stand as important figures, Pakomio is the official teacher and catechist.†

The form of government, with the Brander representative being the civil governor or tavana, shown in the 1886 census was probably the one erected by Roussel five years earlier. Atamu Tekena is the "maximum authority," with Tano and Te Ihi as Judge and assistant judge. Following that are three "Tofo pae," or counsellors. These, in turn, operated with the four Tauturu i te feia toro'a, or persons of rank. Finally, four men were designated as ~~the~~ policemen or muto'i. The other fifty-nine adult males in the population at that time are designated, in good

Republican French manner, Huiratira, or citizens. In Chapter Four below, I will be re-examining this census for its demographic content and possible implications for population development in this period.

Another source of income, besides working for the Brander Salmon ranch, was through the sale of curios to visitors. Four major expeditions visited the island in 1872, 1877, 1882 (two) and 1886. Collections were made by these visitors, the high points being the export of statues on the Flore and Mohican and the nearly three hundred pieces of ethnographica collected by Kapitänlieutenant Geissler in 1882. The the export of moai (the stone figures) probably did not bring any money to the Islanders, the other, ~~as~~ smaller objects probably did. When ~~xxxxx~~ Paea was resident, he ~~xxxxxx~~ acted as agent for the Rapanui and produced displays of artefacts in his house at Vaihu to prospective clients, ~~xxxx~~ determining prices and terms.

For most of this time, the French flag flew over Rapanui and, in 1881, a "chief" (Matī?) and about twenty Islanders ~~xxxx~~ sailed to Tahiti to request a French protectorate. In that visit, the local authorities agreed to send a gendarme to establish the relationship, but nothing ever came of it (Caillot 1910:485). When the ~~xxxxxxx~~ HMS Sapcho visited in 1882, the English flag was hoisted and conversations conducted then led Clark (1899:146) to recommend that, "...her Majesty's government now extend... some sort of protectorate over it [East r Island." The German and American visitors may have made similar recommendations, but nothing came of it.

When the Topaze visited Rapanui in 1868, the commander of the ship told Father Hippolyte that rumours were circulating in Valparaiso that Chile was thinking of annexing Rapanui (Roussel 1868). The formal and extended visit of the training ship O'Higgins, in 1870, seems to have confirmed these suspicions,

at least in the mind of the British Chargé d'Affaires in Valparaiso and Chile's leading newspaper, El Mercurio, declares that in 1869, it published an editorial urging such a course of action. The Chilean version, however, appears to support a rather more romantic and individual story. According to this, it was Captain Policarpo Toro Hurtado's zeal that brought the Chilean Government to the decision to take possession of the tiny territory. It was possibly he who influence the great Chilean statesman, Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna/⁽¹⁸⁸⁵⁾ to publish in the first issue of the Marine Revue (Revista de Marina) a short essay urging that Chile takes a role in the "Partitioning of the Pacific" and claim East Island.

Policarpo Toroday have been a visionary patriot or a self-interested businessman, seeking to establish a personal empire, but in either case, he alone is responsible for ~~the~~ urging the Government to annex Rapanui to Chile. In 1887 and 1888, he journeyed to Papeete more than once to secure title to the lands and to negotiate with the French authorities (ecclesiastical and civil) about Chile's interests. In July, 1888, Captain Toro transported his brother, Pedro Pablo Toro and twelve other colonists to Easter Island and then went on to Tahiti to finalise the arrangements. When he returned, in September, 1888, the formal ceremony of annexation was held. Three months later, Brander and Salmon left Easter Island for good and a new era had begun.

5. The Chilean era

In this last Section, I intend to only sketch the major developments in this modern phase of Rapanui's development, which extends from 1888 to the present day. I will not go into great detail at this time because it will be more appropriately treated in Chapter Seven, when I consider Islander-outsider relations in general. In the oral tradition of the island exist scores of accounts of Chilean betrayal or kindness and these believed

events form a major part of the stock of information purveyed to neonates in Rapanui society. The Register of Authorities (Appendix D) was prepared particularly for this period and has been used to establish ~~chronology~~ relative chronology for the events of this phase. This Register, in conjunction with the one for Visitors, is the matrix into which events have been placed. What I intend to stress below is that an essentially French Polynesian pattern of colonialism came to an end and by the turn of the twentieth century it had been replaced by a South American (and more particularly Chilean) arrangement as a "company island." The appointed king was replaced by an appointed cacique to act as intermediary between an indigeneous population and the ruling commercial interests.

For the first few ^{months} ~~years~~ after the Chilean occupation, all appears to have gone well. The Chlorinda, a small vessel, was purchased by ~~the~~ the Toro's ~~enterprise~~ for the purpose of transporting supplies and merchandise to and from the island. The final blow to the Toro's hopes was when, in June, 1892, the ship sunk just off Easter Island, leaving the island without a regular service, until ~~the~~ the present day. The Chilean colonists themselves became discouraged and in June, 1889, two of the three families returned to Valparaiso and the third died just one month afterwards. Toro was left alone, with his family and in September, 1892, the Toro enterprise folded.

In that same year, the Rapanui monarchy appears to have been revived. Upon the Death of Atamu Tekona in 1892, a young man called Riro was elected, mainly by women voters, it appears, to be their king, over the rightful successor. According to Frank (1906) who visited the island sometime in the 1890's, ~~the~~ "Kin" Riro had complete control over the Chilean representative on the island and, according to a missionary account from 1900 (Bataye 1900),

when Alberto Sánchez Manterola arrived to manage the sheep ranch, purchased by Enrique Merlet in 1894, serious trouble developed between the Islander authority and the Chilean. This culminated in Riro going to Chile in probably 1899, with ~~two~~³ counsellors. His purpose was to discuss Islander grievances with Merlet but before this could be accomplished, he was poisoned, tradition alleges. At possibly about that time, Merlet visited Rapanui himself and in an act interpreted by a visiting missionary, threw a burning cigarette into the dry, rapanui plantations and set them ablaze.³⁹

In 1901, Basilio Rojas, Captain of the Chilean Naval vessel, General Baquedano, "...because of various complaints of the natives against the concessionaires-exploiters of the island, organised their work as in the haciendas of the continent; he regimentalised the obligations of the patrons and the workers, and named, among the natives, a chief or cacique in charge of order and dependant upon the Maritime Subdelegate (Stephan-Chauvet 1965:372)." ~~XXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ A contemporary source also notes that he recommended that any trouble makers on the island should be deported to Chile, where they would be dealt with.

Not surprisingly, there were few attempts to usurp the authority of the now firmly established rulers and those that did occur, in the form of strikes,^a nativistic cult and, lastly, a political movement, will be considered in detail in Chapter Seven. Until the late 1920's, Islanders were allowed to come and go as they pleased but when some political prisoners escaped to Tahiti only Chilean ships were henceforth allowed to call at the Island. Leprosy, which had been brought to the Island by some retournees in 1858, became rampant and Chilean fears of infection prompted the authorities to ban all Islanders from leaving the island. This provoked a series of clandestine voyages, as well as attempts at stowing away on the supply ships, that did not cease until 1957.

Though the Company that continued to exploit Easter for about

Half of this present century was English ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
(vide Hunt 1960), the Rapanui have come into close contact with
a German War fleet (in World War I), an American Air Force
Base (from 1966 to 1971), and, with the present weekly air service,
today, a variety of other nationalities and groups. The
character of the Chilean contact has changed from the repressive
regime of the early part of this century, to being treated as
crew on a Naval vessel in the 1950's, to the permissive period
of the Allende Government in Chile, from 1971 to 1973. Today,
once again under military rule, as is all of Chile, they have
intra-communal bus services, television, and ^{the} promise of a status
as a tax free port. All of these shifts in the foreign contact
group have had implications for the strategies that the Rapanui
have adopted to deal with the outsiders. This part of the story
will be considered in greater detail near the end of this thesis.

Conclusion:

This Chapter has traced the contact history of Easter Island
through five phases of development, bringing the context of
the structures to be subsequently delineated into relief. I have
tried to show how strategies for survival were evolved very early
on in the course of Rapanui-outsider contacts and how these
have changed as circumstances have shifted. The real detail of
these, in concrete terms, must, however, wait further discussion
below.

Chapter Two, Notes 12 to 38

12. Through Father Amerigo Cools, of the Sacred Hearts order, in Rome, I was fortunate to receive a typescript, compiled in 1973, containing all references to Easter Island in the Rome Archives. This has greatly facilitated my work and I have in every case quoted from that compilation. When possible, I have chosen published works over those listed that were unpublished. Additionally the Memoire presented by Army Captain Pedro Pablo Toro to the Chilean Congress in 1892 contains a wealth of information about ~~the~~ Easter Island ~~between~~ between 1888 and 1892. Unfortunately, on a minute portion of this extensive documentation can be included within the necessarily limited scope of this present thesis, but I hope to publish ~~and~~ from the sources in the near future.
13. I made it a special point to collect texts in Rapanui relating to major, recent events in the Island's history. It is not possible to include these texts at this time, due to the restrictions of space. In the near future, I hope to publish my collection of Rapanui texts, with translation and annotation. In most cases, the details of the Rapanui texts have been confirmed by archive sources and this has led me to have great confidence in their authenticity.
14. [Possibly transfer Davis from Ch. 1, p. 52-3]
15. Blue beads, that Roggeveen's companions presented to an Easter Islander may have been the same ones discovered in the Tangata manu house at ~~Oran~~ Rano Raraku (Skjöldsvold 1961:293).

X.

16. The alleged attack and cannibalism on Mgr. Etienne Rouchouze, Bishop of Hilopolis is contained in four primary sources known to me. The ~~xxxx~~^{second} is a letter from Father Joseph Eich to Mgr. Etienne Jaussen on 26 June, 1872 (Archives SS.CC, Rome, 35-9), the first is a letter from Father Barnabé Castan to TRP Bousquet, in 1872 (SS.CC. Archives [Rome], 61-10), the third is a letter from Father ~~xxxxxxx~~ Joseph Eich to TRP Bousquet of 5 October, 1873 (SS.CC. Archives [Rome], 60-3, the fourth a letter from Father Barnabé Castan to Father Ildefonse Alazard of 29 June, 1897 (SS.CC. Archives [Rome], 35-9, and, lastly, a letter from Father Joseph Eich to Father Ildefonse Alazard of 14 April, 1898 (SS.CC. Archives [Rome], 35-9). The reasons for the differences in the stories are complex and may be related to the two populations from which the accounts come, more than to the character of the event itself. The stories confirming the Assassination, in Castan's letters, all come from Rapanui in Mangareva, while those denying the incident come from Eich's accounts, gathered in Tahiti. One of two explanations is possible. The first is that the Tahitian Rapanui worked for the Bishop in Tahiti and, as they later were to receive land from him, did not wish their even ancient anti-cleric act to be known to the ecclesiastical authorities. A second explanation is that the Rapanui in Mangareva felt that the Church had played them wrongly and, by admitting to having killed an important personage, were somehow enjoying a feeling of revenge for their perceived poor treatment. The Mangarevan contingent of Rapanui, after all, completely died out and did not even enjoy the limited land rights granted to Rapanui in Tahiti. Suggestive, however, that

Neither group denies that the Bishop came to Rapanui, but they differ in whether he was killed there or sailed away after a brief scuffle. Suggestive that some important personage may have been killed and cooked in a large oven is the legend concerning Tangaroa, published by Métraux (1940:310-1). Here, Tangaroa comes from Mangareva, in the form of a seal and lands at Tongariki. There, he is assaulted with stones and thrown into an earth oven (umu) where, unsuccessfully, the (probably) Tupahotu attempt to cook him. The brother of Tangaroa, arriving after the seal-god, informs the population that they have committed deicide. Symbolically, this tale, still known in a truncated form to my informants, may represent the later knowledge that they had killed an important personage.

17. The female wooden images, known as moai papanui, or "flat figure," only appear in 19th century collections and I believe them to be a response to the increased traffic coming to the island. The figure is the simplest of the wooden moai, with little elaboration, perhaps in order that the sailor-clients could identify that the statue was female, the two hands indicate the breast and vagina. They may have formed a part of the selective prostitution that the Rapanui practiced in the pre-1862 times. One visitor in 1833, remarking on the prevalence of the sex trade remarked, "We found that chastity was not ~~xxx~~ in their [the females's] catalogue of virtues, but certainly proved with us, I am ashamed to say, their best article of traffic" (Orlebar 1833:12). The raffle in "old times" has always been an important aspect of trade with outsiders. Sometimes, the objects in this trade came from the scattering of old caves by the Islanders themselves

(Routledge 1919:274). In a personal letter to some friends, ~~xxxxxx~~ the long-time sheep ranch manager on the island, H.P. Edmunds noted that after Macmillan Brown's visit in 1920, the caves were searched for "old things." When the genuine articles were not forthcoming, artefacts would be faked, as is the case described in detail by Ferdon (1966:103-22).

10. Many ~~xxxxxxx~~ pre-1862 visitor's to Rapanui reported the fascination of the Islanders with European white skin. The cult of white skin involved the seclusion of neru (e.g. Englert 1948:178, 232-6, Métraux 1940:104-6). These chosen young men and women had to remain indoors so that their skins might not tan with exposure to the sun's rays and they were paraded by their proud parents on ritual occasions. Captain Bishop noted in an early account, that Islanders wished to adopt his very fair 10 year old cabin boy (1967:40-1). It might be speculated that in order to obtain such fair creatures, the trade in women might have partially evolved. That is, that it was not possible to actually obtain an European in their midst, but they may have noticed that a woman who had had intercourse with an European, gave birth to a lighter skinned child than would otherwise have been the case. If this is so, then the women who went to the ships for European use (voluntary, of course) may have been a special caste, ~~xxxxxxx~~ selected and preserved for this task. There is neither confirmation nor denial in my material for this hypothesis, but it does, to some extent, explain why it was that only certain women were allowed to sleep with Europeans, while others were obviously withheld. The reluctance, noted by La Pérouse in the 18th century and cited above, was never mentioned by any other visitor. I am not suggesting that the cult

the following documents: Relation du P. Hippolyte Roussel des événements arrivés à l'île de Pâques du 12-9-1869 au 16-9-1870, adressée à Mgr. Jaussen (SS.CC. Archives, Rome, 75-2), Relation du P. Hippolyte Roussel, continuation (SS.CC. Archives, Rome, 75-2), Letter from Théodule Escolan à Mgr. Tepeano Jaussen à Papete, of 16 September, 1870 (SS.CC. Archives, Rome, 75-4). In that "Relation" of Father Hippolyte is a listing, by date, of the principal events of the conflict between Dutrou-Bornier and Roussel, details of which are beyond the limited scope of this thesis.

36. [space for extra footnote!]

37. The references for the number of sheep brought to ~~XXXXXX~~ Tahiti ~~XXXX~~ from Easter are contained in the Register of Visitors. It would be desirable at some future point to go through a complete collection of Le Messager de Tahiti, from 1880 to, possibly, the end of the 19th century. References in the Messenger were discovered by myself in a pre-field study in 1972 and recently Father Arrigo Coels, of the Sacred Hearts, Rome, sent me a complete listing from the Messenger until the end of 1879, as an appendix to the documentation he sent in 1973, mentioned in Footnote 12.

39. I have determined that Simon Riro, who was the son of the Nguro mentioned as a follower of Dutrou-Bornier in Footnote 35, probably left Rapanui in 1899. In the baptismal records, in the Archives of the Bishopric in Papeete, there is a note that Timeone Riro Kainga was baptized by Father Hippolyte on 9 March, 1879, which means he was probably a young man in the 1890's of perhaps thirty. In the census of 1886 (See Appendix E), he figures as an adult male of about 14 or 18, but un-

married. He is elected king by the women in 1892, upon the death of Atamu Tekena. Verónica Mahute was sent from Tahiti, with a dowery ~~of gifts~~, by Antonio Aringa, to marry ^{Ramón} Te hahakitau'u'a, but unknown to Aringa in Tahiti, Ramón had already married Teresa Rengaroaroa, so Verónica was married to Simeon Riro. This story is from Victoria Rapahango. Riro and Verónica had three boys and a girl between 1890 and 1895, the last being the only survivor during my stay on the island, Juan Rireroko Mahute, my neighbour. In a listing of Church supporters, compiled between 8 and 10 January, 1898, Riro appears with his wife, but, ^{two years later} she is permitted to marry a Chilean sheep herder on 29 January, 1900. As a Catholic priest ^{re} would not/marry someone who was not a widow, it is almost certain that Riro was ^{known to be} dead by that time. The details of Riro's death, as they have been communicated to me, must wait until Chapter Seven ^{Rapanui} to be recounted, as they still influence modern behaviour towards Chileans. ~~by the Rapanui.~~

38. The Rapanui Diaspora of the 1860's, from the Peruvian Trade and, later their travels to Mangareva and Tahiti are known in the literature, but what happened to these populations is obscure. A photograph in the Archives of the Sacred Hearts, Rome, shows a group of ~~Baeker~~ ~~Islanders~~ ~~xxxx~~ in front of the Catholic Mission in 1872 (Fig. 13). In a letter from Thomas Croft, of Papeete, of 1874, he reports that those working for John Brander in Tahiti, brought several of the famous rongo-rongo boards to Papeete to sell them as curios, while another group of Islanders is living with the Bishop on his properties (Croft 1974). Baessler (1900: 84-5) in his popular book visited Rapanui in Pamata'i, where twenty-five heads of family purchased land from the Bishop. He notes that in his visit, probably in the 1890's, there were only 20 men, 11 women and 13 children. In a breezy visit ~~to~~ also to Pamata'i, the guidebook author Wragge (1906:256-7) mentions his brief conversation with Rapanui resident there. At the Brander plantations in Mahina, the deaths of 69 Rapanui are recorded between July, 1871 and November, 1873, in the pages of the Messager de Tahiti, while only four births are recorded for the same period. In 1875, two Rapanui are sentenced to prison terms, according to a court announcement in the Messager (1875 N. 41, 8-10, and p. 164, col. 1). As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, there was considerable population movement between Tahiti and Rapanui in the last century. In a letter from Father Rogatien Martin to TRP Bousquet, dated 8 April, 1885, he mentions that Father Georges Eich transferred about 20 Rapanui to Moorea that year, as part of the Catholic mission established there.

A considerable number of Rapanui went with Father Hippolyte to Mangareva, but according to a notice in the Messenger (1871, No. 51, 23, 12.1871, p. 195), many of them fell ill upon arrival. When Pailhès (1875: 271) arrives at Rikitea in 1874, he is able to pick-out "some" inhabitants of Rapanui among the Mangarevans. They are notable for their tatoos, he states. When Macmillan Brown visits Mangareva some years later, he photographs persons he believes to be descendants of Rapanui (Brown 19__:_). However, these "natives of Rapanui," may have been of the Schmidt family and are only indirectly related to Easter Islanders. Schmidt produced two girls with the Rapanui, ^{Rufina Rengahingaha} ~~EMXILIXPMHBU~~ (No. 73 on 1886 Census Ordering, Appendix 4). One of these girls remained on Easter and from her came the now numerous family bearing the surname "Tuki." Subsequent to his liaison with Dushou, Schmidt who, it is remembered was Dutrou-Larnier's/^{Danish} handyman, married the Chilean Mercedes Salas. She bore him fifteen children, between 1874 and 1901. The first child mentioned in Schmidt's brief biography, Sophie was, in fact, sister to Cecilia Maituoe, who remained on Rapanui, according to my informants (cf. O'Reilly & Teissier 1962:422).

When the Chilean political prisoner, Carlos Vicuña escapes from Easter in 1931, he stops briefly in Mangareva, where he meets Señora Salas (Vicuña 1946:170-1). The only place where Rapanui are known to have gone is Fafoha's, the Marquesas. Records sent to me from the Archbishop of Fafoha's indicate that a certain "Nikodemo Fovv," was buried from the District on 21 August, 1863 and a man by that name married a local girl in 1893. Stolpe (1899:5-9) derived ~~most~~ all of his material, in fact,

from interviews with Rapanui in Tahiti and Nukuhiva (Marquesas). He notes that two Rapanui, in March of 1884, served as Policemen ~~there~~ on Nukuhiva and were integrated into the community. This suggests that they might have arrived on board the Diamant as well, though the archbishop's contemporary note of 1863 mentions only one. Other Rapanui may have travelled extensively on whaling vessels, as Taolá did in the collection of stories by Cowan (1936:49-59). From Leon Tuki Hey, I collected a 1,300 word text describing the "Odyssey" of three Rapanui who, after the ~~szaxexzaxzax~~ Peruvian incident, signed on whaling ships and visited many parts of the world. Others, whose story never returned to Rapanui, may have done the same. This text, as with the others, will be published at a later time.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Grant Edwin McCall, B.Litt. (Oxon.).

Citizen of United States of America.

Born, 22 August, 1943, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

Married,

Julia Jane West, born 12 January, 1946, London, England.

Children:

1. Mungo Clive Ashleigh McCall, born 1 May, 1971, London.
2. (expected mid-July, 1975).

Address for Correspondence:

Department of Anthropology,
Research School of Pacific Studies,
The Australian National University,
Canberra, A.C.T.
2600 Australia.

Present position:

Research Scholar with Ph.D. Scholarship at the
Australian National University.

Scholastic and university record

Newport Harbor High School, Graduation, 1961.

Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa, California. Associate
of Arts degree, June, 1965. Field of Concentration:
Liberal Arts.

University of California, Berkeley. Bachelor of Arts
degree, June, 1966. Field of Concentration: Anthropology.

San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California.
Master of Arts degree, June, 1968. Field of Concentration:
General Anthropology.

University of Oxford. Diploma in Social Anthropology,
June, 1970.

University of Oxford. Bachelor of Letters' degree, November
1971. Field of Concentration: Social Anthropology.

Australian National University. Doctor of Philosophy
degree, February, 1976 (expected). Field of Concentration:
Anthropology.

Fellowships and Awards:

Stanley M. Taschira Memorial Scholarship, University of California, Berkeley, 1965-1966.

Graduate Assistantship, San Francisco State College, 1966-1967.

Ph.D. Scholarship, The Australian National University, December, 1971 - February, 1976.

Designated "Corresponding Member," of the Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Grant to attend the 13th Pacific Science Congress, from their special committee.

Professional qualifications:

Department of Education, State of California. Life Time Teaching Credential, July, 1968. Field of Concentration: Junior College Teaching of Anthropology.

Academic appointments and teaching experience:

Library Assistant to Alan Dundes, University of California, Berkeley, 1965-1966.

Research Assistant to John Adair, San Francisco State College, 1966-1968.

Lecturer in Anthropology, College of San Mateo, San Mateo, California, Summer, 1968.

Undervisningsassistent ("Lecturer") at the Institutes of Cultural Sociology and of Ethnology and Anthropology, University of Copenhagen, 1969.

Research Assistant for Canadian National Museum at Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford), 1971.

Tutor, Department of Anthropology and Prehistory, School of General Studies, The Australian National University, 1974.

Fieldwork:

Various Far West Basque Communities, August, 1966 (Survey).
 The Basque Community in New York City, November-December, 1967
 The Basque Community in Mexico, December, 1967, October, 1968.
 The Basque Community in California, September, 1966 through August, 1968.

Basque Communities in Venezuela, Columbia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, September, 1968 through December 1968.
 Southwest coast Spanish fishing village, Summer, 1969.
 Easter Island, Chile, April, 1972 - January, 1974.

Papers and publications:

"The role of proverbs in Egba adjudication" - Read at the 1966 Annual Meeting of the California Folklore Society.

"Millenarian movements and the LSD contraculture" - Read at the 1967 Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association.

"The Basques", Viltis(USA). December, 1967. pp.7-10.

"Voluntary associations and Basque-Americans" - Read at the 1968 Annual Meetings of the Kroeber Anthropological Association.

"The role of the txistulari in Basque culture" - Read at the 1968 Annual Meetings of the California Folklore Society.

Contributor to Abstracts of Folklore Studies.

Reviewer of the Encyclopaedia Junior article, "Basque".

"Los vascos y los estudios linguisticos comparativos" - Boletin del Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos (Buenos Aires), Nro. 73 (1968). pp. 59-64.

"Basque-Americans and a sequential theory of migration and adaptation". Unpublished Master of Arts thesis in Anthropology, San Francisco State College. May, 1968.

"Aspects of Basque-American acculturation" - Accepted for reading at the VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1968.

"Txistulari", Viltis. January, 1969. pp.4-8.

"Charla del Mr. McCall en el LaurakBat", Euzko Gaztegi (Caracas). February-March, 1969. p.4.

"The txistulari in Basque culture", Journal of Popular Culture (USA). Vol. III (1970): pp. 468-479.

"Associates suggest articles," Current Anthropology. Vol. X (1969): p. 266.

