

Je viens de dévorer Slavers in Paradise qui
m'a appris énormément -- tout, en fait --
de choses. L'auteur a fait à un travail
sensationnel de reconstruction et je vous
remercie de m'avoir offert ce livre.

René Pelissier 20 ix 84

[this is from a French fan of mine, who has written
the most marvellous reviews of the Pac since Mag.
He long ago expressed interest in the Peruvian
slaving, so after his last review I sent him a copy
of your book. Could I do less for a man who had
called me, in print, 'l'Herodote du Mer du Sud'?
(of course Herodotous told a lot of 'stories', but
then he told them very well).

"El Comercio" y los polinesios en el Perú

LIBRO
NUEVO

EL COM.

MI-7-X-81

Hugo GUERRA A.

P.2

"El periodismo, según como se ejerce, puede ser la más noble de las profesiones o el más vil de los oficios", decía nuestro recordado patricio, doctor Luis Miró Quesada de la Guerra. Y, precisamente, a continuación presentamos un caso de la nobleza histórica de nuestro diario.

El doctor Henry Evans Maude, de la Universidad de Canberra, Australia, acaba de publicar un libro titulado "Esclavistas en el Paraíso" (Slavers in Paradise), que trata sobre el "tráfico peruano de trabajo en Polinesia entre 1862 y 1864".

En él denuncia cómo es que se "importaba" isleños de los exóticos Mares del Sur para convertirlos en esclavos en el Perú, pese a que en nuestro país la esclavitud ya había sido abolida años antes por el Mariscal Ramón Castilla.

El engaño, practicado por traficantes inmorales ingleses (como el iniciador Joseph Charles Byrne), franceses y luego peruanos, consistía en "enganchar" con falsos aunque prometedores contratos a indígenas de las islas —entre otras— Easter, Niné, Nukulaele, Atafu, Tokelauans, Rarotonga, Naniniki y Nukuhiva, para trabajar como peones o empleados domésticos en las haciendas azucareras y arroceras de la costa peruana. Y, también como trabajadores en las islas guaneras.

Maude explica en su obra que la decisión de traer a los polinesios, se adoptó en razón del fracaso de la venida de los chinos coolies para desempeñar las mismas funciones. La autorización para la inmigración polinesia al Perú apareció en "El Peruano", el 12 de abril de 1862.

Aunque la obra del escritor australiano abarca un periodo de sólo 36 meses del tráfico camufladamente esclavista, da una idea de la impresionante devastación que produjo este fenómeno: por ejemplo, la población de la isla Tuvaiu se redujo de 20 mil a 3 mil personas.

Pero, bien, ¿qué tiene que ver todo esto con nuestro periódico? Dejemos que el propio Maude —en una carta fechada el 7 de setiembre de este año, dirigida al Dr. Alejandro Miró Quesada G.— lo explique: "La razón por la

que nadie puede proteger a los polinesios?

(6) Se denunció que no había una Corte competente para atender las reclamaciones de estos esclavos fugitivos.

(7) Se deploró la mortalidad y el abandono físico y moral de los polinesios en el Perú.

(8) Se aclaró que era inhumano e irracional tratar a los isleños del mismo modo que a los peones peruanos, sin un previo periodo de aclimatización y adaptación alimentaria.

(9) En marzo de 1863, se reclamó en alta voz que se cambiara la legislación sobre inmigrantes orientales "para salvar el honor del Perú y poner fin al tráfico de esclavos".

Las cifras podrían seguir, pero no es nuestro ánimo agotar al lector. Sólo basta resumir en que la voz de "El Comercio" —como lo reconoce Maude— fue oída por la opinión pública peruana y poco tiempo después se terminó con la esclavitud disfrazada de los polinesios.

Ante todo esto, y después de tantos años, cabe señalar el reconocimiento internacional a la trayectoria independiente, nacionalista y valiente de "El Comercio" (salvo bajo el periodo de incautación).