"On Hultkrantz and his critics", Current Anthropology. Vol. XI (1970): p. 80.

"American Anthropological interest and prospects in Basque studies", Current Anthropology. Vol. XI (1970): pp.161-164.

"Voluntary associations and human aggregation" - Read at the 6. Nordiske etnografmøde, 1969. Published in "Proceedings of the 6. Nordiske etnografmøde", Vol. II (1970): pp. 57-80.

"f. s. d. varna," Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford. Vol. I (1970): pp. 131-136.

"An anthropology of decimalisation", New Society (London). No. 437 (11. February, 1971): pp. 224-226.

"Dharma as an alternative concept for examining jati and jajmani relationships in village India". Bachelor of Letters' thesis in Social Anthropology, University of Oxford, 1971.

"Scandinavia's NEFA", Current Anthropology. Vol. XIV (1973): 65-72.

Comment of James R. Gregory, "Image of limited good, or expectation of reciprocity?", Current Anthropology 16 (1975): 87-8.

"Consequences of long-term stress: A critique of The Mountain People". Current Anthropology (forthcoming).

"Kinship, Gift, and gossip on Easter Island" - Read at the 46th ANZAAS Congress, January 1975.

"Parentesco, prestacion, y la chisnea en Isla de Pascua," Revista de Estudios Pacificos (forthcoming).

¿Lo pirenaico en lo polinesio? Boletin del Instituto de Estudios Vascos (forthcoming).

Reviews of G. Denig (ed.), The Marquesan Journal of Edward Roberts & B.M. Gough (ed.), To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey, Oceania (forthcoming).

(with Peter Reynolds) "Nature, culture and the Lysistrata problem: Prolegomenon to a theory of hominization." (Manuscript in preparation).

"Sympathy and antipathy in Easter Island development" - Accepted for reading at the 13th Pacific Science Congress, Vancouver, August, 1975.

"Adoption and entrepreneurship on Easter Island" - Submitted for reading at the 13th Pacific Science Congress, Vancouver, August, 1975.

"Reaction to disaster: Image and identity on Easter Island." Ph.D. thesis to be submitted in January, 1976, The Australian National University.

Referees:

Dr. Michael W. Young, Fellow,
Department of Anthropology,
The Australian National University.

Dr. Marie Reay, Senior Fellow,
Department of Anthropology, RSPacS,
The Australian National University,

Professor Roger M. Keesing, Head,
Department of Anthropology, RSPacS,
The Australian National University.

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OUR REFERENCE

A/EH

YOUR REFERENCE

3rd April 1973

Grant McCall, Esq.,
Easter Island,
CHILE.

Dear Mr. McCall,

Your letter has found its way on to my desk, and I will do my best to reply to your various questions.

First, our connection with Easter Island was only that of Managing Agents, arranging shipments of stores to the Island from the mainland of Chile. As far as I know, nobody from Gibbs & Co. ever visited the Island, and the records of that business have long since disappeared, possibly in a fire in our Valparaiso office in 1958 and possible after the take-over by the Chilean Government of nearly all our business in that country.

Yes, Gibbs & Co., Peru, were interested in the guano trade from about 1849 until the final liquidation following the Pacific War of 1879/80, when Peru and Bolivia were allied against Chile, and Chile won.

I suppose we had offices in the Port of Matarani, but I cannot be sure. There is a large quantity of letters in the Guildhall Library here, but I have never had time to read them.

We did not in fact exploit the Chincha Islands, but we were responsible for the sale and shipment of the guano produced there. This led to the little rhyme:

Antony Gibbs
Made their dibs
By selling turds
Of foreign birds.

I am sorry I cannot be more helpful.

Yours sincerely,

Aldenham
Aldenham.



PERU

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DEPTO DE TACUCUCHI

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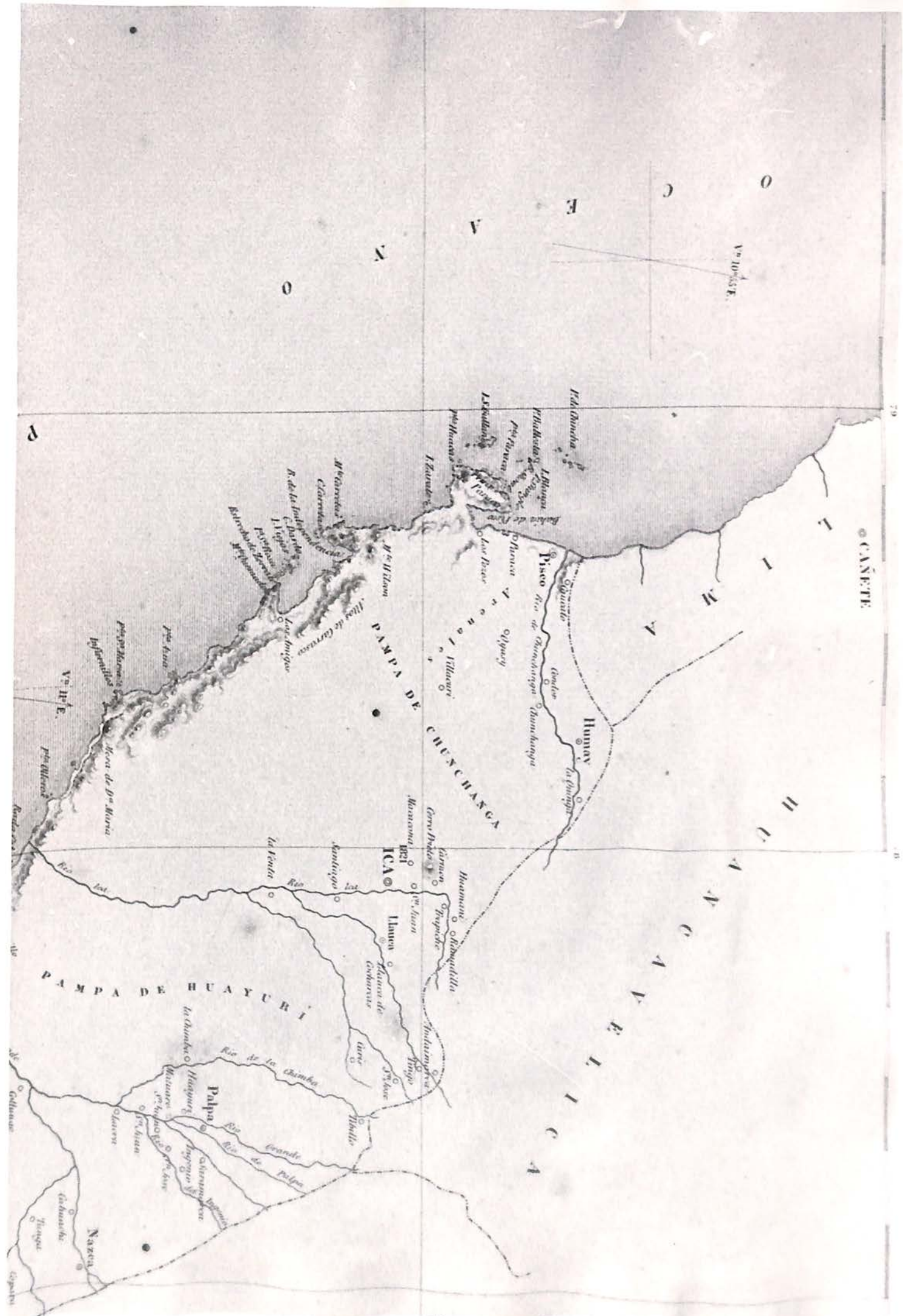
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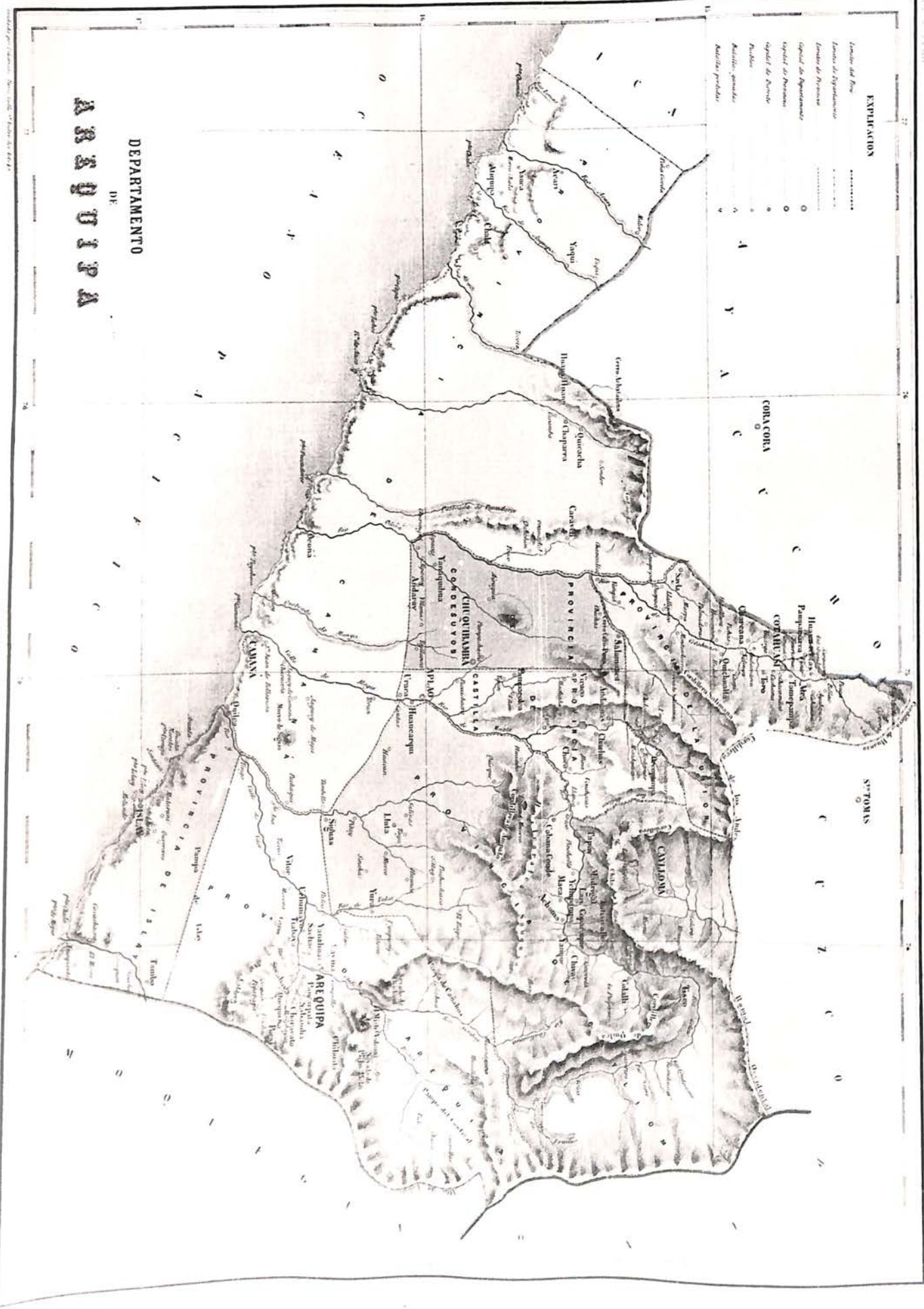
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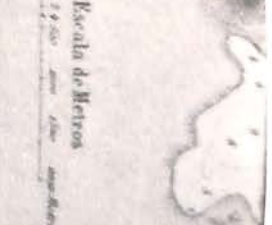
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○	Asiende grande

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DE
AREQUIPA



Escala de Metros
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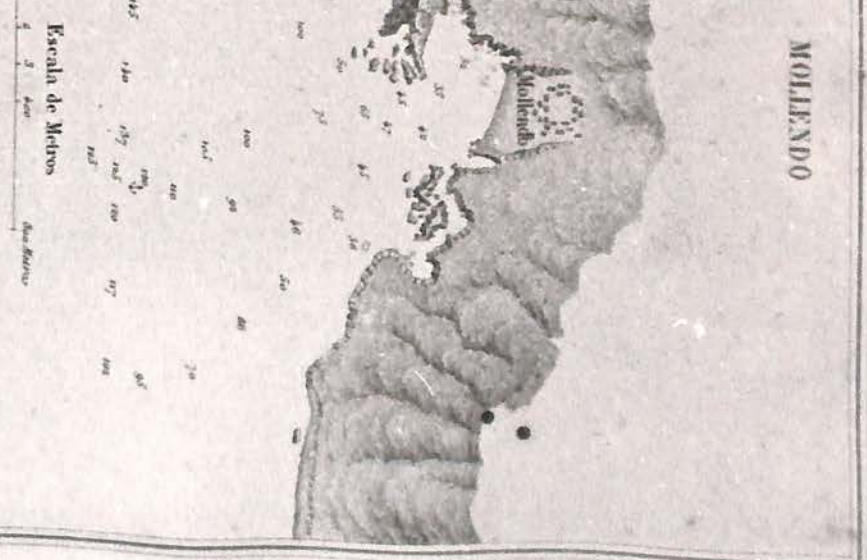
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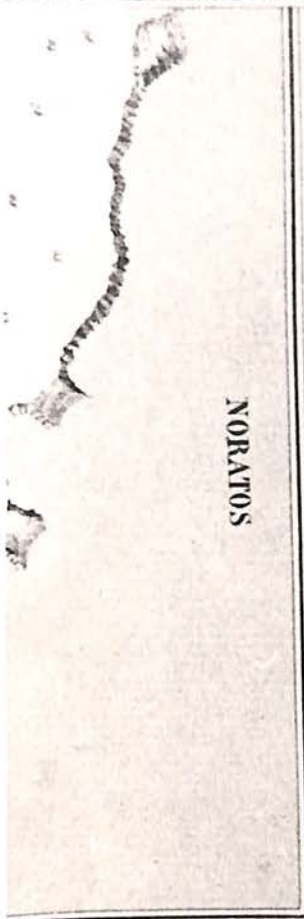
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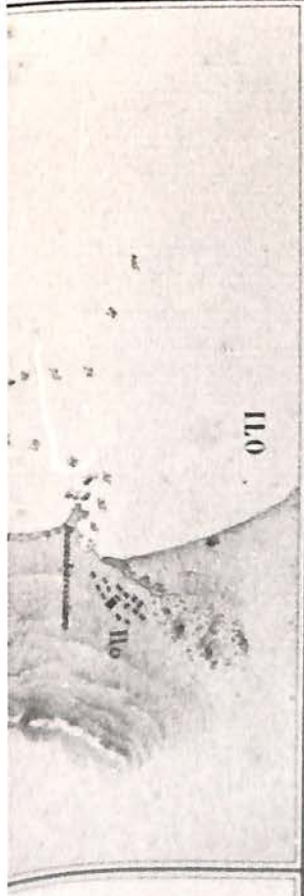
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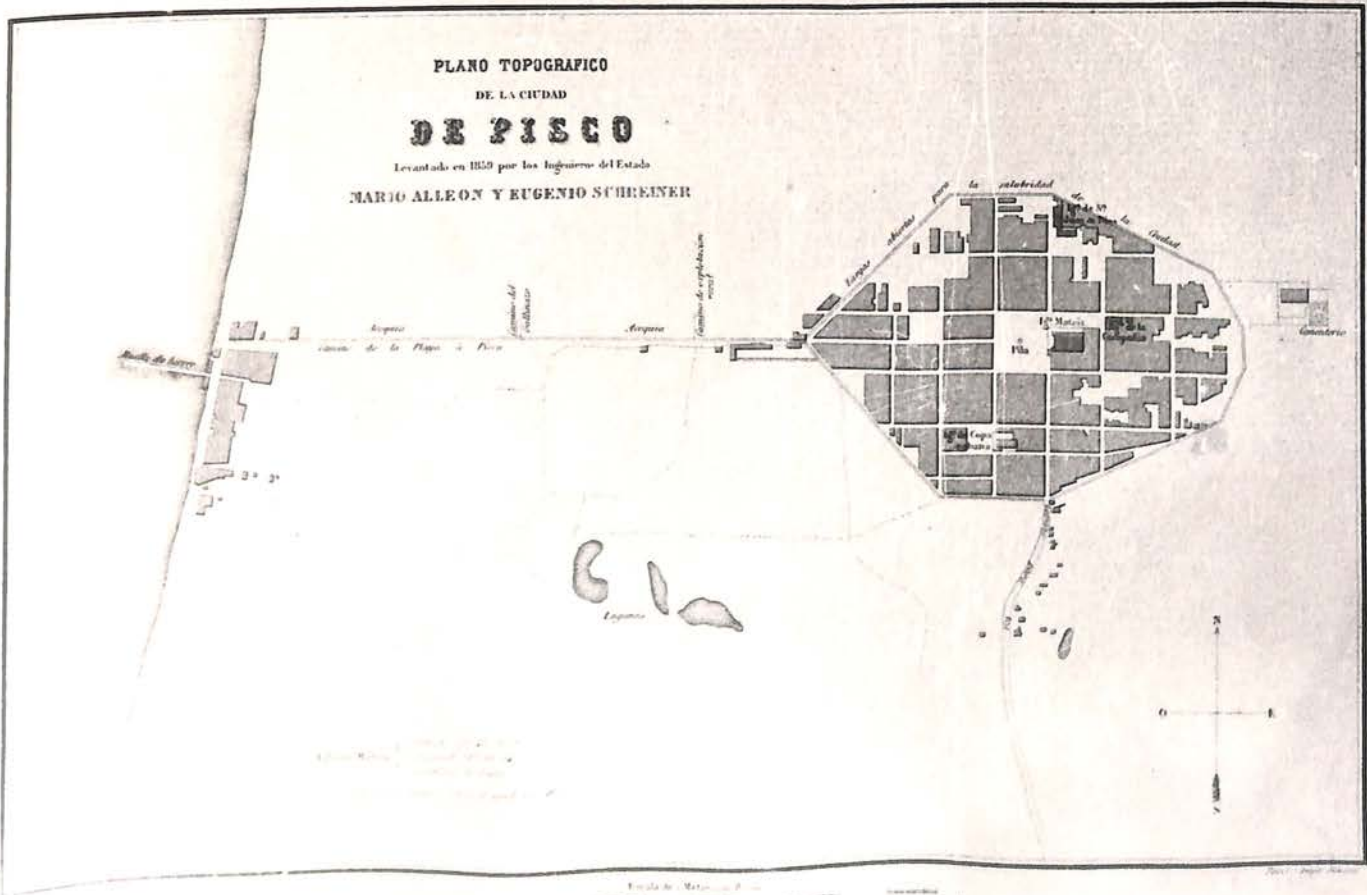
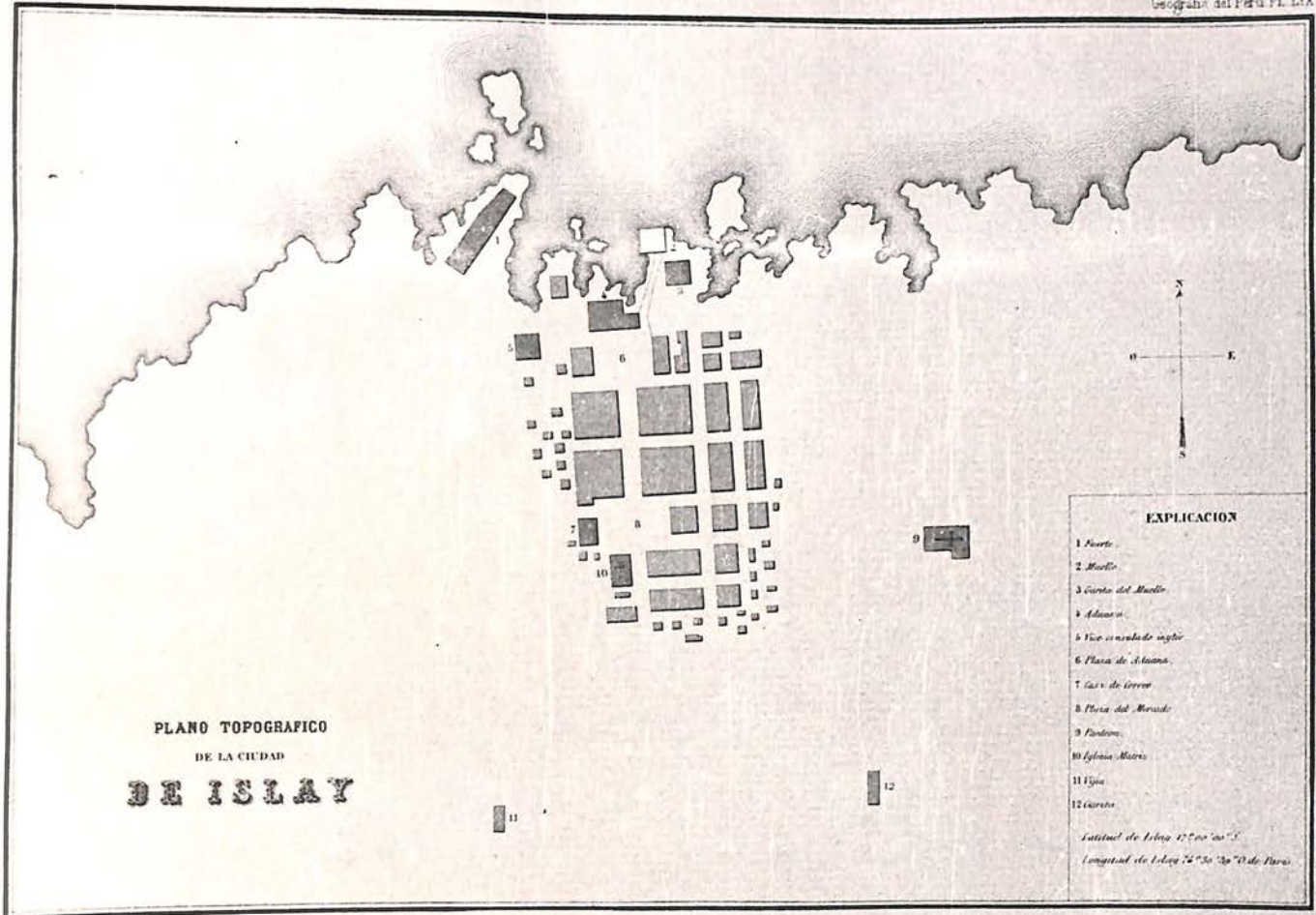


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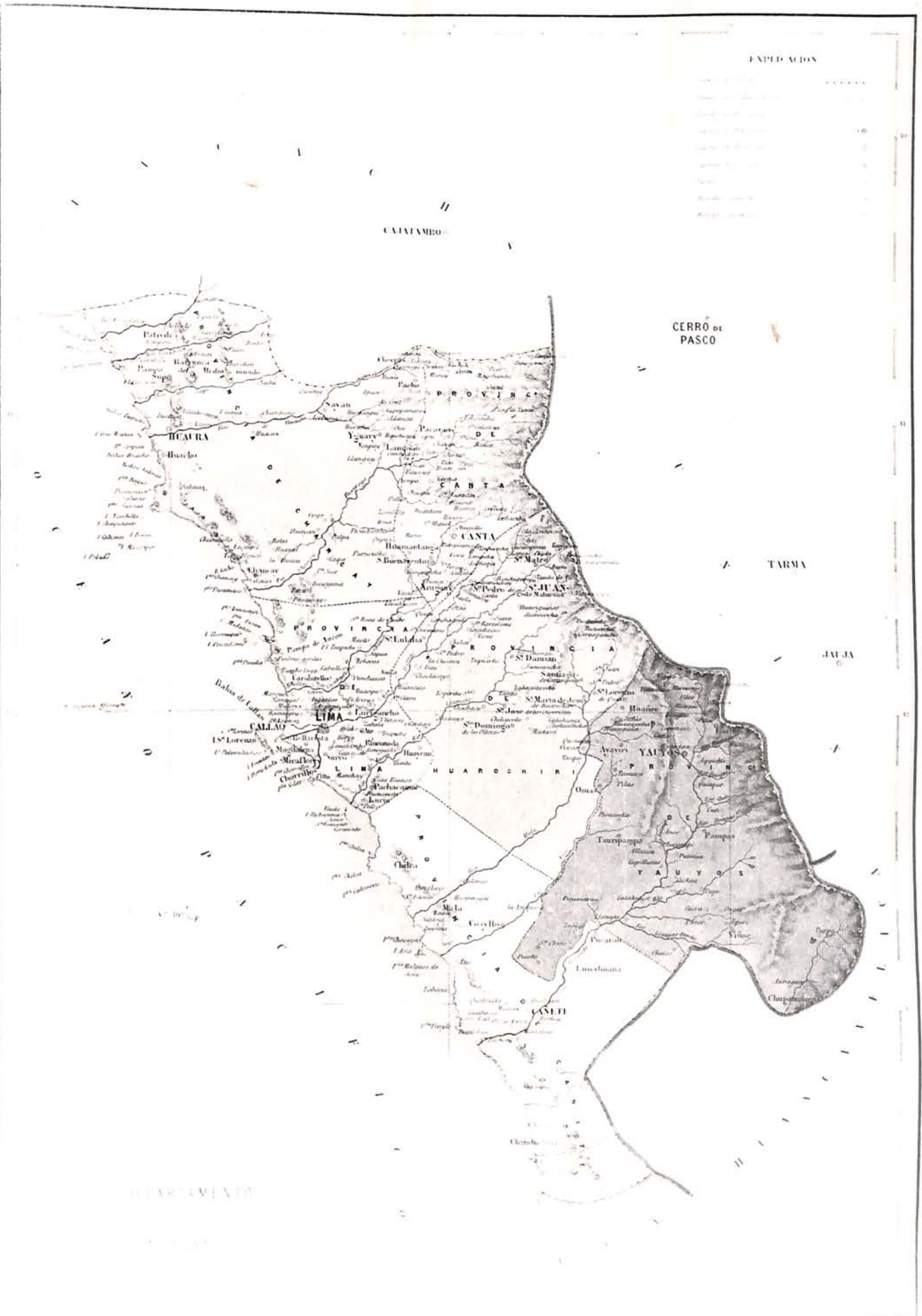
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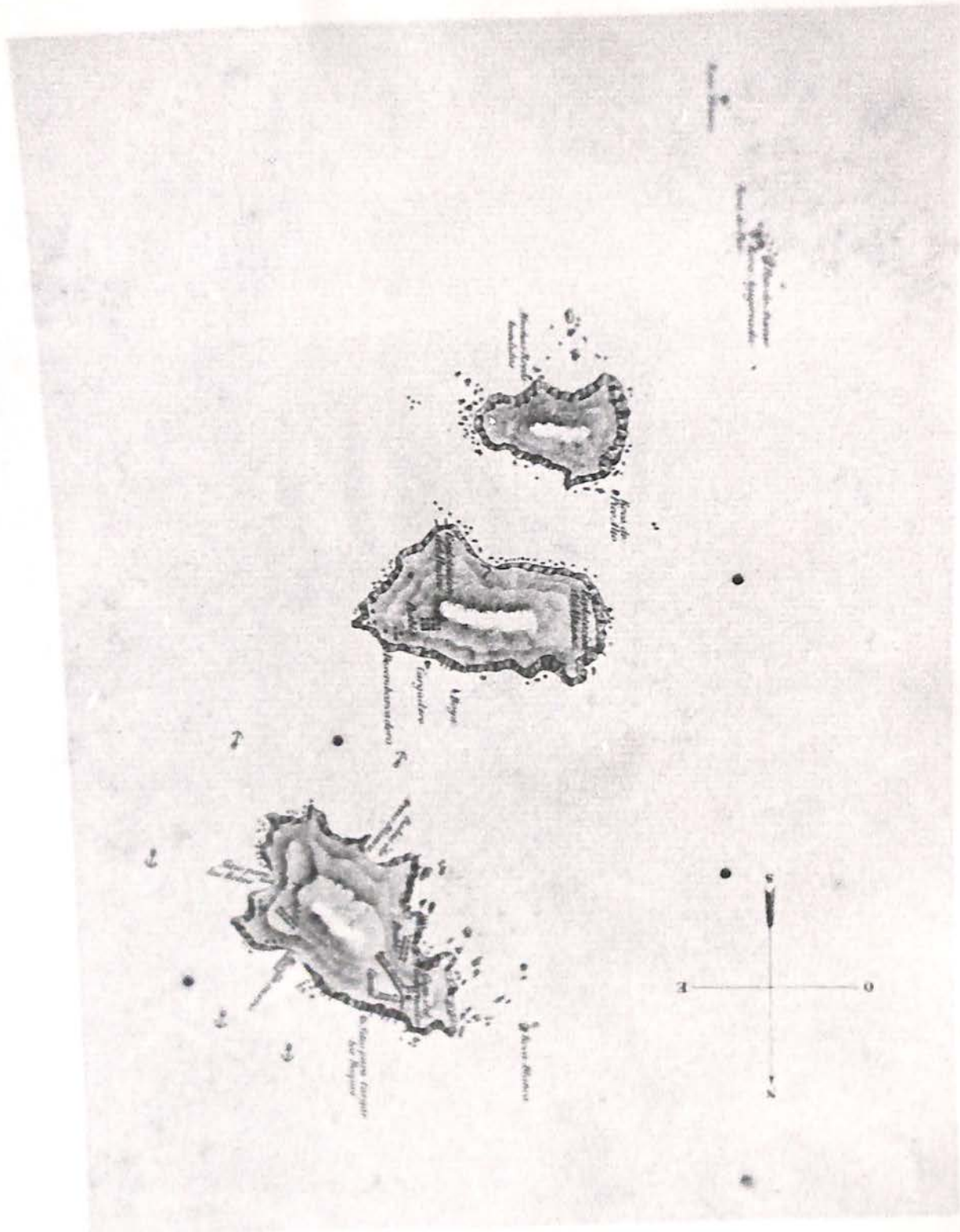
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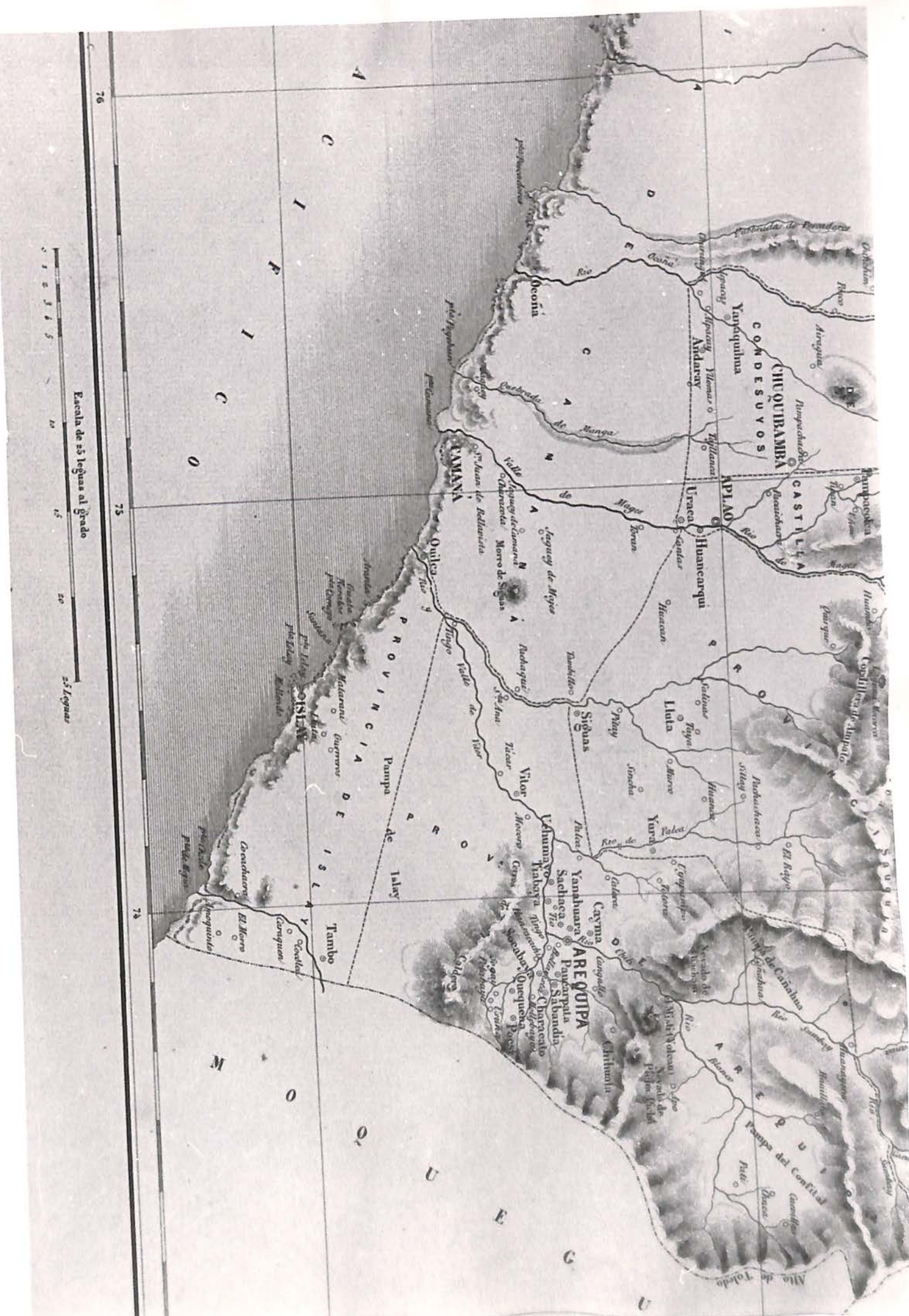
JAUJA

DEPARTAMENTO

1880







CONDÉSUVOS
CHICUBAMBA
CASTILLA
PILOO

AREQUIPA

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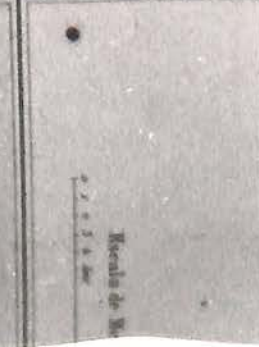
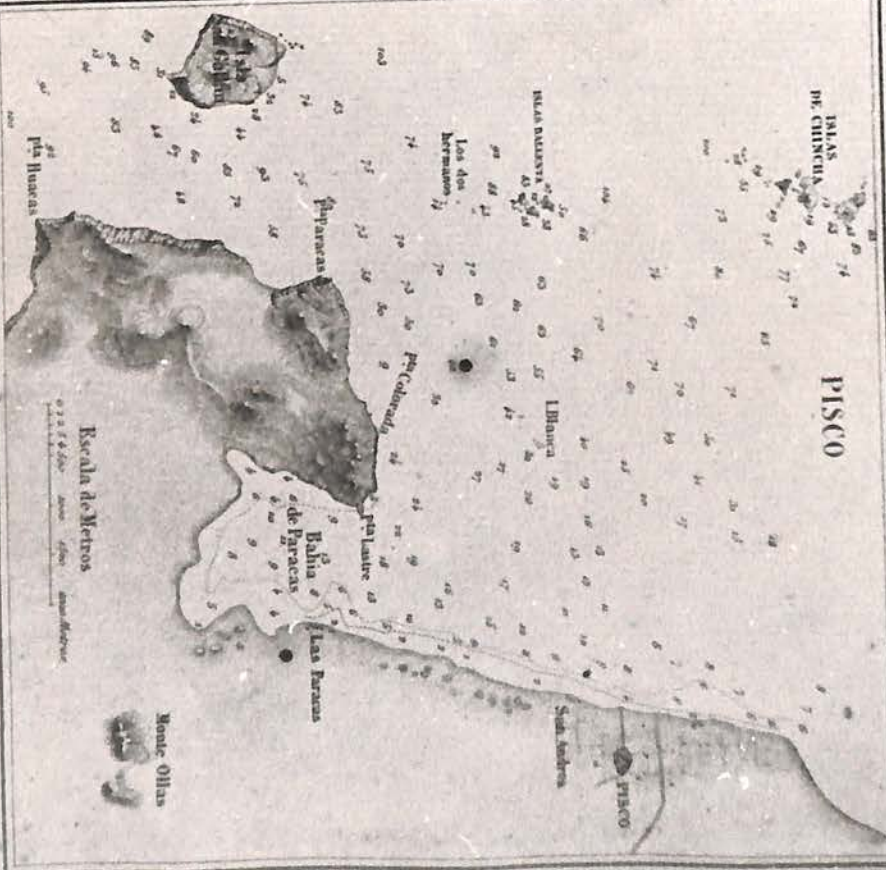
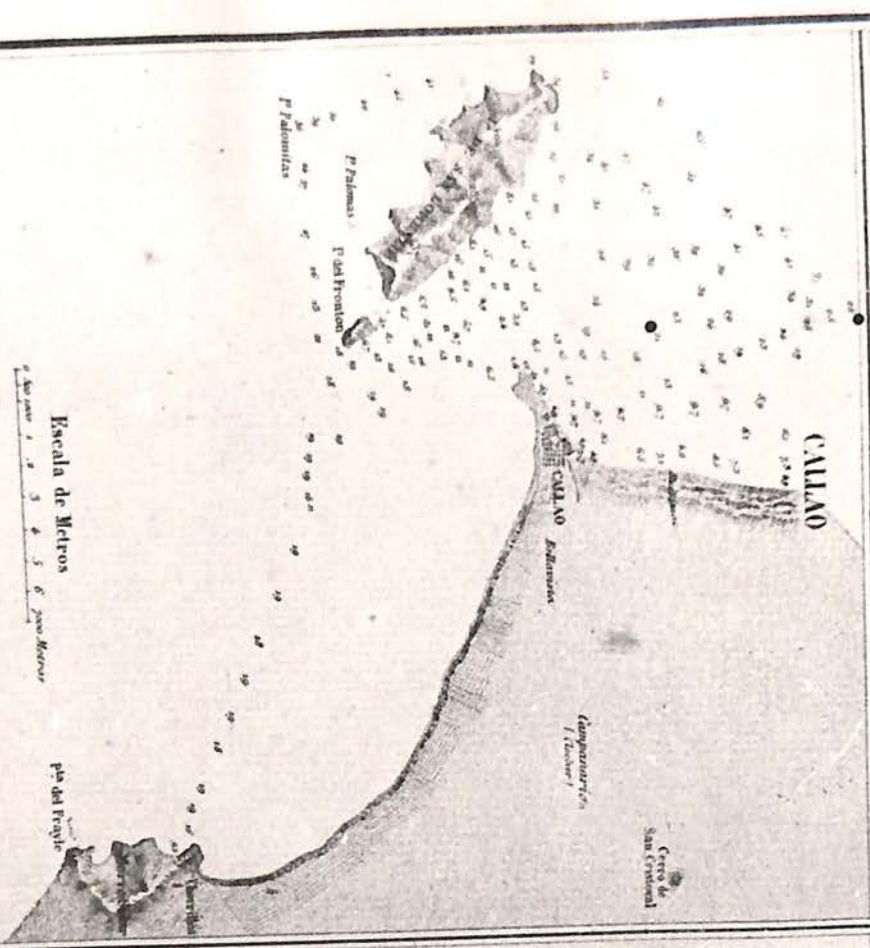
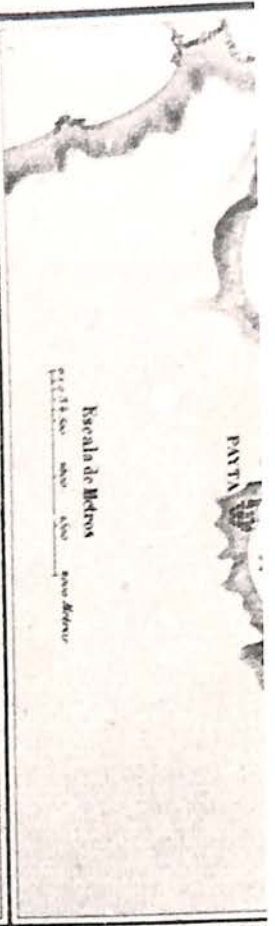
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Escala de 25 leguas al grado

25 Leguas



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Levado en 1855 por
L. MARIANI
y corregido en 1862

O C E A N O P A C I F I C O

M J R

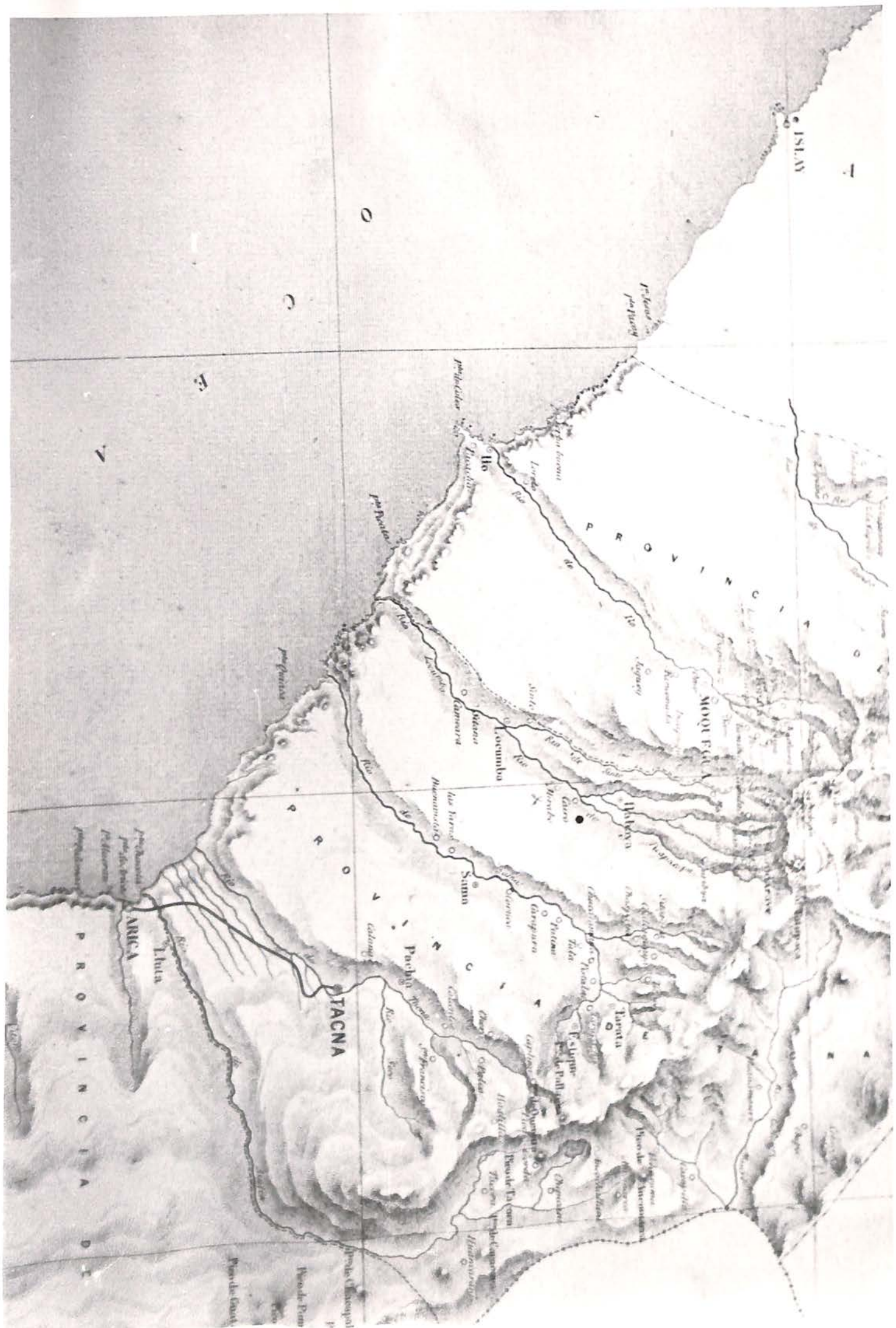
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Puerto del Mar Bona



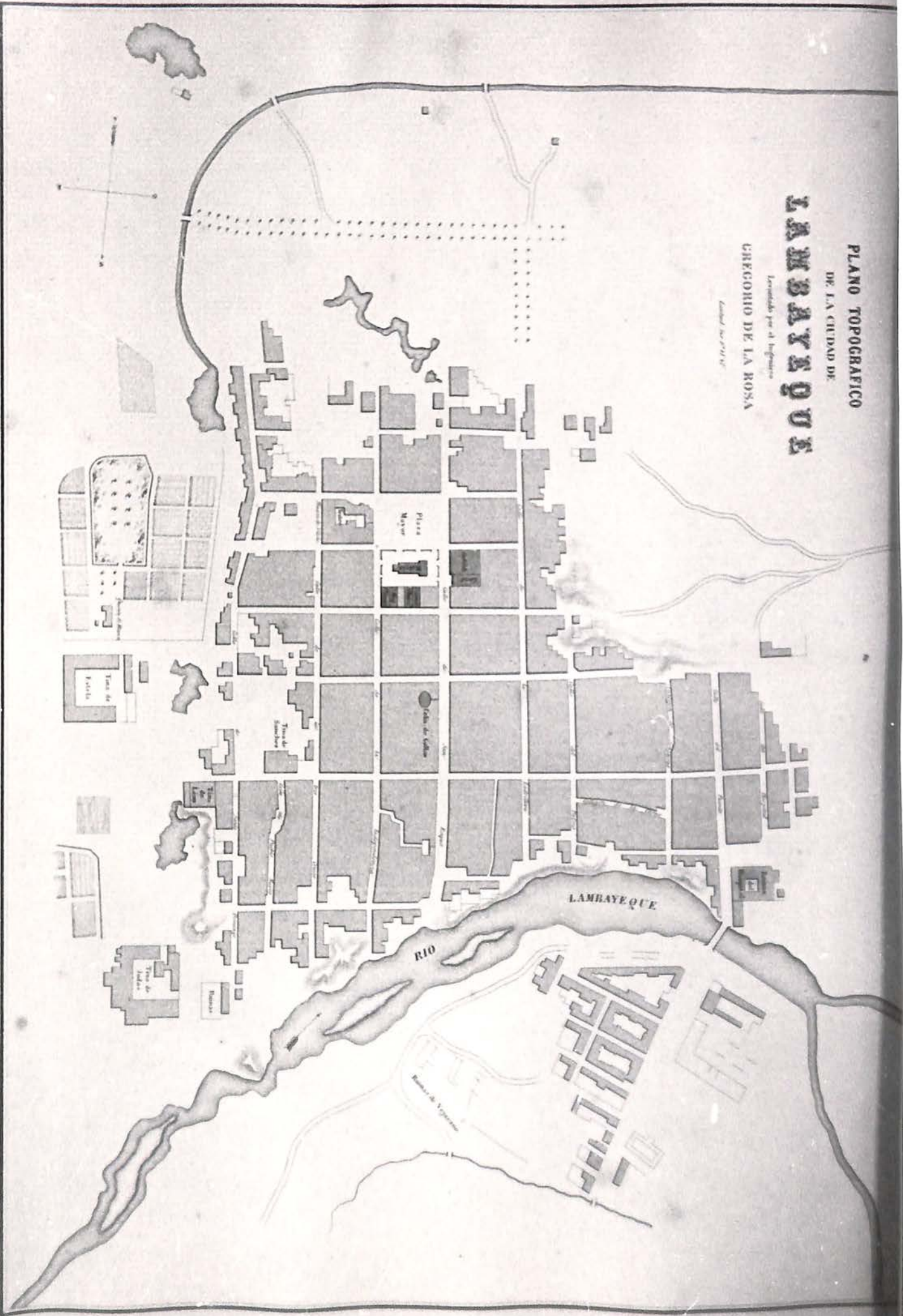
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LAMBAYEQUE

PLANO TOPOGRAFICO
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En el año de 1911