Finalmente, es pertinente plantear un reto a los sociólogos y antropólogos para seguir los rastros de los miles de polinesios que tan humildemente contribuyeron al desarrollo del Perú.

que le envío mi libro es para transmitirle mi admiración por la resuelta y consistente posición adoptada por "El Comercio" sobre la inmigración de polinesios que pronto se convirtió en un encubierto tráfico de esclavos (...) gracias al coraje de este periódico de Lima, la horrible verdad fue revelada y el tráfico detenido".

Surge otra pregunta: ¿qué se hizo para merecer este reconocimiento? El profesor australiano lo resume en la página 154 de su libro: "Al principio, "El Comercio" —con su línea seria e investigadora— se mantuvo en la posición de observador neutral, comentando, por ejemplo, la superioridad física y moral de los polinesios respecto de los coolies. Pero, ya a finales de 1862, cuando el fenómeno se intensificó y se reveló la gravedad de los hechos, el diario condenó el tráfico esclavista y la degradación humana inherente a él. Para mayor credibilidad, "El Comercio" nunca se desvió de su línea, deplorando siempre la mala manera en que el incidente polinesio había sido tratado material y moralmente por la nación. En esta actitud, el matutino limeño mantuvo un mejor nivel que el de la "Revista Americana" y que "El Peruano", el cual, naturalmente reflejaba el punto de vista del Gobierno".

Para ser más específicos, recordemos algunas notas —para no abundar obviemos la cronología—, publicadas por nuestro periódico:

(1) Se dio una descripción cabal de la etnia polinesia, fijando la bondad de su carácter y se les comparó con los "chinos-cholos" de nuestra costa.

(2) Se dijo que eran dóciles e inocentes y que, a pesar de la prepotencia de los traficantes, en las travesías no era necesaria la presencia de guardias armados como con los coolies.

(3) Posteriormente se denunció que cuando los nativos no deseaban "engancharse" con los traficantes, se les capturaba como a animales. Como lo hicieron los tripulantes del "Carolina" y el "Hermosa Dolores" con 282 isleños en diciembre de 1862.

(4) Se motivó la reacción del gobierno francés para proteger a los isleños bajo su protectorado.

(5) A principios del 63 se llegó a la conclusión que los "contratos" eran una farsa. Y se preguntó públicamente: ¿es

Notas Históricas

Los Polinesios

LA ENCENSA, LIMA, 5-5-II-1883, p. 10

La introducción de mano de obra polinesia —destinada a los fundos y haciendas de la costa peruana— se autorizó por ley del 15 de enero de 1861. A partir del año siguiente los polinesios o canacas empezaron a desembarcar en nuestro primer puerto. Sin embargo, no todos arribaban de buena voluntad, por decisión propia, porque hubo casos en que fueron arrancados de sus pueblos violentamente. El capitán de la fragata "Empresa", con el fin de enriquecerse empleó este medio, aunque terminaría por confesar su delito.

Muchas personas de poder económico vieron en los canacas una forma de acrecentar su fortuna. En una carta de José Antonio Barrenechea a su compadre Manuel Ortiz de Zevallos, fechada el 29 de abril de 1863, le decía: "la especulación a que muchos se han lanzado a traer polinesios, nos cuesta ya muchas molestias. Asegúranme que nuestros buques han cometido atrocidades inauditas". En el Callao eran vendidos a 200 y 300 pesos, "cual si fueran esclavos", sin que las autoridades dijeran nada.

El mal trato, el clima y las enfermedades en poco tiempo redujo su número de manera alarmante. El Encargado de Negocios de H. A. había protestado (octubre en 1862) ante el gobierno. El 28 de abril de 1863 se prohibió la inmigración de "colonos asiáticos" (¿eran colonos?), porque el escándalo de tal tráfico humano alcanzaba cada vez mayor dimensión.

Para repatriarlos fue contratada la barca nacional "Adelante", en octubre de 1863, pero según dijo el capitán, en plena navegación "se desarrolló a bordo una fuerte epidemia de viruelas". Puso rumbo a la isla de los Cocos (Costa Rica) y como quien se aligera de lastre los abandonó a su suerte. Vivían 230 de los 429 que salieron del Callao. Pero débiles a causa del mal que padecían, sin medicamentos y sin alimentación adecuada, salvo la que podían conseguir en la isla, estaban destinados a desaparecer. La ballenera "Active" que pasó por allí dio la voz de alarma apenas llegó a puertos peruanos y fue entonces cuando el "Tumbes" salió, a toda vela, desde Paíta al mando del capitán de corbeta Juan Pardo de Zela. En su informe diría que sólo halló a 38 polinesios de ambos sexos y a otras ocho personas entre pasajeros y marinos de la "Adelante"; todos los demás estaban muertos.