Escala de 1:50,000



TRUJILLO

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Chichilco

Chichilco

San Pedro de las

Chichilco

Chichilco

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PROVINCIA

DE

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CHOTA

CHOTA

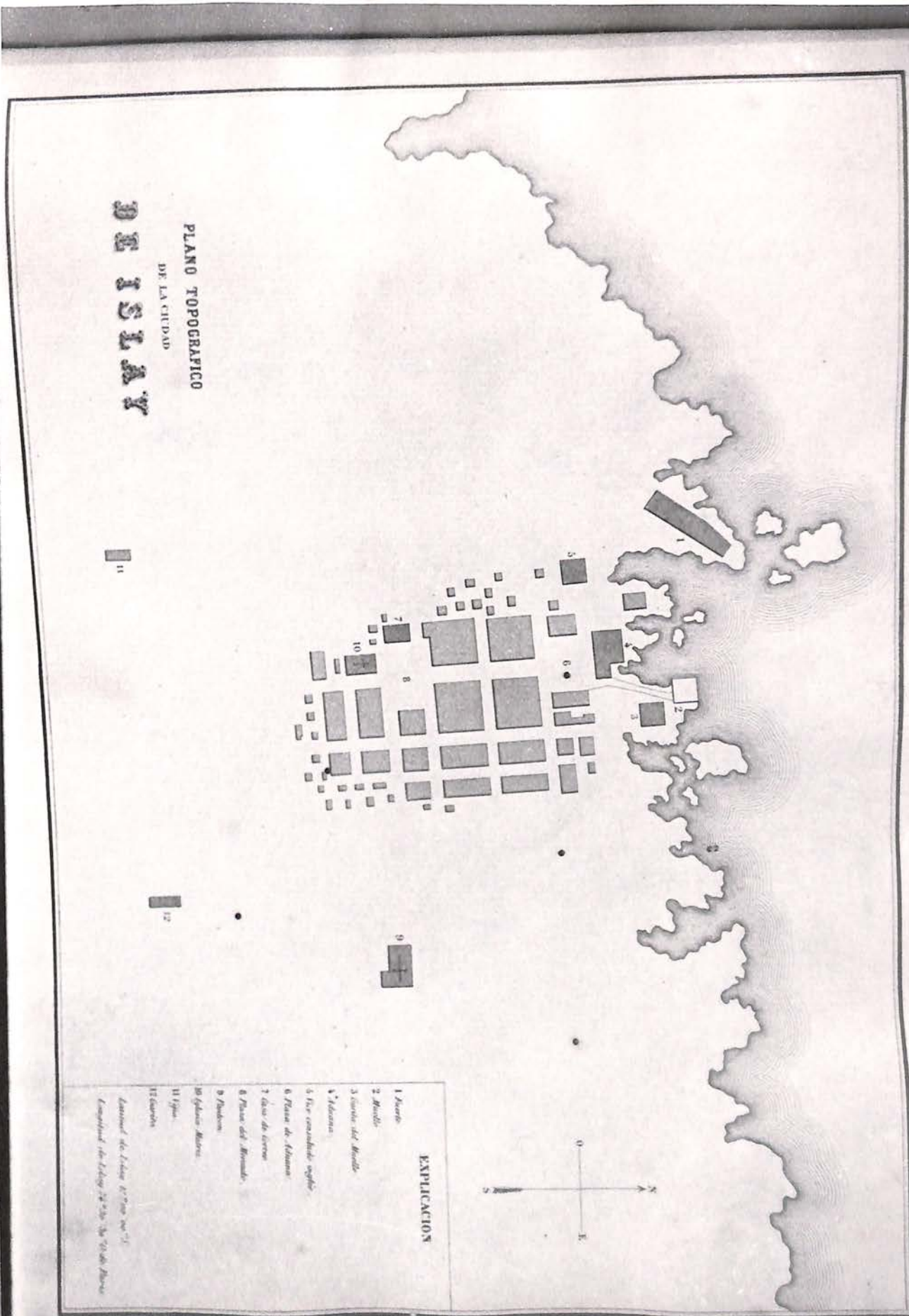
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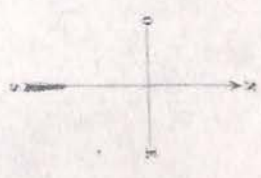


PLANO TOPOGRAFICO
 DE LA CIUDAD
DE IQUITO

11

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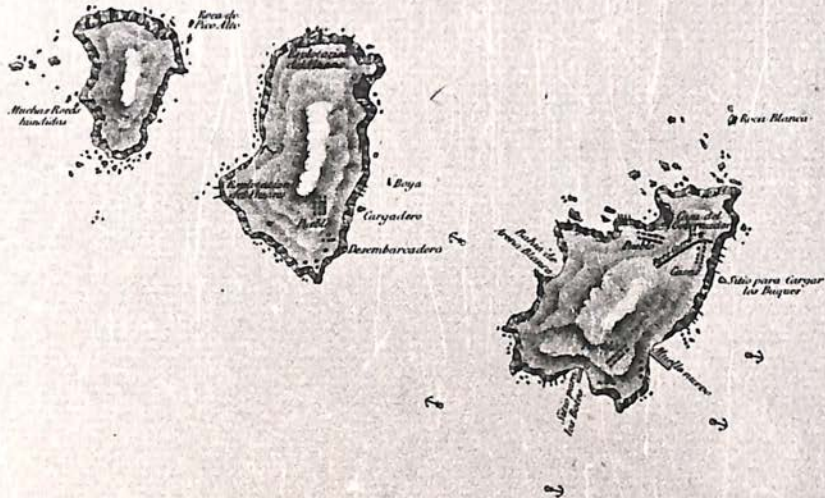


EXPLICACION

- 1 Fuente
- 2 Mercado
- 3 Escuela del Mercado
- 4 Alcazar
- 5 Fierro construido antiguo
- 6 Plaza de Armas
- 7 Casa de Gobierno
- 8 Plaza del Mercado
- 9 Panteon
- 10 Iglesia Mayor
- 11 Iglesia
- 12 Caserío

Escala del plano 1:10000
 Elaborado en Iquitos el 20 de Mayo de 1910

Alto de Pucar
Roca Agujerada
Roca de Pica
Roca Blanca

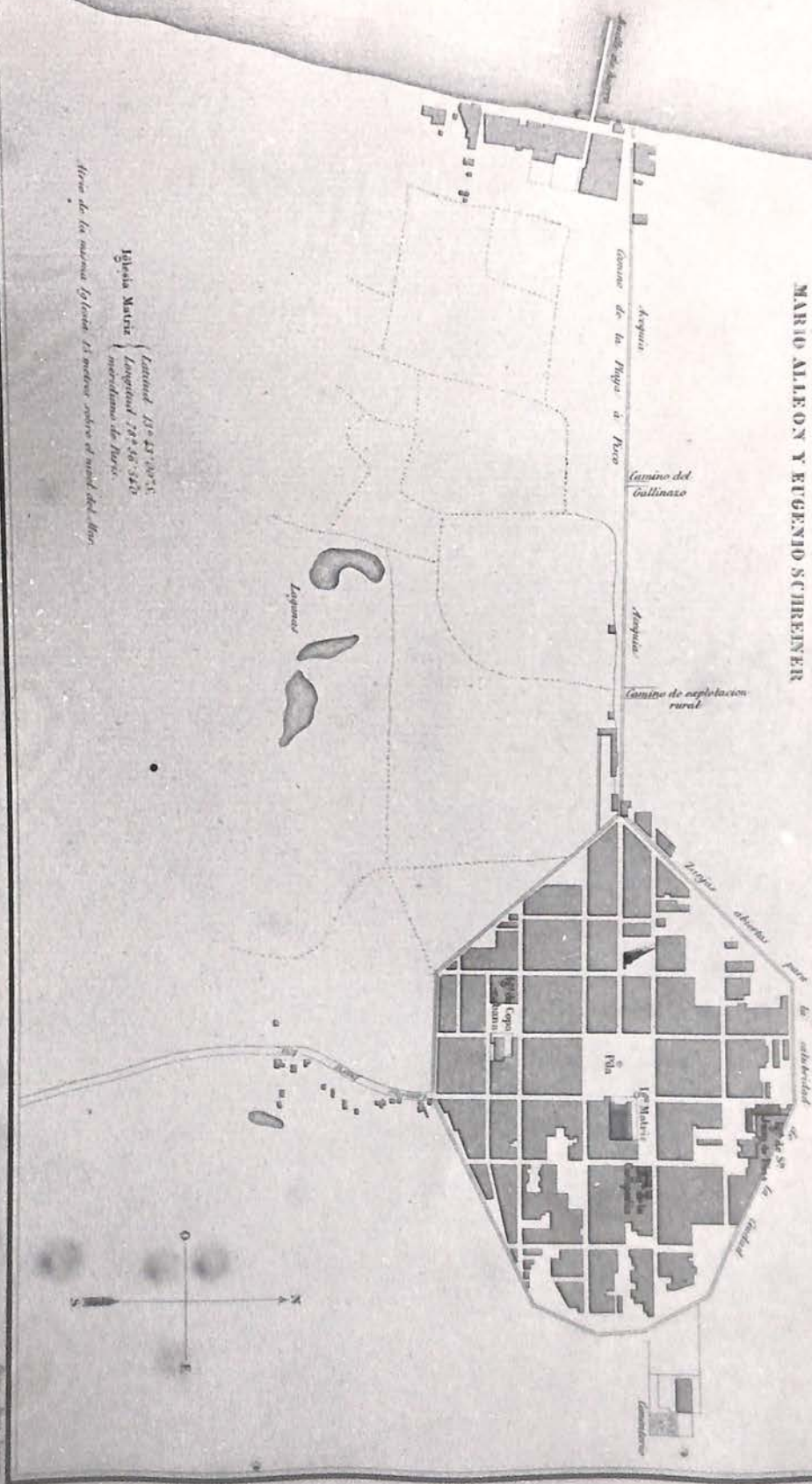


PLANO DE LAS ISLAS DE CHINCHA

PLANO TOPOGRAFICO DE LA CIUDAD DE PISCO

MARIO ALFON Y EUGENIO SCHREINER

Levada en 1858 por los Ingenieros del Estado



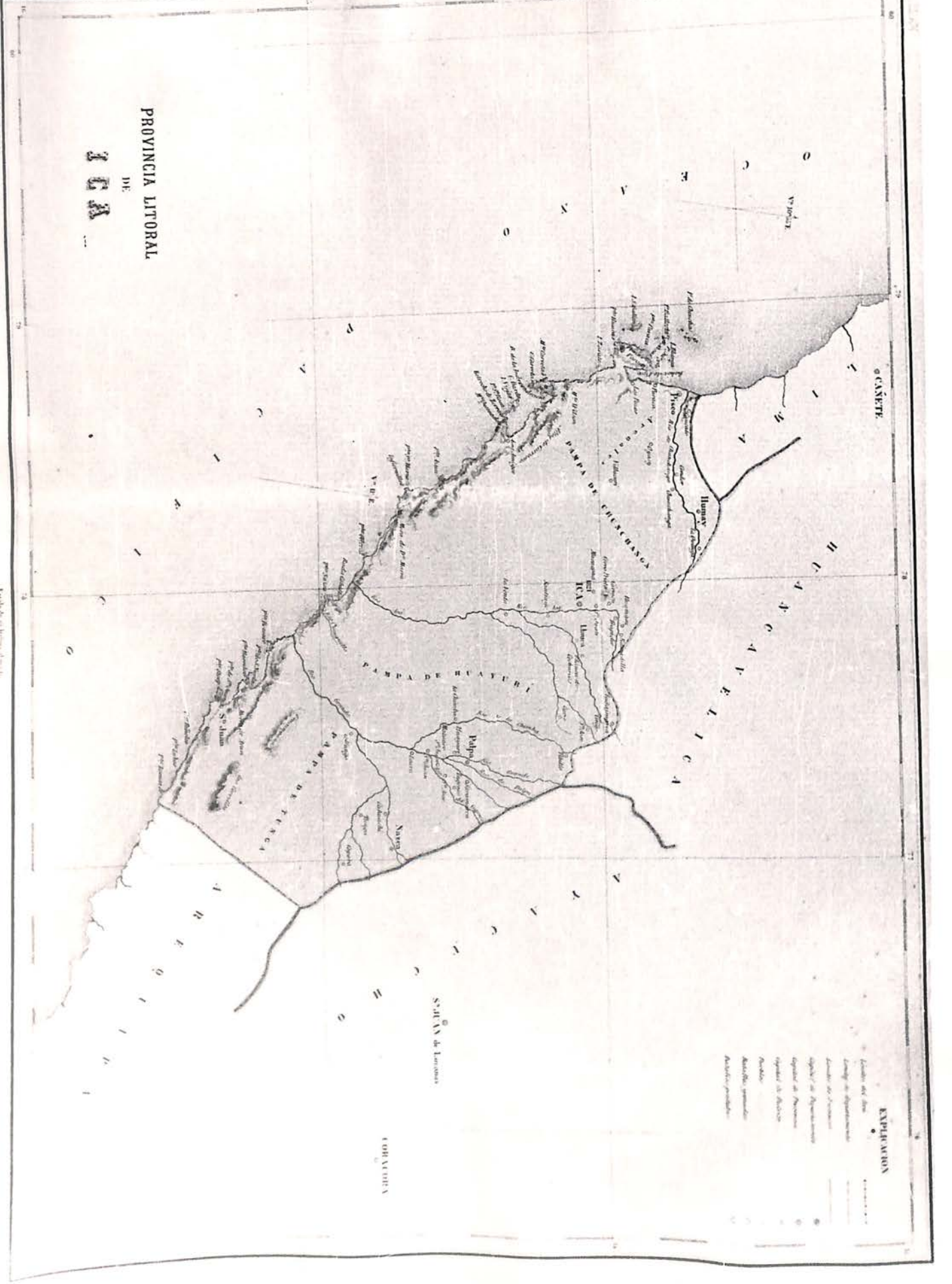
Iglesia Matriz { Latitud 31° 27' 30" S.
 Longitud 78° 26' 30" W.
 meridiano de Pisco.
 Cerro de la Cruz { Latitud 31° 27' 30" S.
 Longitud 78° 26' 30" W.
 meridiano de Pisco.

Escala de 1 Metro por Dicho

0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000
 metros



PROVINCIA LITORAL
DE
ICA



- EXPLICACION**
- Límites del departamento
 - Límites de distritos
 - Límites de provincias
 - Capital de la Provincia
 - Capital de Distrito
 - Puntos
 - Aldeas, granjerías
 - Aldeas, pueblos

CONFIDENTIAL

Report on the Peruvian Research



This research is the result of a proposal made from Easter Island on 25.5.972, the funds for which were approved later on that same year. It was financed by funds provided by both the University and from a private grant made by H.E. Maude.

The Report itself is divided into the following sections:

- I. Leads and information about Peruvian arrivals on Easter Island;
- II. Itinerary;
- III. Results in:
 - A. Mollendo-Matarani;
 - B. Lima:
 - 1). Personal contacts;
 - 2). Archives consulted;
 - 3). Other investigations.
 - C. Callao;
 - D. Pisco-Chincha Islands;
 - E. Arica-Tacna.
- IV. Other results;
- V. Budgetary notes.

I. Leads and information about Peruvian arrivals on Easter Island

Before embarking on the research in Peru, I was given good reasons to believe that new information might be discovered if a personal visit was made to the principal known sites connected (or, reputed to be connected) with the arrival of Polynesians to Peru in 1862 and in 1863. These "leads" and other information are summarised under five major headings:

A. Traditional and modern stories

Throughout my stay on Easter Island from 1.4.972 to 28.4.973, I received stories and other information about the arrival of so-called Peruvian ships to the Island, the experiences of some Pascuense who were in or near Peru and the stories which have been passed down from those who returned from their experience in Peru in the last century. These stories may be con-

Peruvian two

sidered in two categories: 1). Traditional stories, known by several of my informants, with some even being published in past reports by others over the years about the Island, and, 2). The "modern" stories, where various Pascuense have claimed in recent years to have met descendants of their unfortunate (and distant) ancestors in or near Peru.

1). The traditional stories

Several persons know that the so-called Peruvian ships arrived first just off Apina and landed a group of men there. First, these men scattered gifts such as tobacco, mirrors, pipes, etc. in front of the Pascuense there assembled and as the Islanders scrambled to pick them up, the invaders attacked and trussed up many of the people. Those who resisted were shot. Later, more men attacked and took people at Hanga Roa and at Tahai, along the same coast. Another version holds that the slavers landed first at Hanga Piko and there threw their gifts out. In another part of the Island (possibly the north coast), a ship drew up to the coast, and Pascuense swam out to meet it, as was their custom with new arrivals. They began to dance and to sing and then went below decks to continue the party. As night fell, the hatch was quietly closed and the ship set sail. Two persons came up for air from the festivities and discovered the trick and they and various others jumped over-board. Only four of those who jumped managed to get underway swimming and only one actually made it to shore. He did this, according to Lazaro HOTU IKA, by swimming and alternatively floating on his back and warming his heart with his hands. Another version says that the three attacks were at Hanga Piko, Tahai and at Hanga o Hoonu.

One family preserves the tradition that two of their members, Macomacoma and Upa Ea (brothers of Veriamu, who has passed the story down to the Tepano family) went voluntarily, with their respective pregnant wives. They came to the cave where Veriamu was living as a young girl and said goodbye to their younger sister, preferring to walk to the ship, rather than be tied up and dragged.

The oldest woman on the Island, Maria Tekena, claims that her older brothers were taken on the Peruvian ships but, also, that others voluntarily signed on previously to ~~this~~ Ameri-

Peruvian three

whaling vessals. These events occurred before she was born.

Another tradition mentions a Pascuense called, Huku Kahu, who escaped from the attackers by taking his clothes off when one of them grabbed on to them to carry him off. His name indicates this life saving maneuver.

According to various traditions, there is a large flat rock which has the number of Pascuense taken away during these raids incised or marked upon it. A rock that was pointed out to me as such was located at Tongariki, in Hotu Iti and was photographed on Roll LXXXIII-6,8. At other times, however, I have independantly come across just as likely candidates for this in other parts of the Island with the same sort of counting (I suppose) device. These were found mainly on the north coast and figure on the following rolls: LXXIX-2,7; LXXVIII-10,13; LXXVIII-15,18; and, LXXVII-15,14.

The last surviving son of one of those taken to Peru still lives, but he was born after the incidents in a later marriage and not raised by his father. Therefore, Nicolas PAKOMIO ANGATA knows only a little of what happened to his father, Pakomio Maori. What he does remember is that the Pascuense worked in gangs of twenty on the guano islands and that their food for the group for one day's work was a can (about the size of a five gallon paint container, he indicates with his hands) of meat.

Leon TUKI HEI, one of my chief informants on all aspects of the Island's history, tells that "Ure Kino," as Pakomio was known by his detractors (Ure = Man - Kino = Useless), returned from Peru with a Pascuense girl friend that he had picked up while captive there. The ship that they came back on was loaded with a lot of very sick people. The ship first arrived at Motu Maratiri and, there, the dead were thrown into the sea. Then, the ship moved over to the beach in a sector called Anakena. Ure Kino's girl friend then took sick, but Ure Kino did not. Now, the ship put down a boat to take various Pascuense ashore. The number usually given is fourteen, plus Ure Kino. Ure Kino was worried, however, as Anakena was ko peka (enemy territory) for him. He had been a matato'a (warrior chief) before being carried off and had many persons who wanted to kill him, especially in the sector of Anakena. Ure Kino's safe ground and home was near Ana

Peruvian four

o Neru, on the Poike peninsula. So, Ure Kino took a blanket and put it over his head like a shawl and sat in front of the boat like a woman. He let his red hair peek out from under the shawl and sat quietly while the boat was rowed to the sandy beach. No one ashore knew that it was Ure Kino. When the boat scarcely had touched the beach, Ure Kino threw off the blanket. At once, the Pascuense on the shore saw his full red hair and knew that it could only be Ure Kino, but they realised it too late. He ran off to Ahu Runga on high ground from Anakena and was away from danger. As he was the fastest runner on the Island, no one could catch him.

Efforts to elicit the names of those fourteen persons who accompanied Ure Kino in the boat referred to above have not met with success. Instead, I have a list from Leonardo PAKARATI RANGITAKI of fifteen persons who are known to have gone to Peru and returned, though they arrived on the Island over time from 1863 (?) to 1888. This list has been given to me as:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Terongo 'A Kena | 2. Pakomio Maori-Ure Kino |
| 3. Angata | 4. Tepano Rau Hiva |
| 5. Maanga | 6. 'a Ringa |
| 7. Renga Rite | 8. Vero Tangata |
| 9. Te Hei | 10. Matias Punahae |
| 11. Marate Haka Hira | 12. Gabriel Revahiva |
| 13. Renga Roa-roa 'a Hare Kai Hiva | |
| 14. Papa Rona | 15. Hereveri |

This list may also be compared with the rough one which I have drawn-up from my genealogy book. (Appendix I) According to another tradition, a man called Peroa returned from Peru and brought with him a kind of banana which still bears his name. This information came from Melchor HUKI TEKENA, who generally receives all of his data from his grandmother, Maria Tekena.

With respect to returning Easter Islanders, and the story of Ure Kino, it has occurred to me that there is only one ship known to have brought Islanders directly to the Island and that was the Suerte, which brought Lay Brother Eugene Eyraud. As his letter about his first nine months stay on the Island indicates, he arrived on the Island with four men and one woman, all of whom apparently abandoned him quickly, as they never appear

Peruvian five

again in his relation. As the landing also took place at Anakena beach, Ure Kino may have been among them.

Leon Tuki's tradition has it that the first person to die of smallpox after the Pascuense began to return from Peru was a young girl in the region of Ahu Runga. She lived with four other persons and they too soon died. From there, the disease spread to the rest of the population. Another disease is also reported as having come from outside of the Island and that is one which particularly affected the family of Hei. He had fifteen brothers and ^{one} sisters. This family lived at Ma'unga 'ori, on the south coast. The sickness involved the knee swelling-up and death soon followed.

There is a story known by various people about dogs devouring the dead and near dead who were too weak to resist. The story was made more precise by Maria Tekena. In 1863 - that is, after the raids, but before the arrival of Brother Eugene - a ship arrived at Ovahe. It was an American ship and it carried "dogs good for snow." They were big and the ship was going to use them during its voyage. However, the food gave out on the ship and the dogs were put ashore at Ovahe just after the sickness started (?). These huge dogs, which had not been seen on the Island before, went from house to house and cave to cave and ate the sick people. Maria Tekena knows what such dogs look like now as she saw the same ones that her elders had told her about when the American Admiral Byrd arrived in the 1930's on his way to the South Pole on ^{an} expedition.

Leon Tuki says that a man who took care of him when he was young, was called Mata Kau Va'e. He used to live in Mata-veri. After the sickness had started, three men from the north coast (where the disease eventually took fewer lives) went walking along the south coast, the home of their traditional enemies and where the majority of the people who fell ill died. The three men designated themselves titles in the following way:

Ngure	He kape o te miro
Vaka Ariki (father of Hanga Rau)	He "first mate" o te miro
Mata Roa	He mataroa

As noticed by various 19th century visitors to Easter Island, the Islanders knew well the composition of a ship's crew and the

Peruvian six

various officers. Ngure, the grandfather of my neighbour, Juan RIROROKO MAHUTE, designated himself "Captain," while Mata Roa ("eyes long" or "sharp eyes") called himself simply "sailor," which also happens to be his name. Vaka Ariki, like Leon when he told me the story, used the English, "first mate." Then, they went walking in the devastated section and if they met someone, they would pretend to be from a ship just off of the coast and would ask: "I hia kanakita o te henua i mate?" (How many little kanakas are dead in this land). It was seen as a joke and they walked from Hotu Iti to Vinapu and then to Mataveri, where they met Mata Kau Va'e and asked him their question.

Another story known by many concerns Hito Rangi, who went on a merchant ship and one day found himself in a place called, "Paka te Mayo," in Peru. He remarked that it was a poor place. There, he met a woman whose husband was a Pascuense and had stayed behind after the raids. The exact time of the arrival of Hito's ship to Peru is unknown, but it must have been before 1888, for he was back on the Island then. For phonetic changes from the Peruvian original to a Pascuense pronunciation, I have supposed this to be the north peruvian port of Pacasmayo.

There are other stories of subsequent Pascuense travelling between their time in Peru and their return to the Island, but they are not directly related to the Peruvian episode. One last story, however, I will quote from the Pascuense original, as Leon Tuki told it to me:

When the Peruvians arrived here, they tied up people. Tori arrived. He went to a place called Ana o Nono. The bullets of the rifle of a man [slaver] ran out. When he [Tori] arrived at Ana o Nono, he met this peruvian man. Tori ran after him. When Tori ran after him, he was very close. There, and by a hut, he shouted, "Hey, young man, where are you running off to." Turn around and lets fight. Turn around and let's fight. Let's make war. Where are you running off to?" He ran to Ana o Nono. He ran away to Pou a Kare. "Hey young man, where are you running to. Wait..." Tori was right behind him. "Turn around so that we can fight. where are you running off to." Tori could easily have thrown his mataa [spear] and have killed that man, but he did not want to throw at the man's back. "Turn around with your face at me so that I can throw and we can fight." That's how he shouted. "Where are you running off to, young man. Turn around and let's fight." They arrived at Apina Nui. They arrived at the same time. Tori shouted the same thing. "Hey, young man - where are you running off to? Turn around

Peruvian seven

and let's fight. They arrived at Puku Paka Kina. Well. He shouted again the same phrase - Tori's cry. [The peruvian] captured that part of the phrase that said, "he pea." At the same time, a boat from the [peruvian] ship came ashore, having seen the chase. It came to shore this boat of the ship. The man ran away and arrived at the place called Apina Iti and there he left. At that place, that man went directly down to the boat. This man [Tori] stayed up above. They took him [the peruvian] away.

Now, this [next part] happened in the time of Paea [Tati Solomon, Manager of the Easter Island ranch for John Brander from about 1877 to 1888]. Now, a ship arrived here and that same man [peruvian] came. He was the one that in pascuense is called by the name, "Tono Pañioro"[this has no meaning in pascuense and is thought by Leon to be a Spanish name that was deformed by the Pascuense]. I don't know what is his original name, but they always said "Tono Pañioro." That was the name that they called him. Well, then. Paea went on board the ship and the man asked Paea. You see, when that ship arrived, this man came in that ship. "Ask when you go back on shore if there is a man who was around when we came here to tie people up who chased me and shouted, "ki pea taua." In spanish he asked this. His conversation was in Spanish, but the part, "ki pea taua," was just like that. Ask about a man who chased after me and said this phrase - "he pea." He shouted, 'he pea.' And when we arrived at Apina, I climbed into the boat. Well, he saved my life. I tell you, I want to meet that man. Perhaps he died or perhaps he still lives. I want to give him presents like blankets, tobacco, "paha-paha"[meaning unknown]. I want to give gifts to that man because he didn't kill me and for that that he shouted at me." Good. Paea said, "All right," and returned to shore and asked about who chased a peruvian man in the time when the peruvians came to tied up the pascuenses and shouted, "Ki pea taua." That is the only thing that is remembered, "ki pea, ki pea." That was the only phrase that he caught. Tori said that he was the man and that he chased him from Ana o Nono to Apina Iti. "I will tell him, old fellow, what this phrase means that I shouted at him. I said, "Don't run away young man. Turn around with your face to me so that we can fight. I don't want to throw my lance at your back. I could have easily thrown my mataa [lance] at your back and have killed you, but I didn't want to. What I wanted was for you to stop, turn you face so that we could fight together. That's what "he pea" means when I shouted it at you." That's what he told that man. That's what old man Tori said. Paea returned to the ship. He told the man. "That man is alive. He explained the conversation up there on the ship. "That phrase that was shouted at you means, 'Where are you going, turn around your face, wait and let's fight.'" "That's what it means." "He didn't wish to cut you with his mataa from behind. You would now be dead with his mataa. He didn't wish to cut you

Peruvian eight

from behind. 'Turn your face first and wait so that we can fight.' That was the phrase that he shouted at you. That was the phrase when you fled. That man is here." [The peruvian said] I love this man and I want to carry him my gifts, blankets, tobacco, pipes."

Because of these acts which occurred so long ago, the pascuense have a special dislike to all (nearly) peruvians who have come to their Island. Anti-peruvian feelings on the part of some chileans from the mainland may also play a part in keeping this near hatred alive.

2). The modern stories

These stories, especially in recent years as pascuense travel off the Island has increased, have abounded to the point of absurdity. An example of this is that the Chavez family on the Island always feels a close kinship to any person with the surname, "Chavez," when they come from Peru. They are the only Peruvians given an unambiguous welcome on Easter Island. In the Pascuense case, all persons with the family name of Chavez are ultimately related to one man in the last century called, Te Ave. Because of the close phonetic resemblance between the pascuense initial "t" and the Chilean spanish "ch" and the Chilean tendency to drop terminal consonants, "Te Ave" (a personal name converted at baptism to a surname) became "Chavez." Thus, the likelihood of any other pascuense who went to Peru also being called, "Te Ave" and following the same phonetic changes in the Peruvian context would be very small.

In late august of 1972, the story started to circulate that a Peruvian singer by the name of Alberto Paté had appeared on Radio Americas (Lima). Paté is also a pascuense surname. Later versions of the story added that this same singer had acknowledged his pascuense origins.

Finally, there was the hope of at least one Islander that any possible relatives in Peru might be wealthy or have lands that the Pascuense could claim, as they have done and are trying to do with their relatives in Tahiti.

By far, however, the largest group of stories ultimately came from a Pascuense travelling businessman who spent many years in Continental Chile called, José Nahoe. I have eight first references in my notes to his stories and many more supposed references.

Peruvian ten

Koho mai koe	Welcome
Mai a nua era	Bring me that mother
Mai a koro era	Bring me that father
Mai te kainga	Bring me the land
Mai vai a potu te rangi	Bring me the water of the extremes of the sky.

This is perfectly good Pascuense, but there is nothing strange or "old" about it. It is also strange that the old man should have greeted Leviante's mother ("nua") when she could not possibly have been there. "Bring me the water of the extremes of the sky," which, while being poetic, is hardly "old" or special. In my second interview, he also claimed that the old man had two boys and one girl and that the two sons had promised to come to Pascua one day. He also said that his son Alberto had met a Pascuense descendant while in military service in Arica, in northern Chile.

The next group of stories, which also enjoy a certain popularity, are those brought back by some of the forty odd Pascuense young men who have been conscripts in the Chilean Army, in Arica. According to these stories, when the first group of Pascuense conscripts arrived in Arica, a group of them were playing the guitar and singing in front of the main military post, the Rancagua regiment. An older woman, who was said to be a descendant of the Pascuense in Peru, invited them to her house and has continued to invite other conscripts since to visit her family. She is married to "a Chilean." Stories vary that there is one family or two families, but the ascription of Pascuense descent is constant. I secured the address of one of these women, Gabriela Chavez.

The last of the modern stories is one which eventually comes from Martin RAPU PUA which he, in turn, received from his mother. Three uncles of his grandfather were taken away in the Peruvian raids. One was Emilio, who returned and stayed to die in Tahiti, the other was Eduardo, who eventually came to live in Valparaiso, Chile, and the name of the third is unknown, but he is thought to have lived in the south of Peru. Emilio figures in the Tahiti land claims registered in 1887, while the son of Eduardo (also called Eduardo Pua) is supposed to have come to the Island in 1956 as an official on the Allipen, a vessel of the Haberbeck Company. When he came to the Island, he told Filomena Pua (Martin's mother) about their mutual ancestor's adventures in Peru. According

Peruvian eleven

to my informant and his brother, Eduardo Pua still lives and is in Valparaiso. Further, a certain Carolina Pua works in the City Hall of Valparaiso in the Health Section. The relationship between Eduardo Pua and Carolina Pua was not specified.

A final short story is told by Pedro TEAO RIROROKO, who lives in Valparaiso. When he arrived in Valparaiso fresh from the Island a man on the dock helped him to find his way. This man explained that his grandfather was a Pascuense who had gone to Peru in the last century as a slave and that his family came from Hakarava. After the man helped Pedro Teao out, he disappeared and was never seen again.

The latter two cases have yet to be investigated here in Valparaiso.

In addition to these stories from the Island, there were also other items which led me to consider the trip to Peru and northern Chile.

B. A STATUE exists in the British Museum (London) with the following entry in the catalog:

Nro. 8700. Easter Island.

Wooden figure in the form of a man, with a fish's mouth, and finny hands. The eyes inlaid with shell and obsidian. At the back of the neck a pierced projection. From the Chincha Is. Peru. Presented by A.W. Franks, Esq, 29.Oct., 1872 (Boucard).

No other information is available at the present time about how this object came to London or, even, the kind of wood out of which it is made. Through the kindness of the British Museum, I secured three photographs (different angles) of the statue to take with me to Peru. The style of the statue is undoubtedly from Easter Island and the motif is a well-known one. It is, in reality, a tangata moko (man lizard).

C. A REPORT written by M. Eucher Henry about his mission to Chancay details the presence of polynesian agricultural workers in this valley in 1863. The report was sent to me by H.E. Maude.

D. IN PORTFOLIO 138, NO. 36 OF THE ARCHIVE OF THE ARCH-BISHOP OF SANTIAGO, with the date of 2. December, 1869, a certain Pierre Mau sold his house and property on Easter Island to the

Peruvian twelve

Catholic Mission and asked that two hundred and fifty francs be paid to him personally and a sum of six hundred and fifty francs be sent to Lima for the Reverend Mother Superior of the Nuns of the Sacred Heart.

E. FINALLY, DR. RAMON CAMPBELL, who lived on Easter Island for one year as the medical doctor and who has published a book about the Island is about to publish another, tells that when he went to Matarani in 1970, he and his wife went by taxi to Arequipa, in the south of Peru, for a tourist visit. On the way back to the port, in a taxi, the driver said that about one hundred years ago, a group of Indians from across the ocean came to the area. They arrived sick and were put into warehouses to be isolated from the population. There, they died and were buried in a special cemetery near Matarani. When Campbell got to the ship with this news, the British Consul in Antofagasta, who was travelling on the ship, told him to wait for dinner to see a certain Ernesto Jeager who was said to have had a large collection of Pascuense objects. The man never arrived on board for dinner and the ship sailed. Campbell wrote to Matarani twice and on the second time received word that Jeager had died.

Before leaving for the trip to Peru, letters of introduction were sent from Canberra and by me to various suspected points of interest. Every effort was made to contact as many of the places as possible so that time could be saved once in Peru.

Though not all of the above is related to the investigations which follow, I have included it here so as to be a general report to H.E. Maude about information relating to Peruvians on Easter Island.

II.

Itinerary

26.5.973	-	2.6.973	La Serena-Coquimbo, to visit Dr. Alfredo Cea and former governor of Easter Island from 1.934-1.936,+1937, Hermann Cornejo.
3.6.973	-		Microbus, fr. La Serena to Arica.
4.6.973	-	7.6.973	Arica, + travel to Mollendo, Peru
8.6.973	-	10.6.973	Mollendo-Matarani
11.6.973	-		Arequipa + travel to Lima
12.6.973	-	29.6.973	Lima-Callao

Peruvian thirteen

30.6.973	-	4.7.973	Ica-Pisco-Chincha Islands
5.7.973	-		Microbus to Arica from Ica
6.7.973	-	10.7.973	Arica-Tacna, with evening flight to Santiago

III. Results in:

Little time was spent at first in Arica as all of the people that I wanted to visit were either in Santiago or, in the case of one, in Spain.

A. Mollendo-Matarani

In Mollendo, the town in which most who work in the new (25 years) port of Matarani live, I rapidly located information about the German, Ernesto Jeager. I did not use his name, but was led to him through questions among the dock workers in the port of Matarani. Jeager was a former Manager of the Mauricio Hochschild Company and lived a solitary life. I did, however, manage to speak to a number of people who knew of him. His collection, according to his housekeeper for many years, was a result of his travels and ^{was made up of} ~~were~~ souvenirs, which included a Pascuense moai kava-kava, as well as a stone Inca figure which dispensed cigarettes out of its mouth and had a cigar lighter in its head. I carried with me a small Pascuense carving just to elicit such information. The majority of the collection is still in the storehouses of the Company in Matarani, as Jeager's sister in Germany doesn't wish to be bothered with the shipping and custom's formalities. Her address in Germany for future reference is:

Frau Berta Haeusser,
Hauptstrasse, 151,
7119 Sorchteneberg,
GERMANY.

The story that the taxi driver told Ramon Campbell could be a confusion of one of two things. In 1871, a ship with members of a Peruvian military regiment came to what is now Matarani and they carried bubonic plague, which eventually wiped out the port of that time, which was called Islay. The driver may also have confused the ~~h~~ history with one from about the same time when a ship load of Chinese coolies arrived in Arica, (a Peruvian port, at that time) and were put into warehouses because of yellow fever that they carried. These Chinese were buried in a special Chinese Cemetery,

Peruvian fourteen

which is today largely in ruins. Information about these two episodes in Peruvian history is contained in any good history of the country, but I also purchased books dealing precisely with these topics. I explored the still standing ruins of the old port of Islay and photographed the salient features, but found nothing resembling the cemetery of the story. A search of a Peruvian Atlas of the time which contained a number of town plans also failed to reveal an "Indian cemetery," in the region of Islay. Matarani, in the last century, in any case, existed as a place name, further inland than the present-day port. Research also showed that it is of Quechua origin and the same name exists in three other parts of Peru. (Mariano Felipe PAZ SOLDAN. 1877. Diccionario geografico estadístico del Peru. Lima).

I did not go any deeper into the Matarani matter and consider that it was a false lead.

B. Lima

1). Personal contacts.

I was fortunate in getting the cooperation of Hermann Buse De la Guerra, a lecturer in geography, writer on South Sea's topics and journalist for the leading Lima newspaper, El Comercio. He agreed to publish a front page (Appendix III) announcement about my work on 19.6.973 as a kind of call for help and, most important, facilitated my access to the very complete archives of El Comercio (founded 1839). This latter allowed me to photograph a number of items for the context of the trade, as well as to photograph those items which were not available for Lucila Valderrama's thorough exploration for H.E. Maude in 1970, as indicated in her letter of 16.6.970 to him. A Xerox copy of the listing of the items that I photographed accompanies this report (Appendix IV), as well as notes I took on items that I did not photograph. (Appendix V). In El Comercio, I photographed seven categories of things:

- a). The departures and arrivals of all ships involved in the trade;
- b). The immediate history of those ships involved in the trade in 1862;
- c). All articles specifically dealing with the presence of polynesians in Peru;
- d). The context of contract labour in Peru with Chinese and Indian ("Cholo") labourers;

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- e). A full record of the trade situation in the Chincha Islands, with monthly figures of extraction and exportation and changes in administration;
- f). Examples of French antipathy towards the Peruvian government at that time due to the war in Mexico and vice versa;
- g). The history and presence of smallpox in Lima-Callao in 1863 and the Polynesians's contact with it.

Lucila Valderrama G. of the National Library was consulted for further paths to follow and these included the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Finance. Neither of these, as I indicate below, proved to hold documentation that could be investigated in the time available. That is, the possibility of finding something existed, but it was a remote one.

I also consulted with a number of Peruvian historians about possible sources and archives, both public and private. These were Felix Denegri Luna, Jorge Basadre, Alejandro Lostaunau and Fernando Ponce. The latter showed me a Chilean publication that published much information about the Peruvian raids from the archives of the Chilean Consuls in Peru at that time:

VELIZ, Claudio. 1961. Historia de la marina mercante de Chile. Santiago de Chile, Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile.

This latter lead will be followed-up in Santiago if time permits.

Denegri Luna confirmed a story on Easter Island about a Peruvian who had come to purchase stock from the Williamson, Balfour Company and who had been rebuffed by the Islanders. According to him, Miguel Muelle Leon was the man, who thirty years ago went to the Island. At first, he did not mention his nationality and he had a very pleasant time. As soon as he said that he was Peruvian, he had to return to the ship. An Engineer names Alberto Chaparro Melendez had told Denegri Luna about the episode.

With respect to Chancay, I spoke to José MATOS MAR, Director of the Institute of Peruvian Studies. He and his colleagues had carried out extensive studies in the valley of Chancay and he informed me that if Polynesians has been in the haciendas of this area, then he had never come across any traces of them. Someone with a great deal more time could profit from a thorough investigation of the few individual hacienda archives remaining, as well

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as an examination of the archives of long-established notaries in the area.

Luis Milliones, who has recently published a small book on black and chinese workers in Peru, could only provide me with comparative information from these similar cases. He noted that it would be unlikely that the Polynesians had retained any vestiges of their original names, as there were strong superstitions in the work gangs against unbaptised workfellows.

Pablo Macera, and others, informed me that Port Captain archives and most archives from the Merchant Marine of the time had been lost in the burning of many public buildings in the War of 1879 with Chile.

Jorge Basadre, whose history of Peru since the Republic of 1821 is now into fourteen volumes, suggested that any serious research into Peru's history must be done in Washington, D.C. (USA) where a better collection of archives has been maintained in the Library of Congress. This is particularly true in the case of periodicals.

I also spoke with Heraclio Bonilla, who is completing a study of French and English relations with Peru in the nineteenth century. He informed me that no records of use were available in Peru and that I would have to go to the respective archives in France and England.

2). Archives consulted

Through the above persons, I found out about and frequently got information about a number of archives in Peru .

The Archives of the Ministry of the Government (today, called, Ministry of the Interior) were not actually consulted, but I was informed by a member of the Investigations Section, who did try to find out for me, that nothing remained from that period in the Ministry archives and that their records are periodically destroyed in any case.

My visit to the Ministry of Economy led me to believe that the only possible information that might be found there would be the papers on the indemnization paid by the Peruvian government of thirty thousand pesos in 1863. These records too are disorganised and periodically "cleaned out" as well. The Director of the Archives,

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Durant Flores, was in Europe when I called and was not available in Lima during my time and so could not personally be consulted.

Photographic archives turned up only one photograph of Callao in 1860 and this was copied in the National Library. The Archives, in general, of the National Library suffered heavily in the War of 1879 with Chile and also with the complete burning of the National Library in 1943, by accident.

A cursory search in the Archives of the Archbishop in Lima failed to turn up any important informations, but a more thorough one might. Those in charge of the archives, however, felt that research would be carried out in the actual parish records. The time was not available, however, for me to undertake such a task.

The Archives of the government company in charge of the development of the Chincha Islands, among other things, SENAFER (The National Company for Fertilising Agents) were equally barren for the time period involved, though I was promised some copies of old black and white photographs by the Director of the Department for Guano, Demosthenes CABRERA QUIROZ. These have yet to appear by post.

A great deal of hope had been put into finding something in the archives of the French Embassy. According to M. Jean de Souza, the Consul with whom I spoke on 19.6.973, these old archives had been packed off and sent to France some two months previous to my arrival when the Embassy and Consulate moved from their old quarters on Nicolas de Pierola to Plaza Francia. I have initiated efforts to have a friend of mine, a trained librarian who is also French, to make a thorough search in Paris for these records.

The most rewarding suggestion for archives was made to me by Felix DENEGRÍ LUNA, who recommended that I examine the books of the Charity Hospital (La Beneficencia) of Lima. In Appendix VI, I have included the results of my search, which is the names of one hundred and fifty five polynesians who died of various diseases between 27.6.863 and 10.8.867. At the end of this, I made up some tables showing the distribution of diseases, ages, and, more important, parts of Lima (by parish) from which these deceased originated. A later researcher with more time could then examine these parishes in detail in order to find records and possible evidence

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of descendants. The Parish of St. Ane's should prove to be particularly interesting.

These records in Lima indicate that these Polynesians undoubtedly worked as domestic servants in the houses of well to do Limeños, whose surnames they often bear. This latter assumption is heavily supported by the fact that Polynesians were advertised in the press for this purpose, as well as being reported as having escaped from such private homes. I have photographed these advertisements from El Comercio.

Attempts were made to find more complete listings of patients from the Lima Hospitals from that time as well as to locate similar records for Callao, but these do not exist any longer. The Lima records are missing in a more complete form and the Callao ones are not to be found at all.

Municipal Archives from the time were also sought in Lima and Callao, but these were not found, many of them having been destroyed due to various causes.

3). Other investigations.

During the research in Archives, attempts were constantly made to try to find descendants of the Polynesians by newspaper publicity and by personal searches with photographs of Pascua and examples of Pascuense carving. No certain information was gained from these constant questionings. Both my wife and I practically memorised a patter to explain our presence in Peru and we solicited information from all with whom we came into contact. We found people generally helpful, but not sufficiently informed.

In the National Library, a series of drawings and engravings of places connected with Polynesians in Peru was copied from:

PAZ SOLDAN, Mariano Felipe. 1865

Atlas geografico del Peru. Paris, Libreria de Fermin Didot Hermanos, Hijos y Cia.

Archive and historical questions were complicated by the fact that the Polynesians probably did not retain any vestiges of their Island names and so only archives which showed the place of origin of the persons in it were of use in my research.

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C. Callao;

As mentioned, archive sources in Callao were non-existent and so, by an idea given to me by my wife, I went to the Old Peoples' Home, operated by Nuns:

Casa Asilo de las Hermanitas de
los Ancianos Desamparados,
Constitución, 779
Callao.

There, I encountered Angel Narvay, who claims to have been born in the Department of Ica on 8.7.855. He could still speak with difficulty, but moved in small steps and was hard of hearing. He was also loosing his vision. He had lived in the region of Chincha as an agriculturalist during the 1870's and his clearest memory was of the War of 1879, which he insisted upon relating in great detail as it affected him. He did not recognise any of the clues as to "canacas," "polinesians," "Indians from the Ocean," etc., that I gave him and did not know anything about the Chincha Islands. In the two hours that I spoke to him, he was very eager to speak (about the War), but professed ignorance of the events of my interest.

In a personal search in Callao, my wife encountered a woman called, "Teresa Kanaka," but she turned out to be of Japanese descent. The showing of the statues only turned up a retired Danish shipwright who sold small Pascuense statues, among other trinkets. He was:

Jörgen Bjelke,
2. de Mayo, 749/301,
Callao.

The Library and Institute of Culture did not have any information.

D. Pisco-Chincha Islands;

Through the Regional Museum of Ica, I contacted a local historian in Pisco (the Port for the Chincha Islands), Luis Velarde. He was not familiar with the Polynesian episode, but took me to the Pisco Inspector of Culture, Mamerto CASTILLO NEGRON, who has written possibly the most complete compendium about Pisco, Monografia de Pisco, published by himself some years ago and now out of print.

Castillo told me as much as he knew about the operations

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on the Chincha's using Chinese workers. He knew nothing about the Polynesians working there, but he did confirm that such foreign workers were mostly not allowed to keep their original names, as persons unbaptised were called, "Morros (Moors)," and were thought to be responsible for work accidents. He also explained that at that time, Pisco was not the Port of the Chincha's, but that workers were brought directly from Callao, lived on the Islands and then were taken back to Callao after the period of guano extraction.

I mentioned the theory expressed by Campbell and Silva in their paper on the Polynesians in Peru about workers from haciendas being used on the Islands and he said that if there was a connection, it was not with haciendas in Pisco province. At that time, there was only one hacienda and that was Caucato, which had a specialist production in chancaca and rum from their sugar cane plantations and employed almost exclusively resident black workers.

He suggested that I go to the Parish Church in Pisco and consult the Parish records, which survived the War of 1879 through clever priests hiding their records and relics in the thick church walls. During the time of work on the Islands, there was always a resident priest.

As noted in the two photocopies from my notes in Appendix VII, I did find two books from Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes de las Islas de Chincha, which was the church on Islands during the period of my interest. I have photographed the marriage and death books, but no Polynesian names nor origins were encountered in any of these. Still, these books do point to a very large foreign and Peruvian settlement on the Chincha's at the time of the supposed Polynesian arrivals there. A further search is being carried out by the Spanish parish priest, Father Antonio, in more detailed archives and the results of that are to come by post.

No municipal or charity hospital (or any other) records exist from the 1860's because of their destruction during the War of 1879 with Chile.

On 3.7.973, through the help of the Pisco Port Captain and the local manager of SENAFER at La Puntilla (near Pisco), I was able to visit the Chincha Islands. As time was limited and the sea journey takes about two hours each way, I chose to go to the Island with the greatest concentration of people in the 1860/s, as

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a small map in the above-named Atlas indicates (Appendix VII). This was North Chincha. The time allowed was also short as there was no possibility of staying the night and the sea was too rough for travel in the afternoon. My investigations were hampered by the need to respect the guano producing birds, which are very nervous and scare easily if approached.

The skipper of the tug that took me out, Victor PAREDES SIFUENTES of the "Remoquedor Tommy," had been employed with SENAFER for fifteen years. He came from Yungay and had started working as a common guano extractor and, so, knew the Islands well. I showed him the photograph of the old plan that I carried to try to elicit some information about what he might have seen. He said that nothing remains of the two towns indicated, but that in the place that I have marked on the plan, he recalls that corpses, with their skin dried and clothes in tact, were often dug up while guano was being excavated. I surmise that these bodies are those of the Europeans and Peruvians whose names appear in the church books that I photographed.

This notion was further supported by Mario ALLCCACO CHOCÑA, the young Quechua who is one of the two men who live all year around on the nearly deserted Island and who was my guide. He said that the poor and especially the Chinese (about whom he knew) when they died, were taken out to sea with a heavy weight and their bodies thrown into the sea. He also knew about the place where bodies are dug up on North Chincha, but was quite surprised to see the two towns indicated in the map, as he knew nothing about them. He did, however, know about a rotted stump along the shore near those places which is all that remains of an old loading dock. He recommended that when the Chief Guard, Eduardo Melendes, returns from other guano extractions on the Island of Asia in November of this year, that I write to him as he has worked for the Company for a long time and knows much about the history of the place. Chief Guards have a tradition of passing ~~away~~ along stories about the past of the Chincha's from older to younger. I will write him from Easter Island.

It occurred to me that Peruvian historians have missed much by not having attempted to write a social history of the exploitation of the Chincha Islands.

E. Arica-Tacna

Arriving in Arica, I returned the next day to Tacna. Transport between the two towns is very easy. Through Jorge Basadre, a native of Tacna, I had the name of the Directoress of the Tacna Institute of Culture, Virginia LAZARO VILLAREL. She immediately put me into contact with a local historian whose local interests, among others, include the Chinese migrations to the area. He is Luis Cabañaro.