Otra nave que también condujo canacas a Oceanía fue la fragata chilena "Ellen Elizabeth". Y el bergantín "Bárbara Gómez", de cuya dotación formó parte el alférez Guillermo Black para comprobar que fuesen conducidos a su destino. De los 358 isleños fallecieron 307 de viruela. A los restantes 51 los desembarcó en la isla de Rapa, Black tuvo la mala suerte de contagiarse de viruelas, pero superó la enfermedad.

Los canacas que se emplearon como dependientes tampoco tuvieron una existencia sosegada. En el decano del 21 de octubre de 1864 se da cuenta de la fuga de uno de ellos, se da su filiación y se expresa que "la persona que lo tenga o sepa de su paradero está obligada a denunciarlo a la Intendencia".

THE VERDICT OF PACIFIC SPECIALISTS

Greg Dening in The Journal of Pacific History:

Harry Maude does all things well and Slavers in Paradise is a small monument to his sense of perfection and his command of Pacific history. From the graceful acknowledgements to the end cover maps the book is crafted and whole. Even the generous illustrations bear the mark of his ingenuity in finding the appropriate and yet the slightly surprising and revealing. Typical of his work, out of dispersed and bare detail in many places and many languages, he has made a story that is factually precise and humanly sensitive. ... It is an ugly story not overlaid in the book with redundant moralizing but effectively laid out with understatement. It is intellectually satisfying as well. Any professional historian will be intrigued with Harry Maude's retrieval system by which he brings to bear nearly 30 years of research experience on the Pacific. Any teacher of history will admire his passion for precision and his optimistic confidence that the relics human beings leave of their lives are always to be found, if one only looks. Any writer will compliment him on the simplicity, directness, and economy of his style. Any one who produces a book in Pacific history will want to emulate the carefulness with which he supports his text with spare but apposite maps and illustration. I admired most the fullness and integrity of the book. Any researcher confronted with similar source material, leached for the most part of drama and colour, will know what imagination it requires, to make an odyssey that survives the Scylla of antiquarianism and the Charybdis of waffle. If I play the skeptic, I cannot think of anything that was not done; if I play the critic I cannot think of anything that was done that should have been done better.

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THE SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY
IN LATIN AMERICA AND
THE CARIBBEAN

D. R. Murray
University of Guelph

TESTING THE CHAINS: RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. By MICHAEL CRATON. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983. Pp. 389. \$29.50.)

SLAVES AND THE MISSIONARIES: THE DISINTEGRATION OF JAMAICAN SLAVE SOCIETY, 1784-1834. By MARY TURNER. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982. Pp. 223. \$25.95.)

SLAVERS IN PARADISE: THE PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE IN POLYNESIA, 1862-1864. By H. E. MAUDE. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. Pp. 244. \$23.50.)

CHILDREN OF GOD'S FIRE: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF BLACK SLAVERY IN BRAZIL. By ROBERT EDGAR CONRAD. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983. Pp. 515. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.50.)

THE ABOLITION OF THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE: ORIGINS AND EFFECTS IN EUROPE, AFRICA, AND THE AMERICAS. Edited by DAVID ELTIS and JAMES WALVIN. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. Pp. 314. \$22.50.)

FREEDOM AND PREJUDICE: THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL. By ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981. Pp. 134. \$23.95.)

LA ABOLICION DE LA ESCLAVITUD EN POPAYAN, 1832-1852. By JORGE CASTELLANOS. (Cali, Colombia: Universidad del Valle, 1980. Pp. 132.)

HISTORIA ECONOMICA Y SOCIAL DE COLOMBIA, TOMO II: POPAYAN, UNA SOCIEDAD ESCLAVISTA, 1680-1800. By GERMAN COLMENARES. (Bogotá: La Correta Inéditos, 1979. Pp. 310.)

In a perceptive essay assessing the impact on Europe of the colonization of the New World, Professor J. H. Elliott wrote: "It is no accident that some of the most important historical work of our own age—preoccupied as it is with the problem of European and non-European, of black and white—should have been devoted to the study of the social, demographic and psychological consequences for non-European societies of Europe's overseas expansion."¹

The outpouring of books on slavery and the slave trade continues, and from each harvest, the discriminating reader can distill new insights on the complex interrelationship between blacks and whites in the colonial societies of the New World. The books reviewed here cover aspects of both the slave trade and slavery in the British West Indies, Colombia, Brazil, and the west coast of South America, and they range in time from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Social and demographic topics predominate.

Two studies help to bring the slave system in the British West Indies back into focus. Michael Craton's *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* is an excellent analysis of the shifting pattern of slave resistance in the plantation colonies of the British West Indies. Other historians have recognized the importance of slave insurrections in the British Caribbean, but Craton's study is a significant advance in two directions. It surveys all the major uprisings and attempts to place them within an overall structure. His accounts of individual insurrections are models of concise historical narrative, but he is not content to write a series of narrative accounts. His purpose is to demonstrate a continuum of active slave resistance that was "structurally endemic" in slave societies. In his own words, his study contributes "to the devaluation of outside influences upon slave attitudes and behaviour" (p. 18).

Craton detects two phases of slave revolt, the earliest being "essentially African in character": "The rebels were mostly Africans led by Africans, the uprisings plotted, planned, and prepared in African style, with aims and fighting methods that owed at least as much to Africa as to the special conditions of Caribbean colonies and Amerindian precedents" (p. 99). The later phase, comprising the period 1775-1832, witnessed a transition to a "creole" or "Afro-Caribbean" resistance in which, Craton argues, slave ideology and aims were more coordinated. Throughout the long history of slave resistance in the British West Indies, as in other slave societies, the fundamental goal was freedom, "a determination to make, take, or recreate a life of their own" (p. 243).

Craton's analysis of the earlier, or "African," phase of slave resistance can be compared with his own previous attempts to find a framework, or typology, for British Caribbean slave revolts and also with the sociohistorical hypothesis constructed by Orlando Patterson to explain the endemic uprisings in Jamaica during the first century of British colonial rule.² Craton shies away from rigidity in constructing a hypothesis to explain the persistent rebellions, especially in Jamaica and Barbados during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He succeeds in pointing up the importance both of African elements and of the phenomenon of marronage, especially in Jamaica, as key parts of Caribbean slave resistance up to the latter eighteenth century.

Craton is more controversial in his explanation of slave revolts from 1775 to 1832 because he seeks to direct attention toward the slaves themselves and especially toward slave leadership, discounting extrinsic forces, particularly the impact of the Age of Revolution. Here he consciously moves away from David Brion Davis's thesis that the Age of Revolution was "a major turning point in the history of New World slavery."³ Craton believes that "the slave revolts of 1816-1832 came too late to be ascribed solely to the external and worldwide forces of the Age of Revolution" (p. 333).

To some extent, Craton's argument revolves around a definition of the Age of Revolution and how it affected the British Caribbean. His circumscribed definition of the Age of Revolution in chronological terms as lasting from 1775 to 1815 conveniently excludes the three most significant nineteenth-century slave revolts in the British West Indies and thus serves his own argument. He finds few direct causal links between American and French revolutionary currents and British slave rebellions, but he does not examine closely the ferments of British life in the same period as forces for change affecting Britain's colonies as well as the metropolis. The last rebellion Craton analyzes is the Jamaican Baptist War of 1831-32, which precedes both the Reform Bill and slave emancipation. His account of events in Jamaica is comprehensive, but he does not try to incorporate the Jamaican rebellion within a metropolitan context to uncover the background to the war or to weigh its impact upon the abolition movement. He does argue that the rapid Christianization of British West Indian slaves after 1783 raised their political consciousness, increasing the likelihood of slave resistance. Should this trend be viewed as one of the revolutionary currents of the era?