He informed me that he had never come across any persons with Oceanic or Polynesian origins, let alone Pascuense, though he did have thorough records of Chinese who had come to Tacna.

The charity hospital records for Tacna had disappeared in a fire in the early 1860's and because Tacna was a Chilean possession from 1879 to 1929, the best collections of old documents for the area would probably be found in Santiago de Chile or in the former centre of that part of Peru before 1879, which is Iquique, now deep into Chilean territory.

He suggested that I might make a re-study of the Parish records for Samo, where Chinese had worked in cane plantations between 1860 and 1870 and also have a look at the general Parish records for Tacna. Unfortunately, the lack of time and a prospect for ^{Not} encountering easily the information forced me to abandon this research. Cabañaro has promised to write me if he should encounter anything in his researches relevant to my work.

The last point to be investigated was the so-called descendants of Pascuenses living in Arica. Through a contact with Juan ARAKI KAITUOE, I met Pablo HEREVERI TEAO. The former has been established for some time in Arica, working for ENTEL, the Chilean Telephone Company, while the latter had just completed military service in precisely the Rancagua Regiment in Arica. We also carried a letter for Hereveri from his mother on Easter Island. Araki knew nothing of ~~the~~ ^{THE NIHORANGI} story, but it was through them that I encountered Gabriela Chavez and Gustavo CONTRERAS ORELLANA and their families.

The two families in question first began to have contact with Pascuense conscripts in 1968 and, on the 14. April, 1968, they made a list of the first group that they had entertained in their

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homes. It carried twenty one names and, they assured me, that they have attended to at least another twenty since then. Their interest was simply one of curiosity - Mrs. Contreras first saw the boys, as they had told me, playing Pascuense songs in front of the Regiment and invited them home for their own interest. They are not Pascuense nor do they have any inkling that there is any other connection with the Pascuense than just their own friendliness. They have no economic ends for their help and appear to be simply generous people. Gabriela Chavez's mother was Bolivian, but that is about as exotic as the family lines become. They said that after the first group, other Pascuense conscripts would arrive to their homes with a special map, showing the route with all details, from the Regiment Rancagua to their doorstep. These two families were known to be helpful and kind people. For example, in Herever's case, Contreras provided him with a job in the bicycle factory, through a mutual friend.

It is my opinion that the Pascuense with whom I spoke felt a special closeness to these people and perhaps could not conceive that a Chilean, whom their parents had always told them to distrust, would want to do them disinterested good. Their way of dealing with this anomalous situation was to try to imagine them as somehow related. Disinterested family relations are understandable, but a Chilean simply helping out without other ends is, unfortunately, rare in the Pascuense experience. I could cite other examples where other helpful Chileans have been given kinship status for their kind acts.

My penultimate paragraph in this section may also explain "the Pascuense" that Nahoe met, as they too were kind to him.

IV. Other results of the Peruvian trip;

Before actually arriving in Peru, I had already received a letter from:

Maria Mercedes Rotalde,
Congregation of the Sacred Hearts,
Avenida Alvarez Calderón, 761,
San Isidro, 27 - Lima,

in which she explained that she had had a look at her Congregation's archives and had found nothing about Pierre Mau's gift nor the presence of Pascuense or other Polynesians in Peru.

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An interesting prospect was offered to me by José MATOS MAR, Director of the Institute of Peruvian Studies. He manifested a strong interest in publishing a small book about the Polynesians in Peru. He proposed that I write a chapter on Pascuense traditions about the Peruvian raids and my Peruvian research. Then, as another chapter, he would publish the paper that Ramón Campbell and Jorge SILVA OLIVARES wrote. Finally, a Spanish translation of the letter of the French M. Eucher that H.E. Maude sent me could be included. For using the latter, of course, I will have to have Maude's permission.

As a result of my contact with Matos and the Institute, I secured the Campbell-Silva paper, a copy of which I can send at a later time.

I do not feel that my contribution to this volume will in any way betray my confidence nor compromise my obligations to Maude. Before absolutely accepting and completing this task, however, I must have his permission. This additional task would not measurably interfere with my other research that I am at present carrying out here in Valparaiso.

Should the publication be possible, it will mean that Peruvian students who read the book will come up with valuable additional information that was not possible to obtain during my short visit. [REDACTED] The point of the publication, as Matos and I agreed, was to call attention to the historical problem, to show what had been done in Peru and in Chile on the problem and to suggest further avenues of research.

Arriving in Chile, I again contacted Campbell (whom I had met for the first time in Lima on 17.6.973) and he agreed to the publication of his paper in the volume. I also renewed my contact with Jorge Silva, whom I had previously met on Easter Island, and we decided that it would be advantageous to both of us if we could do it together. Thus, instead of my Pascuense stories only, there would also be a larger section detailing Peruvian and Chilean sources which we would both write. He and I will begin work on our respective sections while I am occupied here in Valparaiso with various other sorts of topics. It is Matos's intention to publish the small volume before the end of the year.

Finally, I would like to make a special note of thanks for

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R.H. Howard and the staff of the Australian Embassy in Lima for their cooperation in both the study and its practical side.

V. Budgetary notes.

I have continued the same system of collecting receipts for all items during the time in Peru and connected with the transport to the North of Chile. The details of this will have to be presented later, as the time required for this task is not now available.

Neither the University nor H.E. Maude are responsible for any amounts in excess of the budgeted A\$ 500.00 allotted for this work and no expenses were incurred which were prejudicial to the main requirements of my study.

One large effect on this budget was the obligation of Paragraph Two of the Supreme Resolution of the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Relations, dated 21.3.972 that every tourist must exchange a minimum of US\$ 8.00 per day per person while in Peru. This meant that I was obliged to change US\$ 16.00 per day during the stay of my wife, my child and myself.

This report is being sent to Canberra via the Australian Embassy in Santiago de Chile to whom I am very grateful for assuring the safe arrival of my report. A copy should be sent to H.E. Maude.



Grant McCall,

Concón, 30.7.973.

0148

0149

IN Roll CXIV, Ch.1 B+W
 1-EN Ramon Campbell's Medical
 Report

IN Roll CXV, Ch.1. B+W
 1-9 Ramon Campbell's Report, FINISHED
 10-11 GEN'S DRAWING.
 13, 19, 6, 973-15 - Ed. Trade 7, 1, 863, p. 3
 " Cronica del Callao - 1^{ra}, 2^{da}, 3^{ra} Columna.
 16-18 29, 1, 863 - 3rd Paj 2^{da} Col.
 19-20 11, 2, 1863 - 3rd Paj, 3^{ra} Col.
 21 13, 2, 863 Ed. of Trade, 2^{da}
 Paj, 4^{ta} Col.
 22 19, 2, 863, 3rd Paj - Cronica del
 Capital - ~~del~~ only one
 23 20, 2, 863 - hoja Final 2^{da} Col.
 Cronica de la Capital - only issue
 24 25, 2, 863 - 3rd Col. Cronica
 de la Capital, 4^{ta} Paj. GHF. P. 151.

Roll CXVI, Colour

D-3
 4, 9, 6, 973 - Fishing post of MATRANMI
 5 " " - Town, w leave PORT
 6 " " - ~~Roll~~ ^{Roll} ~~view~~ ^{view} of ~~1~~ ¹ slope
 7 " " - ~~view~~ ^{view} of 1st, with Mol. Post de
 MATRANMI
 8 " " - PORT, VIEW INLAND - IN EAST
 9 " " - THE ROLLER CITY, LOOKING NE.
 10 " " - ROSS TOWN CENTRE.
 11 " " - VIEW OF TOWN FROM HIGHEST POINT TO SW/SE
 12 " " - VIEW OF TOWN FROM HIGHEST POINT TO N/W/NE
 13 " " - A STREET CORNER IN ISLAY
 14, 24, 6, 973 - Callao, PORT
 15 " " - "
 16 " " - "
 17 " " - TOWN OF Callao - Old BARR.
 18 " " - "
 19 " " - "
 20 " " - "
 21 " " - "
 24 24, 6, 973 - FORT OF ANGELITO ANGEL NARWAY,
 IN THE CASA ASTRO DE LAS

- 22. 29. 6. 973 - HERMANITAS DE LOS ANCIANOS
- 23. " " " - DESAMPARADOS, CONSTRUCTION,
- 24. " " " - 779, Callao -
- 25. 2. 7. 973 - Libro 3^{vis} Libro de DEFUNIONES
- 26. " " " - DE LAS ISLAS DE CHILICHO QUE
- 27. " " " - COMENZO EN 1861 y TERMINO
- 28. " " " - EN 1871 y MATRIMONIOS - Pisco -
- 29. " " " - FOUND IN THE CHURCH OF THE
- 30. " " " - PAROQUIA, PZA. DE NEMAS,
- 31. " " " - PISCO, PERU.
- 32. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "
- 33. 2. 7. 973 - Baptism of a Chinese - Book 7
- 34. " " " - Chinese book - Baptisms
- 35. " " " - An English Order
- 36. " " " - Note ab. Spanish Inquisition
- 37. " " " - Chinese Baptism, 22. 1. 871

25. 28. 2. 863, 3^a Col. Lima, Summary on
 Name from Ancestral, 1^{ra} Ed. Miravia.
 26-28, 3. 3. 863, Ed. Tonalde 2^{da} Ed. 3^{ra} Ed. 51
 29-end, 1. 5. 863, Ed. Tonalde, 1^{ra} Ed. pg. 3^{ra} Col.

IN Roll CIVIL, Chil. B + W

D-6, 1. 5. 863, Brit. above.
 11- 18. 5. 863, 8th pag. 5th Columna, Nota. Ed.
 7-10, 2. 5. 863, 2^{da} pag. 1^{ra} Col. Mision
 12-16, 12. 6. 863, 2^{da} pag. 1^{ra} Col. Tonalde
 17-20, " " " 3^{da} pag. 1^{ra} Col. Tonalde
 21. 21. 6. 973, Title Page of First Revision Americana
 22-23, " " " Note ab. For Title. Rev. Am. 21. 1. 863
 24, " " " Note ab. Jeronimiani Corporal
 25-26, " " " Note ab. Fochal. Tonalde, Rev. Am. 5. 2. 863
 27. " " " Rev. Am. Invariaz. Rev. Am. 20. 3. 863, ab. 1^{ra} pag.
 28. " " " Rev. Am. Invariaz. Rev. Am. 5. 4. 863 - 51^{ra} Disc. de
 29-30, " " " Rev. Am. 20. 4. 863 - EVANG. OF DEATH
 of Pres. 3. 4. 863.

31-34' Cartas, 55863, ab Budget + quarto
35. " " ' Cartas, 205363, Recetas ab. Polls.

IN Roll C XVIII - Chil. B+W.

1. 1816. 973 - Graviza Iteraria, Rev. Am. S. 863 ^{with ab. end of map}
2. " " ' Final Announcement of the organization 863
3. " " ' Ab. Cartas, El Comercio, 9.10. 862
4. " " ' 10.10. 862, Don ab. Poll as good map, P. 3, Col. 2
5. 67, 13.09. 862, Mr of Academy "info" main p. 2 +
P. 3 - Col 5 + 1, Regencia
8. " " ' 189. 862, Notes ab. Colon from Pacific P. 7, Col. 4
9. " " ' 1898 2 particular P. 4, Col. 5, Regia de Comercio
10. " " ' Photos from Pic Soldan, Lambareque in Chileno P. XI
11. " " ' Pic Soldan, Lambareque - P. XIII
12. " " ' " Close-up map of Lima, Chileno, P. XIX
13. " " ' " Regia map, showing MARAKI P. XXXIX
14. 15. " " ' Port of ISLAY P. XXXVI
16. " " ' Rel. bet. Islay and Tacna thru P. XLVII
17. " " ' ICA, CHILNO, PISCO map P. LVII
18. " " ' PISCO map - P. LX

19. 216. 973 - Islay map, also P. LX
20-22. " " ' Photo of map and view of Chileno P. LX
23-24. " " ' Port of Callao P. LXI
25-26. " " ' Central map of Peru, P. LXII
27. " " ' Pisco + Callao ports P. LXVI
28. " " ' Islay + Mollendo P. LXVI
29. 226. 973 - El Comercio, 13.10. 862 - P. 3, Col. 3 + 4 etc
31-32. " " ' " 24.10. 862, P. 2, Col. 1 + Col. 4 - etc
33-34. " " ' 26.11. 862, P. 3, Col. 4 + 5 etc
35-36. " " ' 2.12. 862, P. 1, Col. 4 + 5, Inca

IN Roll C XIX - Chil B+W

1. " " ' El Comercio, 2.12. 862, P. 1, Col. 4 + 5, Inca
2. " " ' " 7.1. 863, P. 4, Col. 5, Inca
3. " " ' " 9.1. 863, P. 3, Col. 5, only showing bird size of Callao
4. " " ' " 13.1. 863, P. 1, Col. 2 - 5, Moran - Pic more.
5. " " ' " 15.1. 863, P. 4, Col. 2, Tacna, etc etc etc
6. " " ' " 18.1. 863, P. 3, Col. 5, main only
7. " " ' " 24.1. 863, P. 1, Col. 1, Moran - Roll etc etc etc

Gunho Figures

- 8336973-El Comodoro, 28, 1863 - p. 2, Col. 1+2 - *enr*
- 9, " " " " 22, 1863, p. 2, Col. 2 - *Mexn.*
- 10, " " " " 30, 1863, p. 1, Col. 2 - *only - last* *Polishman*
- 11, " " " " 4, 2863 - Trade - p. 3, Col. 3 - *Dealers* *Common*
- 12, " " " " 4, 2863 - Trade - p. 4, Col. 1 - *pulls* *Consul de Mexico*
- 13, " " " " 10, 2863 - Mexn - p. 2, Col. 5 - *Estad. Chinese*
- 14, " " " " 13, 2863 - Mexn - p. 2, Col. 1+2 - *Chinica*
- 15, " " " " 18, 2863 - Trade - p. 4, Col. 1 - *Mexn*
- 16, 36973 - 11, 79, 863 - Mexn - p. 2, Col. 4 - *SOME OF CHINA* *CURIOUS*
- 17, 18 " " 9, 863 - Only - p. 2, 3, Col. 5, 1 - *Small* *port* *Report on*
- 18, " " " " 10, 863 - Trade - p. 2, Col. 3 - *Small* *port* *for* *Mexico*
- 20, " " " " 16, 863 - Mexn - p. 1, Col. 2 - *Feeling* *Chinese*
- 21, " " " " 26, 863 - Mexn - p. 1, Col. 1, 2 - *Chinese* *Comments*
- 22, " " " " 26, 863 - Trade - p. 4, Col. 4 - *Freight* *Fees* *Comments*
- 23, " " " " 3, 10, 863 - Trade - p. 1, Col. 4 - *Danger* *of* *Mexico*
- 24, 25 " " 5, 10, 863 - Mexn - p. 2, Col. 1 - *Polishing* *W. Q. W. A.* *Medicine*
- 26, " " " " 13, 10, 863 - Mexn - p. 1, Col. 3 - *Polishing* *FLED*
- 27, " " " " " " " " - p. 3, Col. 3, 4 - *Chinese* *Comments* *General* *Matters*
- 28, 29 " " 17, 10, 863 - Mexn - p. 2, Col. 3, 4, 5 - *About* *Immigrants*
- 30, " " " " 12, 11, 863 - Trade - p. 2, Col. 3, 4 - *Chinese* *Comments*

ROLL CXT-Peruv. B+W

- 31, 33, 6973-El Comodoro, 19, 11, 863 - Trade - p. 1, Col. 3 - *Chinese*
 - 32, " " " " 20, 11, 863 - Only - p. 3, Col. 2 - *Ar. of* *Chinese*
 - 33, " " " " 12, 12, 863 - Trade - p. 1, Col. 5 - *Chinese* *grams*
 - 34, " " " " 14, 12, 863 - Only - p. 1, Col. 2 - *Escaped* *Chinese*
 - 35, " " " " 14, 12, 863 - Only - p. 3, Col. 1 - *Report* *on* *Expelled* *of* *Mexico*
- IN
- 33, 6973-El Comodoro, 15, 12, 863 - Only - p. 1, Col. 2 - *Escaped* *Chinese* *Ar. Peruv.*
 - 34, " " " " 23, 12, 863 - Trade - p. 4, Col. 1, 2, 3 - *Switzerland* *Acate* *Fees* *Mexico* *Guay, or* *Chile* *San* *W. A.*
 - 35, " " " " 23, 863 - Only - p. 1, Col. 1 - *Beat* *Comments*, 3
 - 7, 8 " " " " 9, 3, 863 - Only - p. 2, Col. 1 - *San* *Mexico* *1*
 - 9, " " " " " " " " - " - p. 4, Col. 7 - *Russia* *consider* *near* *Jose* *Ponich*, *Peru* *Switzerland* *the* *Guay's* *China* *Board*
 - 10, " " " " " " " " - " - p. 1, Col. 2 - *China* *grams*
 - 11, " " " " " " " " - " - p. 2, Col. 3, 4 - *China* *grams* *Sum* *Double* *Dist. of* *Guay*
 - 12, " " " " " " " " - " - p. 1, Col. 2, 3 - *Comments* *quoted* *San* *Mexico* *ad.*
 - 13, " " " " " " " " - " - p. 1, Col. 1, 2 - *San* *Mexico* *ad.* *Docum. off.*
 - 14, " " " " " " " " - " - p. 1, Col. 1, 2 - *San* *Mexico* *Comments* *Ar. of* *Chinese*
 - 15, 16, " " " " 16, 3, 863 - Trade - p. 1, Col. 3 - *Comments* *1* *Chinese* *Col. 5*
 - 17, " " " " " " " " - " - p. 2, Col. 3, 4 - *Chile* *San* *Mexico*, *W. 345*

China to business

Confiscate Emperor
used "huare"

- 18. 3. 6. 973 - El Comercio - Ohly - p. 2 - Col 1 -
- 19. " " " " 21. 3. 863 - P. 4 - Col 2 - Comment ad. Documentos
Trade from
- 20. " " " " 26. 3. 863 - P. 2 - Col 1 - Mr. 86, Bate in Business
- 21. " " " " 12. 7. 863 - Ohly - p. 1 - Col 2 - 213 - Guinea
CHICHA
- 22. " " " " 13. 9. 863 - Ohly - p. 2 - Col 1 - p. 2 - Col 1 - Guinea
Ar. rain
- 22. " " " " 16. 4. 863 - Ohly - p. 2, Col 1 - 214 - Guinea
Ar. of Jose
- 23. " " " " 17. 4. 863 - Morán - p. 1, Col 2 - p. 2 - Col 2 - Guinea's Congo
State of Congo
- 25. " " " " 18. 4. 863 - Ohly - p. 2, Col 1 - 1 -
Name of
EMPRESA
- 26. " " " " 20. 4. 863 - Morán - p. 1, Col 2 -
lost in business
- 27. " " " " 21. 4. 863 - Ohly - p. 2, Col 1 -
Ar. of 2 others of reason -
Ar. of Anthony for business
- 28. " " " " 22. 4. 863 - Morán - p. 1, Col 2 -
Carpas Bate Furet case
- 29. " " " " 24. 4. 863 - Morán, p. 1, Col 2 -
Morán Morán Ar.
- 30. " " " " 27. 4. 863 - Morán, p. 3, Col 2 -
Compañia de de -
my favor. Sillp.
- 31. " " " " 28. 4. 863 - Ohly - p. 4, Col 1 -
Ar. of
- 32. " " " " -
Bate about Bate limit of Bate
- 33. " " " " -

- 7. 3. 16. 973 - El Comercio, 30. 4. 863 - Ohly, p. 2 - Col 4
- 8. " " " " 1. 5. 863 - Morán - p. 4, Col 4 -
Escaped from
Thomas Henry Bate
- 9. " " " " 5. 5. 863 - Morán - p. 4, Col 5 -
The connection
between of French to
Spain
- 10. " " " " 8. 5. 863 - Morán - p. 1, Col 3 -
Spain
- 11. " " " " 12. 5. 863 - Morán - p. 1 - Col 1, 3 - 4 -
CHICHA Business y
ChicHA to lost
- 12. 13. " " 13. 5. 863 - Ohly - p. 2 - Col 2, 3 -
Defence of Bate - Chi
Defence of Bate
- 14. 15. " " 16. 5. 863 - Morán - p. 2, Col 1 -
"CHICHA" escapes
- 16. " " " " 18. 5. 863 - Ohly - p. 1, Col 4 -
Ar. of Chica and Negro
- 20. " " " " 25. 8. 63 - Ohly - p. 1, Col 2, 4 -
Ar. of Ohly
- 21. " " " " 23. 5. 863 - " - p. 3 - Col 4 -
Community of Ohly
Rationing for Chile
- 23. " " " " 26. 5. 863 - Ohly - p. 1, Col 2 -
Ar. of feeding others - Bate
even to Chica
- 24. 26. " " 24. 5. 863 - Morán - p. 1, Col 4 - p. 2 - Col 1 -
Ar. of Bate and Chica
- 27. 28. " " 1. 6. 863 - Morán - p. 1, Col 4 - 5 -
Bate's contract with
Bate for Chile
- 29. " " " " 10. 6. 863 - Ohly - p. 2, Col 1 -
For sale
Mortgage given Bate
- 30. " " " " 10. " " " " - p. 3 - Col 1 -
Ar. of Bate
- 31. " " " " 12. 6. 863 - Morán, p. 1, Col 4 - 5 -
ChicHA Bate
Thomas Ohly
- 32. 33. " " 22. 6. 863 - Morán, p. 3, Col 5 - p. 3 - Col 1 - 2 -
Ar. of Bate
Ar. of Bate from Chica
- 34. " " " " 22. " " " " - Morán, p. 1, Col 3 -
Ar. of Bate, Chica
- 35. 36. " " 23. 6. 863 - Ohly, p. 2 - Col 2 - 3 -
Ar. of Bate

IN ROLL EXXI - Paray, B + W

4. 183. 6. 973 - Correos de la casa del Peru por Aurelio
Garcin y Garcia - Lima 1863 - ad. MARIANI
MARIANI Felipe del Suda - 1871 - Diccionario
Geografico e Historico de Peru

35. 36. " " 23. 6. 863 - Ohly, p. 2 - Col 2 - 3 -
Ar. of Bate

IN Roll CXIII PERUV B+W

- 1356973-El Comercio 17.863-MORCH-P1, Col 3. ^{various} ^{located for} ^{criticism}
- 22 " " " 27.863-Ultima - p. 1, Col 2. ^{Chirico} ^{Engr. Do}
- 23 " " " 37.863-MORCH-P1, Col 2. ^{CHARITTY ENGRON} ^{MACHUCA PERU}
- 24 " " " 44 " " - TMOE - P. 1 - Col 3. ^{various}
- 25 " " " 77.863 - MORCH - P. 4 - Col 14. ^{tenor in} ^{criticism}
- 26 " " " 77.863 - TMOE - P. 3, Col 45. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 27 " " " 97.863 - Ultimo - P. 2 - Col 2. ^{DETENIDA OF} ^{SHIPS IN TALKS}
- 28 " " " 117.863 - TMOE. P. 1. Col. 3. ^{various} ^{NAME OF ROYAL} ^{ARMY}
- 29 " " " 137.863 - MORCH - P. 2 - Col 45. ^{various} ^{TENOR}
- 30 " " " 137 " " " - P. 3 - Col 45 - 5. ^{various} ^{SEMPRE} ^{CRISTO}
- 31 " " " 147.863 - Ultimo - P. 1, Col 2. ^{various} ^{Chirico} ^{ENGRON}
- 32 " " " 167.863 - TMOE - P. 3, Col 3. ^{various} ^{MACHUCA}
- 33 " " " 177.863 - MORCH - P. 4, Col 3. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 34 " " " 177.863 - TMOE - P. 1, Col 3. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 35 " " " 177.863 - Ultimo - P. 1, Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 36 " " " 277.863 - TMOE - P. 1, Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 21 " " " 317.863 - Ultimo - P. 1 Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 22 " " " 478.863 - TMOE - P. 1, Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 23 " " " 678.863 - MORCH - P. 2 - Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}