In the last section of *Testing the Chains*, Craton concentrates on the rebellions in Barbados (1816), Demerara (1823), and Jamaica (1831-32). The historical importance for the British Caribbean of these events justifies the emphasis he places on them, but in his desire to tilt the historical balance away from interpretations focusing solely on metropolitan developments, he may have gone too far in the other direction. If indeed, as Craton states, "the slaves were the primary actors in the process [of abolition]," the evidence he produces is far from conclusive. Abolition of slavery in the 1830s occurred in Britain, and Craton could strengthen his thesis if he were able to demonstrate in detail the effect of the Baptist War upon British public opinion and the British government.

Craton's thesis raises other questions. By concentrating on slave rebellions in the preemancipation period, he leaves the reader wondering to what extent slave resistance took other forms during slavery's last

days. He offers a brief explanation of the absence of slave revolts in colonies like Trinidad, but if Craton's theory of slave rebellion is to stand up, it also must account for periods of quiescence. In the epilogue, he traces briefly the postslavery uprisings in the British Caribbean to extend the continuum and to demonstrate how abolition changed very little in the lives of the black people of the British islands. Craton acknowledges that circumstances "gradually changed," but whether they were, as he argues, "subject chiefly to an intrinsic, not extrinsic logic" remains open for further debate (p. 331).

Mary Turner's *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society* is a useful complement to the latter part of Craton's study. She incorporates a revised version of an earlier article on the Baptist War and precedes it with a very detailed examination of the growth of the missionary movement in Jamaica.⁴ In contrast to Craton, she finds that the incidence of slave rebellions in Jamaica diminished with the end of the slave trade in 1808. The most common form of slave resistance was still flight. She views the Baptist War not as part of a continuum but something that requires an explanation as a unique historical phenomenon. The explanation is primarily the long-term effects of the missionary movement in the island.

The missionaries, particularly the Baptists and Wesleyan Methodists, brought the religious revival sweeping Britain to Jamaica, where in the midst of a plantation slave society, they ministered directly to the slaves. Christianity gradually became a theology of liberation, as it "elaborated the social bases for conflict, sharpened tensions and stimulated new forms of resistance to slavery" (p. 80). By 1834 membership in a mission church was a "reward of merit" for the slave. Slowly, this meritocracy challenged slave status because "it underlined the arbitrary nature of the divisions between slaves and masters" (p. 85). Prior to 1823, the missionaries themselves were careful not to challenge the institution of slavery directly, even though they were seen as antislavery agitators by the plantocracy. The ambiguous position the missionaries held became even more tenuous after 1823, when the Baptist and Wesleyan parent societies came out openly in favor of abolition. From 1825 the mission churches were staffed increasingly by younger, more militant clerics who were caught up in the fervor of the growing abolitionist movement.

Mary Turner's account successfully weaves the background of the British missionary societies, the abolitionist campaign, and the actions of the British government into the foreground of Jamaican events. She shows how the missionary work helped to create slave leaders like Sam Sharpe, "an eloquent and passionate teacher" who made himself literate and became a "daddy" among the native Baptists. The 1831

rebellion was organized by Sharpe and his colleagues, who used the network of mission meetings and native Baptist contacts to create a revolutionary political organization to overthrow the slave system.

The failure of the rebellion left the unfortunate slaves vulnerable to the full wrath of white vengeance, but it forced the missionaries to become outright campaigners for slave abolition. Their public campaigning in Britain helped to convince both public opinion and the British government of the need for immediate abolition. Turner's thesis that the missionaries contributed to the disintegration of the slave system within the British Empire by helping to undermine it internally, especially in Jamaica, while pressing for its destruction externally is well argued and well supported. Her argument reinforces the importance of the Baptist War as a key element in the destruction of British slavery, and her approach underlines the need to keep colonial and metropolitan developments in a proper historical balance.