IN Roll CXIII PERUV B+W

- 24256863-El Comercio 68.863-TMOE - P. 1, Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 2571 " " " 77.863 - Ultimo - P. 1 Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 26 " " " 107.863 - MORCH - P. 1 Col 12. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 27 " " " 12 " " " - TMOE - P. 1 - Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 28 " " " 127.863 - Ultimo - P. 2 - Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 29 " " " 137.863 - MORCH - P. 2 - Col 23. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 30 " " " 147.863 - Ultimo - P. 1, Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 31 " " " 147 " " " - P. 2 - Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 32 " " " 177.863 - TMOE - P. 1 - Col 3. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 33 " " " 187.863 - Ultimo - P. 2 - Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 34 " " " 197.863 - MORCH - P. 1, Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 35 " " " 197 " " " - TMOE - P. 1, Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 36 " " " 197 " " " - P. 4, Col 34. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 37 " " " 197.863 - TMOE - P. 1 - Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 38 " " " 247.863 - Ultimo - P. 2 - Col 1. ^{various} ^{REPORT}
- 39 " " " 267.863 - Ultimo - P. 2 - Col 2. ^{various} ^{REPORT}

10266973-El Comercio- 2P.8363-Torre-p.1 Col.1

CINCHOS re C.201

11. " " " 2883863-Torre-p.3 Col.1 ASBATA - Deon. El Comercio "Summing of News for AFOS FEES"

12. " " " 318863-Torre-p.1, Col.1- ab. VIRELINA

13. " " " " " - p.4, Col.1- ab. VIRELINA DR. OF CINCHOS

14. " " " 181863-Uñica-p.3 Col.1- "La Cuesaca Pakutaku

15. 16-17 23 6 863-Uñica-p.2, Col.1-2-3- "Ab. Cuesaca Pakutaku

18. 20-21 " " " " - " - p.3 Col.1, p.4 Col.1-4- "Ab. Cuesaca Pakutaku

19. 22-23 " " " 26 6 863-Uñica-p.2, Col.1, 2- "Relicw of News for ASBATA, "OLENWIN PARANCA" "MIS TAKE"

20. " " " 28 6 863-Uñica-p.3, Col.1- "Residential Messengers" "MIS TAKE"

21. " " " 29 " " " 31 864-Uñica-p.2, Col.1-5- "SANDS ESCAPES"

22. " " " 28 " " " 5 1864-Torre-p.1, Col.1- "SANDS ESCAPES"

23. " " " 29 " " " 7 1 864-Moran-p.2, Col.1- "SANDS ESCAPES"

24. " " " 30 " " " 8 1 864-Uñica-p.1, Col.1- "SANDS ESCAPES"

25. " " " 31 " " " 13 1 864-Torre-p.2, Col.1- "SANDS ESCAPES"

26. " " " 33 " " " 13 1 864-Torre-p.4, Col.1- "SANDS ESCAPES"

27. " " " 33 " " " 11 8 1 864-Torre-p.2, Col.1- "SANDS ESCAPES"

28. " " " 34 " " " " " " " " - " - p.3, Col.1- "SANDS ESCAPES"

IN Roll CXXIV-Peruv. B+W

1866973-El Comercio-191864-p.1, Col.1- Calle Casacalla "Uñica Marina Flees"

20. " " " 28 1 864-Moran-p.1, Col.1- "CINCHOS Common for sale"

21. " " " 27 1 864-Moran-p.1, Col.1- "ABON ESCAPES"

22. " " " 27 1 864-Moran-p.1, Col.1- "URUINA DAVILA FEES"

23. " " " 27 1 864-Moran-p.1, Col.1- "FEES" "Neyru Hingaru Guatakes"

24. " " " 27 1 864-Moran-p.1, Col.1- "FEES" "Expone Summaries for 1863"

25. " " " 27 1 864-Moran-p.1, Col.1- "FEES" "Paura OGRE DEN BLAW & "WIGARS still missing"

26. " " " 27 2 864-Torre-p.1, Col.2-3 "Engels + Pears for Darwin" "MARE DELICATE FEES"

27. " " " 27 2 864-Uñica-p.4, Col.1- "MARE DELICATE FEES"

28. " " " 27 2 864-Uñica-p.1, Col.1, 2. "MARE DELICATE FEES"

29. " " " 27 2 864-Moran-p.3, Col.4. "MARE DELICATE FEES"

30. " " " 27 2 864-Uñica-p.2, Col.1- "MARE DELICATE FEES"

31. " " " 27 2 864-Moran-p.2, Col.1- "MARE DELICATE FEES"

32. " " " 27 2 864-Uñica-p.2, Col.1- "MARE DELICATE FEES"

33. " " " 27 2 864-Uñica-p.2, Col.1- "MARE DELICATE FEES"

34. " " " 27 2 864-Uñica-p.2, Col.1- "MARE DELICATE FEES"

35. " " " 27 2 862-Uñica-p.2, Col.1- "CINCHOS ARE"

Seguros. to improve
Cathedral Church SIT.

- 34. 26.6973-El Comercio - 175.862-Uñua - p.2, Col.5, p.3, Col.1 - ^{FRENCH} coins
- 35. " " 31.5.862-Uñua - p.2, Col.2, - ^{CASA + RAYON} coins
- 39. " " 11.0.862-Uñua - p.2, Col.2, - ^{GOMEZ MIERANDA} coins
- 30. " " 12.6.862-Uñua - p.2, Col.1, ^{CRISTIANI} coins
- 31. 24. " 13.6.862-MORA - p.1, Col.1-2 - ^{CRISTIANI Y REY} coins
- 33. " " 13.6.862 " - p.2, Col.3-4-5 - ^{CATHEDRAL} coins
- 34. " " 17.6.862-Uñua - p.2, Col.1 - ^{AR.} coins
- 35. " " 16.6.862-Uñua - p.1, Col.1 - ^{BOUT FOR} these
- 36. " " 26.4.862-MORA - p.2, Col.3-4 - ^{CONCORD} coins

IN Roll CXXV-

- 197.6973 - FORT FROM NAT. LIB. SALAS - PUZZA COASTLINE, 5.2.7973; VARIOUS INTERESTING BAPTISM CARDS
- 34. Y CALLE DE LA INDUPERACION DEL PALMO AÑO 1860/6 " " IN PISCO - PROB. NOME OF POLYMERAS.
- 527.6973 - EL COMERCIO - 179.863 - MORA - p.2, Col.4 TO ENCL. 79 dentras RECORDED - LIBRO
- 6. 7. " " 11.0.863 - Uñua - p.2-3, Col.5-1 - ^{VIUDA} RECORDS
- 8. " " 6.5.110.863 - MORA - p.2, Col.1 - ^{POLIMERAS Y VIRUEN}
- 9. 13. " " 6.863 - TARAPE - p.4, Col.1, 2, 3 - ^{PERU Y SHIP}
- 14. " " 6.3.7.862 - P1, Col.1 - ^{AÑO OF CRISTIAN}
- 16. " " 11.9.13.862 - P4, Col.3-4 - ^{CATHEDRAL TARAPE}

- 17. 27.6.73 - EL COMERCIO - 19.7.862 - TARAPE - p.1, Col.2 - ^{CRISTIAN} coins
- 18. " " 12.8.862 - TARAPE - p.1, Col.2-3 - ^{CHIRCHA TARAPE}
- 19. " " 18.8.862 - MORA - p.3, Col.1 - ^{BARCELONA GOMEZ DAMAGED}
- 20. " " 19.8.62 - MORA - p.4, Col.4 - ^{USE OF RECORDS IN CATHEDRAL}
- 21. " " 6.9.862 - TARAPE, p.1, Col.3 - ^{WITNESSED THE DEATHS FOR CHILDREN}
- 22. " " 12.9.862 - TARAPE, p.1, Col.4-5 - ^{BOUT SET FOR PAIS TRANSFER}
- 23. " " 12.9.862 - TARAPE, p.1, Col.1, 2 - ^{CATHEDRAL TARAPE}

IN Roll CXXVI - PEEUV. B.W.

- 227.6973 - EL COMERCIO, 139.862 - Uñua - p.2, Col.1 - ^{ARCAHANT}
- 4. " " 11.2.9.12.862 - MORA - p.1, Col.3-4 - ^{CATHEDRAL TARAPE}
- 34. " " 3.7.973 - LIBROS DE DEFUNCIONES
- 34. " " 3.7.973 - LIBROS DE DEFUNCIONES
- 3 bits - LIBROS DE DEFUNCIONES DE CAS
- ISSUES DE CATHEDRAL QUE COMEZO EN
- 1961 Y TERMINOS EN 1871 Y MARTEL - MORA
- MONEDAS - PISCO.

Roll CXXVII

KOROMAKHAME X

137973	VIEW OF SENEGAL STATION FROM SAN LAPOULLE	31. " " "	APRON VIEW, TO EAST, OF CHINESE HOUSE ONLY SAID HOUSE ON NORTH SIDE, THEN FROM LIVING QUARTERS	WA	2035
3. " "	"CHINESE SUR. THE SMALLEST LOOKING SW	WA 22. " " "	GENERAL VIEW ACROSS ISLAND	WA	2035
3. " "	"CHINESE CEMETERY"	WA 23. " " "	"NEW" HOUSE FOR WORKERS	WA	2035
4. " "	"CHINESE HOUSE"	24. " " "	SAME HOUSE BUT WITH CHIMNEY OF KITCHEN SHOWING DATE OF "1939"	WA	2035
5. " "	CHINESE SUR	25. " " "	EMPLOYERS OFFICES - FACING DOOR	TF	2035
6. " "	CHINESE SUR	26. " " "	TUG BOAT GRASS ME - "TOMMY"	TF	2035
7. " "	NO COAST OR CHINESE CEMETERY	27. " " "	OTHER SAID BENCH	WA	2035
8. " "	SO COAST OF CHINESE HOUSE	28. 30. " "	POINT WHERE BOAT COULD STOP - CAPT GELIN POINT WITH A POSTER TRUCK - "SIN. WANG FINE"	TF	2035
9. " "	NORTH TOWER (CATERING) OR CHINESE HOUSE	31. " " "	BOSS BOSS POINT SEEN BY PASSENGERS - "M. GARDY"	TF	2035
10. " "		32. " " "	OTHER SIDE OF CLIFF IS CEMETERY	WA	2035
11. " "	CHINESE HOUSE TO E, LOOKING, CEMETERY, CHINESE RIF, THE POINT	33. " " "	EAST COAST OF CEMETERY	TF	2035
12. " "	CHINESE HOUSE, NOMINATION OF BUNG.	34. " " "	REAR COAST OF ISLANDS	TF	2035
13. " "	CHINESE HOUSE, DOCK NEXT TO ANKLE-BEACH.	35. " " "	POSS LOCAT. OF TOWN MARKET	TF	2035
14. " "	AREA IN NORTH POINT THAT LOOKS LIKE THE CEMETERY	36. " " "	PANORAMIC VIEW OF ISLANDS DE CHINESE EMPLOYERS ON CHINESE HOUSE	WA	2035
15. " "	GEN. HOUSE THAT LOOKS NORTH.	37. " " "	PHOROMIC VIEW OF ISLANDS DE CHINESE EMPLOYERS ON CHINESE SUR	WA	2035
16. " "	VIEW TOWARDS CEMETERY - 2ND PARK				
17. " "	APRON VIEW TO RIGHT (WORLD) OF ABOVE				
18. " "	CHINESE CEMETERY				
19. " "	TELEPHONE OF ONE OF THE GRID CUMPOS				
	"GALLEY" "CUMPOS" IS NOW IN CEMETERY				

Roll CXXVIII

CATHEDRAL OF TACUNA, "WHERE LEVINAGE MET HINDRAGI"

3.

1-2. 9. 7. 9. 7. 3.

Appendix VI

Paroq
 Be SAN LAZARO - Petrus N. Polines
 ARCHIVO - 02537

Fecus	Paroq	Fecha	Nombre	Paroq	Egno	Eufrem	Proceder	Cur
30/4	Paroq	Fecha	Nombre	Paroq	Egno	Eufrem	Proceder	Cur
S. LAZARO		27.6.	Petrus N	Polines	30	Ataque ginecico		30
S. Ana		30.6	Pedro N.	Polines	?	Vivela		30
"		"	CAU ROI	"	?	"		31
"		2.7	Fambrell Polines Sivientes	"	34	Tuberculosis		31
"		"	Va Polinesa Del Hospital	"	?	"		34
"		9.7	Herero Polines Catalico	Polina	26	"		36
"		14.7	Polines Fuhil	Polines	30	Costo [Polines]		41
CERCAO		19.7	Carmen Sanchez	"	16	Vivela		?
"		24.7	Pedro Fum	"	20	Vivela (Refuand)		?
S. Ana		11.8.	Maria Almonacid	"	20	Serranona		?
HOSPITAL			Refugio o Hospital			Refuand		
25.9.1941	S. Marcelo		Maria Rodriguez	"	11 yos	TISIS		

ICA
FR. NORMAN D. ROSE
MUSEO REGIONAL
Director, NIDOLFO BERMUDEZ
JENKINS (Dr.)
SINCE ICA

Beneficiarios de Lima 26.692

Fecha	Paroq	Nombre	Padre	Edad	Estrato	Proceder	Dir. Inv.
17.8	Cercas	Manuel Lavi	Polivino	20	Vincha	Refugio	Foz. com. 1
1.10.	Sayansi	ESPOSAS		?	Foz. com. 3
29.10	Cercas	Mano. C. Sanchez	"	16	TISIS	Sra Ana	Foz. com. 1
"	Por de Policia	D. Mariela Relaque	"	?	"	Refugio	Nicho 23y
"	"	ESPOSAS		?	"	"	Nicho com. 5. Pagan 23
Mediana 20.11.	Huerfano	Eleuterio Luylla	"	6 mos	Palomina	Espania	Foz. com. 3.
15.2.84	S. Seasr.	Manuel Garcia	"	6 yrs.	Quemada	S. Ande.	Foz. com. 2
16.2.84	S. Ana	Tomás Cayupuro	"	20 yrs	Quemada	"	Foz. com. 1
"	"	Una	"	?	Industriales	"	Foz. com. 1
15.3.84	Cercas	Luzardo Toralco	"	12 yrs	Vincha	Refugio	Foz. com. 1
25.4.84	S. Marcelo	Maria Rodriguez	"	11 yrs	TISIS	Sra Ana	Foz. com. 1

FECINA	Paroq.	Monarca	Parrna	EDOO	EUREM	Pres.	ENDEROO
295864	Sagorob	MARIN C. FOSSICO	Pollina	14 4/2	TISIS	SITA AENA	S. Juan - Fozn Aguaric
56864	Cocubo	MANUEL CANCA	Pollina	15 4/20	ICERICIA	REGORD	S. Juan - Fozn com. 1
76864	Sagorob	CARSEN PEZES	Pollina	30 "	TISIS	SM AUA	S. Juan - Fozn com. 1
67864	SM AUA	SAMUEL USINE	Pollina	7 "	FIEZAS	S. Audei	S. Juan - Fozn com. 1
187864	Cocubo	FERNANDO CANCA	"	15 "	DICENTIA	REGORD	"
48864	SM AUA	JOSE MAYO	"	18 "	FIEZAS TIEBIA	S. Audei	"
278864	SM AUA	BERNARDINE CASTAÑEDA	"	50 "	FIEZAS	PANCOYUA	"
49864	S. UZAO	MARIN M.	"	25 "	POLLINIA	PANCOYUA	"
129864	S. AUA	DOLORES ALMORADI	"	20 "	TISIS	S. AUA	"
711864	S. AUA	SAMUEL SAIS	"	20 "	TB	S. Audei	"
2911	"	MANUEL M	"	20 "	TB	"	S. Bernardine Fozn com. 1
92864	Cocubo	PABLO SACO	CANCA	16 "	TB	REGORD	S. Felipe NEPI Fozn com. 1
272864	S. AUA	JOSE M.	Pollina	24 "	TICIS	S. Audei	"
61865	Sagorob	IVES ROMERO	"	16 "	DICENTIA	S. AUA	S. Bernardine com. 1
53864	SM AUA	MARCELO M.	CANCA	7 "	TB	S. Audei	"
203864	SM AUA	RODOLFO JOSE ORRILLIO	Pollina	14 "	DICENTIA	PANCOYUA	"
289864	Sagorob	MARIN SORIANO	"	16 "	TICIS	S. AUA	S. Felipe NEPI Fozn com. 1

FECINA	Paroq.	Monarca	Parrna	EDOO	EUREM	Pres.	ENDEROO
291863	SM AUA	M. N.					
251863	S. UZAO	M. N.					
422863	S. AUA	M. N.					
72863	S. AUA	Corob					
822863	S. UZAO	M. N.					
132863	Sagorob	PAU					
192863	S. AUA	Pele					
222863	Sagorob	M. N.					
"	Cocubo	M. N.					
242863	S. AUA	M. N.					
252863	"	MOR					
262862	"	MARIN					
292862	"	MARIN					
"	"	M. N.					
282862	"	BUJ					
13862	Sagorob	M. N. Corob					
23862	Sagorob	M. N.					

Prov. Enderros

Acuit No. 62536

ENERO DE 1862 - JULIO DE 1863

FECHA	PAROQ.	NOMBRE	PAIS	EDAD	ESTADUS	PROCELENCIA	DOMICILIO
24.1.863	San Juan	N.M. Hom	Canca	22	Dicenteria	S. Andres	San Juan - Forta Com. I
25.1.863	S. Juan	M. M.G. Hom	Canca	3	Dicenteria	Paracurim	San Juan "
4.2.863	S. Juan	N.M. DOUITO Hom	Canca	3	TUSIS	S. Andres	" "
7.2.863	S. Juan	Coroque N. Trudis	Policia	28 Añ.	TUSIS	S. Juan	" "
8.2.863	S. Juan	N.M. Polierama	Canca	27 Añ.	Pulmonia	S. Juan	S. P. D. "
12.2.863	S. Juan	PAU N. - MUSEN	Policia	20	TUSIS	San Juan	" " "
19.2.863	S. Juan	Pedro CANCANS	Canca	3	Dicenteria	S. Andres	" " "
22.2.863	S. Juan	N.M.	Policia	28 Añ.	Dicenteria	S. Andres	" " "
"	Canca	N.M.	"	24 Añ.	Fiebre Amarilla	Refrido	" " "
24.2.863	S. Juan	N.M.	"	22 Añ.	Dicenteria	S. Andres	" " "
25.2.863	" "	MARIA N	"	31	Sarampion	S. Juan	" " "
26.2.863	" "	MARIANO CANCA	"	23	Dicenteria	S. Andres	" " "
29.2.863	" "	Maria Ponzon	"	14	"	S. Juan	" " "
"	" "	N.M.	"	48 Añ.	Fiebras	S. Andres	" " "
29.2.863	" "	Alfonso Ponzon	"	14	Dicenteria	S. Juan	S. Juan - Forta Com. I
1.3.863	S. Juan	N.M. CANCA - MUSEN QUE PASO EN CANCA	Canca	3	Sarampion	Paracurim	" "
23.8.62	S. Juan	N.M. - HOMBRE	Canca	3	Pulmonia	"	" "

FECHA	PARROQUIA	NOMBRE	SEXO	PARISH	EDAD	ENFERMEDAD	PAIS	ENTRADA
33863	S. Lázaro	N.N.	H	CAHUA	7	DICENTRINA	PARAGUAY	S. PRO BERNARD
53862	S. ANA	Maria M	M	Polinesia	30	DICENTRINA	S. ANA	S. ANA " "
"	"	N.N.	M	"	28	FISIS	"	" " "
63863	S. VICENTE	Martin Gonzalez	M	"	20	DICENTRINA	"	" " "
73863	S. ANA	"FATAKI M. HOMBRE"	"	"	?	DICENTRINA	S. ANA	S. PRO " "
93863	S. ANA "	BEHAMITH M	M	CANACO	12	NEUMONIA	"	S. ANA " "
103863	S. ANA	JUNTA GAMOFFA I M	M	Polinesia	20	FISIS	S. ANA	" " "
"	"	CAJETANA CASSILLO M	M	"	18	Hemorragia	"	" " "
"	"	MARIN GAMOMAI M	M	"	18	Pulmonia	"	" " "
113863	Cecilio	Manuel M	M	Ocaso S. ANA	4	VRUELAS	REPUBLICA	S. PRO " "
"	"	N.N. CANACA	H	"	24	"	"	" " "
123863	S. ANA	JOSEFA COSA GAMOFFA	"	Polinesia	24	FISIS	S. ANA	" " "
133863	S. VICENTE	Mercedes N.	"	"	24	"	"	" " "
143863	S. MARCELO	Maria GAYO	"	"	10	DICENTRINA	"	" " "
"	S. ANA	QUILMANA N	M	"	45	FISIS	"	S. ANA " "
"	Cecilio	N.N. CANACA	M	S. ANA	24	VRUELAS	REPUBLICA	" " "
163863	S. Lázaro	JUAN REVENTON	"	Polinesia	13	DEARRIAS	S. ANA	" " "
"	S. ANA	ICAROL CANACO CANTILLES	"	"	17	NEUMONIA	"	" " "
11	"	JULIO CANACO	"	"	20	NEUMONIA	"	" " "

EL Com. Reports

26.6.973

Comercio Semas From 15862 to 13874

Arca No. 02536-1,862 to 7,863

FECHA	Parag.	Nombre	Sexo	Patrn	Edad	Enferm.	Proc.	ENFER
16.3.863	SM Aha	José Antonio	H	Politeo	20	Dicenteria	S. Ahores	SM Aha - Azobem, 1
"	"	M.N. CAJUCA	M	Politeo	7	Sarampión	S. Aha	S. Pro
17.3.863	Cerudo	M.N. CAJUCA	H	Cajuco	20	Viruela	REFUGIO	"
18.3.863	Soyotlán	M.N. CAJUCO	H	Politeo	25	Sarampión	S. Ahores	"
"	SARAC	M.N. CAJUCO	H	Politeo	3	CANCER	PARROQUIA	"
"	S. Aha	MARIA REVENGA	M	Politeo	17	TSL	S. Aha	"
20.3.863	Soyotlán	PASQUEM LEMBKE		Politeo	22 M	Dicenteria	"	"
21.3.863	"	José Gonzalo		"	12	"	PARROQUIA	S. Aha
"	"	Pedro T. Gonzalo		"	13	"	"	"
4.4. "	S. Aha	LOIS POLITEO		"	16	"	"	"
"	Cerudo	M.N.		"	20	Viruela	REFUGIO	S. Pro
23.3.863	S. Aha	MARIA GUAYCO	H	"	20 H	Denterias	S. Ahores	S. Aha
25.3.863	Cerudo	M.N.	H	"	20	Viruela	REFUGIO	"
26.3.863	Soyotlán	M.N.	H	"	3	TB	PARROQUIA	"
"	S. Aha	CARMEN BESENA		"	22	TCLIS	S. Aha	"
"	"	JUAN REBENA		"	12	Aurem	S. Andres	"
"	"	M.N.	H	"	3	Dicenteria	"	"
27.3.863	Cerudo	M.N.	H	"	84	Viruela	REFUGIO	S. Pro
28.3.863	Soyotlán	M.N.	H	"	3	FIEBRES	PARROQUIA	"
"	S. Aha	M.N.	H	"	30	Denterias	S. Ahores	S. Aha
29.3.863	Soyotlán	PABLO ROMANES		"	3	Dolores	"	"
"	S. Aha	Pedro Politeo		"	15	Denterias	"	"

		Arca. No. 02536		1.862		7.863		18.864	
FECHA	PARROQUIA	NOMBRE	SEXO	Parroquia	EDAD	ENFERMEDAD	Residencia	ENTRADA	FECHA
30.7.863	S. ANA	Luisa Gamonal		Polhesia	14	TICIS	S. Ana	S. Ana - Fozn Com. I	17.4.863
31.3.863	Sagrario	Manuel Peres		"	16	TICIS	"	"	18.4.863
"	"	N. N.	H	"	18	ESCOZBUTO	S. Andrés	"	19.4.863
24.8.63	WMA II	LKI CANCO	H	"	40	DERRRAS	"	"	23.4.863
"	S. ANA	Luis GUITOPA		CANACO	20	DERRRAS	"	"	25.8.63
"	"	Manuel N		"	22	"	"	"	26.4.863
5.4.863	"	CAPOE CANACO	H	Polhesia	25	"	"	"	29.4.863
"	"	Manuel Valles		"	3	"	Comunera	"	2.5.863
"	"	LORÉ BARBARA	M	"	14	TISIS	S. Ana	"	6.5.863
6.4.863	SAGRARIO	MODESTA Caballero	M	"	30	TISIS	Hort. Flores	"	9.5.863
"	"	MUTAZAN Polhesia	H	"	7	DERRRAS	S. Andrés	"	13.5.862
7.4.863	S. ANA	N. N. CANACO	H	"	7	VIRUELAS	Refugio	"	18.5.863
"	"	COLUQUI N	H	"	20	DERRRAS	S. Ana	"	3.6.863
8.4.863	"	N. N. CANACO	H	"	20	VIRUELAS	Refugio	S. Pto. A. Niño Com. 1	8.6.863
9.4.863	CERCADO	PEDRO CANACO		"	20	DERRRAS	S. Andrés	S. Pto. Fozn Com. I	13.6.863
11.4.863	S. ANA	MAHUELA Salazar		"	15	TICIS	S. ANA	"	17.6.863
12.4.863	S. LAZARO	N. N. CANACO	H	"	?	SERRANO	Passojun	"	
13.4.863	S. LAZARO	N. N. CANACO	H	"	?	DECENTERID	Refugio	"	30.6.865
"	CERCADO	N. N. CANACO	H	"	?	DERRRAS	S. Andrés	"	9.7.865
14.4.863	S. ANA	N. N. CANACO	H	"	19	DERRRAS	Refugio	"	18.7.865
"	CERCADO	N. N. CANACO	M	"	30	DICENTERID	S. Andrés	"	31.7.865
16.4.863	S. ANA	N. RODRIGO	H	"	20	TICIS	Refugio	"	7.9.865
"	CERCADO	JOSE RAMIRES		"	16	VIRUELAS	Refugio	"	

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ARCHIVO NRO 02536 1.862 A 7863

IDENTIFICACION	FECHA	PROCESO	NOMBRE	SEXO	PATRIA	EDAD	ENFERMEDAD	PROCEDE DE	ENTRADA
S. Ana	174863	REPOSICION S. ANA	M. MORA	M	Polinesia	22	DIABETES	REPOSICION S. ANA	S. Pto - Fozn Com. No. 1
" "	184863	" "	Fernandez	H	"	18	"	S. ANDES	S. Ana - " " "
S. Andres	194863	" "	ALFONSO MORA	H	"	26	SERAPIUM	" "	" " " " "
" "	234863	CERCAO	CARMELO N.	"	"	20	VIRUELAS	REFUGIO	S. Pablo - Fozn Com. No. 1
" "	254863	S. ANA	CARLOS N.	H	"	23	TICIS	S. ANDES	S. Pto - Fozn Com. No. 1
" "	264863	" "	SIMON M.	"	"	7	DICENTERIA	" "	" " " " "
" "	294863	" "	Pedro Pella	"	"	17	SERAPIUM	S. ANDES	" " " " "
Sm. Ana	65863	" "	JOSE BEVENGA	"	"	30	DICENTERIA	" "	" " " " "
Hogar Pto	95863	" "	FRANCISCO MORA	"	"	20	TISIS	" "	S. Pablo - " " "
S. Andres	135863	" "	MIGUEL LOZANO - GIBILO	"	"	36	DICENTERIA	Paroquia	" " " " "
REFUGIO	185863	" "	Virginia Saco "Carolina"	"	"	14	TISIS	S. ANA	STOS. INOCENTES - C-19 - Fozn 1
S. Ana	36863	CERCAO	Isac M.	H	"	13	FIEBRAS	S. ANDES	" " " - B-21 - "
REFUGIO	86863	" "	María Saco M.	M	Isa. Guay	10	VIRUELAS	REFUGIO	" " " - C-27 - "
S. Andres	136863	S. ANA	María GAZARÉ	"	ISLAS GUAYAS	16	VIRUELAS	" "	S. Pablo - B-22 - "
S. Ana	176863	Singente	JOSE AGUIRRE	"	Polines	20	Neumonia	S. ANDES	STOS. INOCENTES - C-31 - "
Paroquia	" "	" "	María ALSMORA	"	Polinesia	17	TICIS	S. ANA	S. Pablo - A-26 - "
REFUGIO	306865	S. Ana	JOSE ORLANDO	"	IND. OREN	19	A POSZEMA	Paroquia	STELLE - D-31 - Fozn. 1
S. Andres	97865	CERCAO	Manuel Sotomayor	"	Polinesia	20	VIRUELAS	REFUGIO	" " " - D-33 - " " "
REFUGIO	187865	Singente	JOHN DOORON	"	"	13	TISIS	S. ANDES	" " " - C-37 - " " "
S. Andres	317865	S. ANA	María N. GÜLLEN	"	"	18	Polmonia	Paroquia	" " " - B-42 - " " "
REFUGIO	79865	" "	TERESA SAO	"	CAHUA	20	VIRUELAS	REFUGIO	" " " - C-54 - " " "

ARCHIVO NRO. 02538-6.865 A 1.868

FECHA		ARCHIVO		OAS 38		6.865-1, 868	
Paracouia	Paracouia	Home	Sexo	Portin	Edad	ENFERMEDAD	HOSPITAL
Paracouia	Paracouia	Home	Sexo	Portin	Edad	ENFERMEDAD	HOSPITAL
8.9.865	Cecilio	MANUELA SAO	M	CANCA	80	VIRUELOS	REFUGIO
179.865	SM ANA	Rolfo CRISTIANO		POLINESIA	25	TISIS	S. Aules
219.865	S. SEASTAN	Carlos Chali		CANCA	45	TB	" "
309.865	" "	MARLANA PAREJA		POLINESIA	18	TISIS	S. AUA
7.1.866	S. LAZARO	FERNANDO MALPARCHO		"	6mos.	Pulmonitis	PARACOUIA
18.1.866	" "	MARTA ROZA		"	27	HEPATITIS	S. AUA
12.2.866	S. AUA	MANUEL CANCA		POLINESIA	25	TB	S. AULES
8.3.866	" "	Tomás MURUCUYNE		POLINESIA	20	TB	" "
" "	" "	N. N. MORENA	H	"	?	Deltium Tremor	" "
22.3.866	SAGORIO	MARIA SAOS	M	POLINESIA	25	TISIS	S. AUA
14.5.866	" "	CIRIANO EDUARDO		POLINESIA	30	DICENTERIA	S. AULES
4.6.866	SAGORIO	CARMEN CAVERO		POLINESIA	23	TB	S. AUA
3.10.866	S. SEASTAN	MARIA MARIA LA ROSA		POLINESIA	14	TB	" "
8.11.866	SAGORIO	ROSA SERAMET		" Polonia "	12	Colico	PARACOUIA
3.13.867	S. LAZARO	MARIA SANTIAGO		" Oceania "	20	TISIS	S. AUA
4.5.867	S. AUA	MARIA ROSAS		POLINESIA	20	HIDROPSIA	PARACOUIA
19.6.867	SAGORIO	MANUEL BAUCAWO		" Polonia "	15	ESCRAPULAS	S. AULES
10.8.867	S. PARACOUIA	PEDRO OLLAGUE SIBIENRE		CANCA	30	TIFUELA	S. PARACOUIA

155 ENTRIES

CHIEFS AT BENEFICENCIA + NOTES 27.6.973
 El Comandante search for ROBERTO Report.
 FOTO LABS NAMES & SUGGESTIONS.
 LOSMULAU + Capt. Wilson Galbarré - Nap. Lib.

THEY KNOW THE CHARACTER. Woman, who is of
Bolivian descent + Mother to do with PASCAR.

TACNA interview

P. 7.973

Benevolencia Statistic

J. H. Luis Carrasco

Quert Juan Arendi TERANO

Suggested looking in BOTH PARISH RECORDS:

- ① SAMO, where Sugar grown in 1860-1870
- ② TACNA.

NOT KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THESE EVENTS

Deaths in PARISHES

Poz de Policia -	<u>San Marcelo</u>	<u>SAN SEBASTIAN</u>	<u>Cercado</u>	<u>Sagrario</u>	<u>Sluzara</u>	<u>SAN</u>
1	2	4	26	26	17	77

HUERFANOS

1

SAN BARTOLOME

1

MEM = 101

WOMEN = 54

AGES

45-1; 48-1; 50-1

	6mos	4	6	7	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	22	23	24	25	26	28	30	34	36	40	?
<u>MEN</u> N=101	2	1	1	2	4	4	1	4	5	2	3	2	20	3	2	4	4	2	1	5	1	1	1	22
N=54 <u>WOMEN</u>	10	1	1	12	14	15	16	17	18	20	22	23	24	25	27	28	30	31	45	?				
	2	1	1	7	1	4	2	4	12	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	3	

DISEASES

DISEASE	MEN	WOMEN	Total
Tsis/TB	20	25	45
DICENTARY	20	9	29
Smallpox	16	9	25
DARHER SERAMPION	14	0	14
Menses	5	3	8
Pulmonia	4	4	8
PNEUMONIA	4	0	4
TYPHOID	2	0	2
ANEMIA	1	0	1
APOSTEMA POSSY T B	1	0	1
"GASTRIC ATTACK"	1	0	1
BURN	1	0	1
CANCER	1	0	1
Colic	0	1	1
Delirium Tremens	1	0	1
Fever	5	0	5
HEPATITIS	0	1	1
HYDROPESSIA CARDIAC INSUFFICIENCY	0	1	1
ESCHOPOLIS	1	0	1
ESCHOPUT VIMMEN (Def.)	1	0	1
PAINS	1	0	1
Hemorrhage	0	1	1
ICTERICIA	1	0	1
Yellow Fever	1	0	1
	101	54	

N = 155

Appendix VII

FRIEND, VICTOR.

VICTOR GAVE ME PERMISSION TO GO TO THE ISLANDS IN THE MORNING TOMORROW. HE SAID THAT HE KNEW NOTHING OF THE GRAVEYARD THERE OR OF ARCHIVES + DOUBTED THAT THEY EXISTED. HE SAID THAT SO FAR AS HE KNEW, DEAD ON THE CHINCHAS WERE TAKEN TO A SPECIAL BURIAL ISLAND, CALLED "LA VIEJA."

I CAME BACK INTO TOWN WITH THE SENAPER BUS.

THEN, I WENT TO THE PARAGUAI + SPOKE TO P. ANTONIO. AT FIRST, HE EVINced SCePTICISM + DIDN'T KNOW, BUT HE ODD BEGIn TO SEARCH. THE FIRST OF TWO INTERESTING BOOKS THAT HE FOUND WAS: "Libro 3^{bis} - Libro DE DEFUNCIONES DE LAS ISLAS DE CHINCHA QUE COMENZO EN 1861 y TERMINO EN 1871 y matrimonios). Pisco."

BOOK GOES FROM 1861, 62 TO FEB, 864. THEN, JUNE, 865 TO OCTOBER, 865 - Break TO 1869, TO FEBRUARY. THEN, 1870 y 1871, TOGETHER. LAST ONE 25.12.971. TOTAL NUMBER OF DEFUNCIONES = 80.

THE MARRIAGES GO TO 864 + ARE 64 IN NUMBER - I PHOTOGRAPHED THEM ALL.

THEN, BOOK 7 - 1859-1863, Pisco

Book goes from 1861, 62 to Feb, 864.
THEN, June, 865 to October, 865 - Break
to 1869, to February. THEN, 1870 & 1871,
together. Last one 25.12.971. Total
Number of DEFUNCIONES = 80.

THE MARRIAGES go to 864 + ARE 64 IN
NUMBER - I Photographed THEM ALL.

THEN, BOOK 7 - 1859-1863, Pisco
BAUTIZOS - - - Nothing

THEN:

"Libro 8 de Parroquia de Bautismos.
Bautismos ADMINISTRADOS EN EL ORATORIO DE
NRA. SRA. DE LAS MERCEDES DE LAS ISLAS
DE CHINCHA - ANEXO DE S. CLEMENTE DE
PISCO. AÑOS DIC. DE 1860 A OCTO DE
1871."

TITLE + SEVERAL INTERESTING
ENTRIES PHOTOGRAPHED, BUT NOTHING TO DO
WITH POLYNESIANS. APPARENTLY, A SMALL
TOWN THERE, MIXED + INTERNATIONAL.
CHILDREN BORN IN ALL MONTHS, WITH A
TOTAL OF 291 IN ALL, ONLY 31 OF
THEM BEING LEGITIMATE. THE PADRE
WAS ABSENT FROM 4.864 TO 2.865
DUE TO THE SPANISH PRESENCE. THE
LAST ENTRY WAS 28.10.871. DETAILS
OF THE SETTLEMENT WERE UNKNOWN TO
THE PRESENT PADRES.

and represents a composition with
TANCA - Peruvians seem to have
 great difficulty with "foreign words"

Appendix I

PERUVIAN INFO in book

5.7.973

<u>INFO</u>	<u>Ref</u>
MAHUIRI by Peruv. - Stayed in Tahiti	- p.3
PAKOMIO MAORI by Peruv. - Ret. to Isle	- p.3
<u>Aubrey to Tahiti</u>	- p.3
ROE A TEA - by Peruv. + Ret to Isle	- p.6
TE REN HUTE - by Peruv. + Stayed in Tahiti	- p.6
<u>TE ANA - to Tahiti</u>	p.7
ANTONIO ARIQA - by Peruv. Stayed Tahiti	p.15
MARA TEMANU, to Peruv. - Tahiti long since	p.19
MARATE PARU VAKA, to Peruv. Tahiti long since	p.19
RIVA AUKI, by Peruv. - Never returned	p.25
MAKE Peruv. took, by came to Tahiti.	p.25
HEI - 'waked Tahiti for Brandon	p.43
<u>Ure Porahi, went to Tahiti to Ure Porahi</u>	p.39
<u>MAHUHUROA, went to Mangareva w/ Russell</u>	p.71
<u>APATA, went to Mangareva w/ Russell</u>	p.71
TE KIROKEA y REN KOKATUA - Tahiti Land	p.71
<u>TORI went to Mangareva to die there</u>	p.71
People from TIREKUA from TAKUA	p.73
<u>TE'O HIRO Stayed in Mangareva</u>	u

TUPA'S BROTHER TO PERU	p. 21
EDUARDO PUA " "	"
VEHE TUA TO MATUA KUI'A PUA TO PISA-D. RYPS IN	"
EDUARDO'S BROTHER & IN PERU	"
MARCO 'A TAUA HAGA, & IN TAHITI	"
PETERO POKU-O-POKU 'A RENU WENT TO TAHITI WITH PERU.	p. 29
HIRANGI' WENT TO PERU & RETURNED TO ISLAND	p. 147
TERONO, TO PERU, BUT RETURNED TO ISL.	p. 153
URE HUNA MOR, TO TAHITI & BACK HERE	p. 153
REMIANA, TO TAHITI & RETURNED	181
MAITERENA, " " " "	181

TACNA NOTES

6.7.973

J.M.F. Virginia Lazaro Villarej
 Director, Inst. Naval de
 Tacna
 Cochran, ~~Director~~

Pascuense in Peru
Hito rangi
Atamu Tekena
José Nahoe
Dutrou-Bornier
Juan Araki Nai

21.7.972
Inf: Leviante Araki

Appendix II

Kotenene's observation on language

Geogina Riroroko Robberies

In 1968, Leviante Araki went to Lima as part of his training in the Chilean army. When he arrived, journalists asked him where he was from and he said Chile. They said what part of Chile and he said the Pacific part. They said what part of that and he said Isla de Pascua. [all that said with great conviction and care so as to not say one before the other, I think] Presumably, as a result of this notice being published, he ~~was~~ encountered in his hotel, in the centre of Lima a family with an eighty-year old man.

The man, who he only knew as "Abuelo Hitorangi" [he seemed reluctant to tell me the family name], was eighty years old and walked with a stick. He was the son of a Pascuense and never knew his father, but his Peruvian father raised him and told him about his background. He said that the old man looked just like the Hito family. Now, after a while, another old Pascuense came to live in his mother's house and when the "abuelo" was younger, he learned a lot from the man.

Abuelo used old words that Leviante did not know, like "Umiki," meaning "egoism." The man's family came from Rano Raraku to the NE. He mentioned the names of three place names that, when he heard them, Leviante had never heard before. Two of them that he remembered were:

Vai apotu te rangi

Vai Taringa āku-āku.

Now, this old man said that in 1875-1876, the Pascuense were taken from the island to Peru in two ship loads. They were taken first to the Guanera islands.

Now, when the war of 1879 ~~was~~ between Chile and Peru occurred, the Pascuense or, at least, the man who told the abuelo and the son of the king of Pascua (Atamu Tekena) whose name Leviante didn't remember, were called to take part in the Battle of Tacna. There, the Peruvians lost and the king's son was killed and his companion was made prisoner.

The old man then said to Leviante that Tacna ought to be given to Chile and not be kept by Peru. That this case should be put before the United Nations to decide in retribution for the Pascuense having fought in that battle. As I asked several times about this, I'm sure that I didn't get it too wrong. The Abuelo offered to take Leviante to Tacna to show him the exact trench where the king's son fell fighting for the Peruvians.

Now, almost to corroborate this story, Leviante said that José Nahoe had gone to Lima and had stayed three months with that same family. When José and Leviante compared stories, they were the same.

The old man also told about fighting of warring tribes on the island.

Leviante said that he was ashamed that he wasn't able to understand the old man's words and so he told the Abuelo that he had left

Easter Island five years earlier and had, therefore, forgotten his language.

He was only in Lima for fourteen or fifteen days, but during that time he went three times to visit the house in which the Abuelo was living.

The old man also told him that the family has a Moai called, Puku puhi-puhi. Now, he asked his father about this and his father said that the Moai now belongs to his family -- they had won it by conquest. Leviante said to his father that he had no right to the Moai as he had won it by conquest and, therefore, still belonged to the old Hito family and not to the Paté's.

Now, when Leviante left Lima, the old man gave him a Curanto and he presented it to him in the correct way. That is, when the Curanto was opened, Leviante had to smell the odor of the steam and take out the first chicken and bite its crest.

Then, he started to say that he had been waiting a long time to give his blood for his country, Chile. Chile had helped him out and he feels great shame that the son of the King of Easter Island had fought in a battle against "his" Chile. He feels an obligation to repay this debt. He has been waiting for a conflict to occur so that he can give his blood. He was seven years in the army and just left exactly twenty days ago. He reached the grade of First Lt.

He feels that the Pascuense race is good for work, but has a low moral character. It must be crossed with Chilean blood and recorsed again and again. When he said "Chilean," he also said "Aracanian" and "Spanish," as examples of good blood. He wants all of his kids to go into the army and to serve their country.

Then, he got off onto a track which he repeated more than one different way. He said that even if his sons were fighting for an independant Easter Island, he would defend that from happening because he is first and foremost a Chilean. He would fight his own Children, if it were necessary.

Then, he slowly started to go into his family. His mother was very important to him. She, Parapina Araki Pornier, when she died, called Leviante last into the room to give her last words. He is the youngest in the family. He asked her to hold her in his arms and she said that she has never asked any other service in her life from him except now and that was to die for his country -- to serve his country.

As a child, he was raised by Rapu's and, it seemed to him that his mother scarcely wanted to recognize his existance. He did not know who his father was and was always asking everyone who is my father. He even discovered, when he went to apply for his carnet, that his birth hadn't even been registered!

One day, when he was about thirteen, his mother drag ed him by the hair and took him to the Plaza Libertad (near the church) and told him to stop asking about his father and never to do it again. She pointed to the Chilean flag flying above the square and said, "That is your father. Obey it!"

His real father, he believes, did finally recognize when he was forty-four years old. He was wearing his military uniform and he came up Leviante and congratulated him. It was very emotion for Leviante.

He went on to say that he was the first Pascuense to go through full army Cadet training. He was chosen, by the recently assassinated General Schneider, then head of the school, to carry the standard in recognition of this. It was planned to publish a note that Leviante was the first Pascuense to be a soldier, but Leviante said no. The First was actually, Juan Araki Nai, the father of Parapina Araki. He was in the Maipo Regiment, while Palmaceda was President. He gave his name as "Iobani Araki Nai," and Leviante said that he had fought in the civil war of 1890. He had seventeen years of service, before he was killed in battle.

He told me to go to see Amelia Tepano, the wife of Santiago Pakarati, to ask about his ~~fx~~ grandfather and about Amelia Tepano's father's assencion to be Cacique of Easter Island.

The three men who went into the Marina in 1914 were Mateo Veriveri, José Pakarati and, Leviante's father, Domingo Paté.

Leviante also claims descent from Dutrou-Bornier. He said that D-B was the first owner of Easter Island. He had destroyed the church so as to corral his animals and Leviante feels that he may have been somewhat correct in doing this. All the same, he was a pirate. He came to the part about Dutrou-Bornier's death, and he said, with great ceremony, to pardon me, but he could not tell me who killed his great grandfather. The descendants of those who did still live and they would think that he still held it against them for that. He several times and in different times apologised for not being able to tell him who had killed Dutrou-Bornier.

He did, however, claim to have been the person who went and who dug up Dutrou-Bornier's bones and who buried them in the present tomb over-looking the Carabineros's station. He says that he is the only one to carry the Bornier apellido today, as he calls himself Leviante Araki Bornier.

I asked him where his name came from and he said that he really didn't know. Some Japanese have said that it is similar to Japanese names, but Leviante said that he didn't know.

He told me that his oldest son is with CHTEL and is living in Arica. He is going to marry "a pure aracan" on the 23rd (Sunday) of this month and Leviante is sending him a newly slaughtered sheep as a present. He is Emilio Araki Tepano and he was 3 years in the army. His other son, Juan Araki Tepano, is still in the army and, I would gather, on the continent.

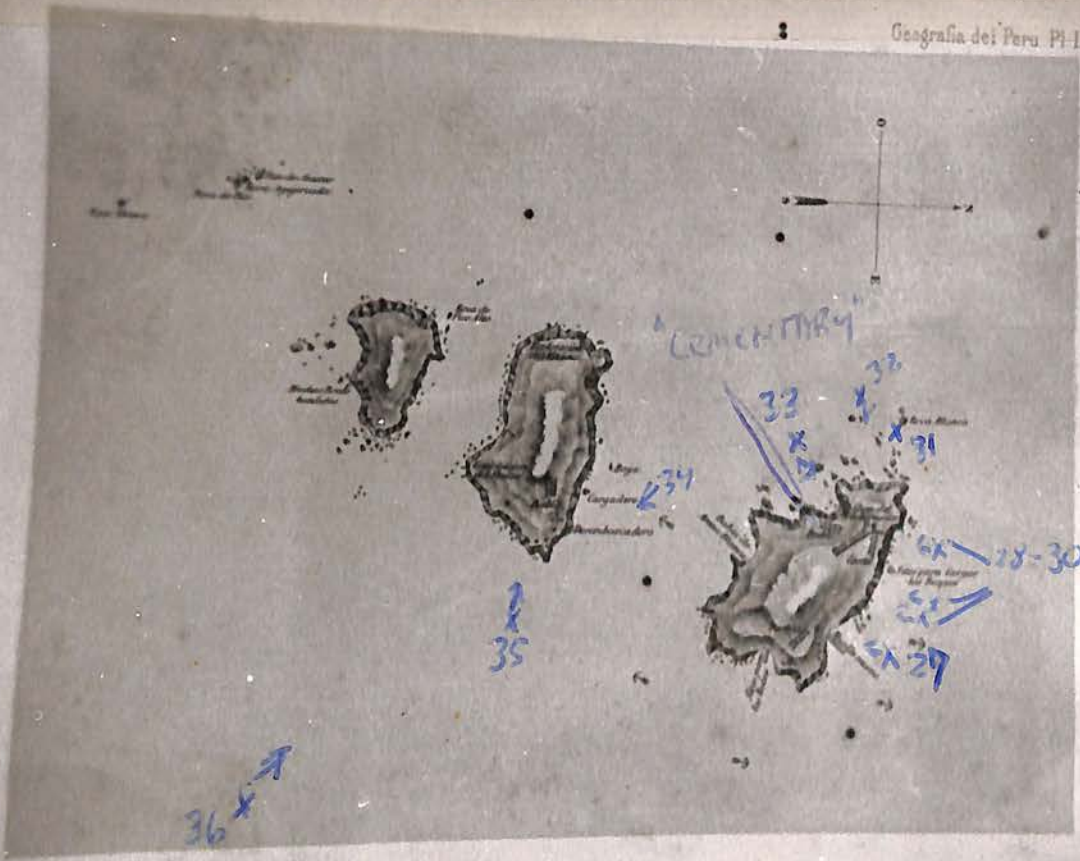
Leviante was Georgina Riroroko Tuki's adopted father.

I met Juan Tepano Kaituoe walking down towards the port. He told me a rather confusing story about Luis Riroroko Tuki robbing his brother Valentin. The viejo, Juan Riroroko was involved here in this. Juan Tepano stepped in and tried to solve the problem, which he thought he did. Then, suddenly yesterday, Leviante Araki advised the Carabineros of the robbery and the Carabineros came to the cinema last night looking for him to testify. He refused to come out. They stopped by this morning at his house and he nearly fought with them. He feel that the matter is a family matter and that the Carabineros have no business in it. Leviante ("el teniente," Juan Tepano called him) feels that it is a matter of law.

Appendix III

Appendix VIII

Geografía del Perú Pl. LX



PLANO DE LAS ISLAS DE CHINCHA