The impact of religion on the abolition of British slavery surfaces again in Roger Anstey's contribution to the collection of papers edited by David Eltis and James Walvin and published as *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas*. These papers were originally presented at a symposium held at Aarhus University in Denmark in 1978. Anstey died before his paper was published, and the book appropriately is dedicated to him. In "Religion and British Emancipation," Anstey underscored the importance of the connection between dissent and antislavery in British emancipation. He argued that "popular pressure, largely coming from the religious public, was, then, crucial in 1832-33" (p. 53). He also suggested that economic forces should not be discounted as an element in the British campaign. The West Indian planters in 1833 knew, as the government did, that West Indian slavery was no longer important for Britain's commercial interest, and they consequently were prepared to haggle over compensation rather than conduct a last-ditch defense of slavery.

Two other papers in the same section, "Abolition and the European Metropolis," also highlight the British emancipation struggle. In both the emphasis is exclusively on the British metropolis. What is lacking is the inclusion of the colonial developments that Craton and Turner detail. Howard Temperley, echoing some of Anstey's argument, portrays the British antislavery cause "as a secularized or semi-secularized form of Christian evangelism" imposed by "dominant metropolitan cultures" on societies occupying economic peripheries (p. 32). James Walvin concentrates on the domestic political campaign mounted by British abolitionists, part of what he sees as "the complex political chemistry" that must be unravelled if abolition is to be fully explained (p. 63).

The remaining three sections of the book contain papers on the impact of the abolition of slave trade on Africa, the nature of the illegal slave trade, and demographic and cultural responses to the slave trade in the Americas. All the contributions on Africa concentrate on economic topics. Philip Curtin concludes that the abolition of the slave trade had only a small effect on the Senegambian economy. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn show how abolition drastically cut money imports to West Africa and argue that beyond its human benefit, "abolition conferred on West Africa a real economic benefit" (p. 111). Ralph Austen examines the connection between the abolition of the slave trade in the Indian Ocean and European political and economic hegemony in the region, concluding that antislavery movements did not modernize the East African economic structure on a Western model.

The three papers on the nineteenth-century illegal slave trade again demonstrate a largely metropolitan focus. There is no specific treatment of the two key areas in the Americas, Brazil and Cuba. David Eltis provides an invaluable analysis of the impact of suppression policies on the nature of the slave trade itself. This analysis suggests that it took some time for changes to be felt, with significant alterations beginning in the late 1830s. Pieter Emmer uncovers a tiny corner of the Atlantic slave trade, demonstrating how the Dutch continued to import slaves illegally into Surinam after the prohibition of the Dutch slave trade. Serge Daget challenges the alleged ineffectiveness of French suppression policies with a useful discussion of the role of the French Navy off West Africa after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Two papers by Hans Christian Johansen and Svend E. Green-Pedersen explore the demographic considerations behind the abolition of the Danish slave trade. Richard Sheridan then extends the demographic theme of the latter part of the book to probe the connection between the demographic and epidemiological character of the slave trade to Jamaica and the characteristics of plantation slavery itself. Franklin Knight's concluding paper ties the overall demography of the Atlantic slave trade to the emergence of Afro-American culture in the Americas. As he says, "The transatlantic slave trade was a movement of peoples; it was only coincidentally a transfer of culture." Yet it influenced Afro-American culture through the volume and rate of slave introduction, the sex and age distribution, and the nature of social and economic conditions in the American societies.

All the papers in *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade* confirm what Stanley Engerman says in his introductory essay: there are no easy answers to the increasingly complex historical questions associated with the slave trade and its abolition. As the range of issues grows,

overall synthesis becomes more necessary and more difficult. These papers reveal the complexity of the problems and broaden the agenda. None attempts an overall synthesis of the results of a steady growth in historical scholarship on the slave trade, nor (with one or two exceptions) do the authors try to chart the direction for future research.

H. E. Maude's *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864* takes readers from the macrocosm of the Atlantic slave trade to the microcosm of the Pacific slave trade in the 1860s. Labor shortages in Peru following the abolition of slavery stimulated a "coolie" trade with China and an offshoot, "blackbirding" in the Pacific. Maude has written a detailed monograph on the seven-month search for Pacific island slaves in 1862-63, concentrating on the narrative of the voyages of each of the ships involved. Over three thousand Pacific Islanders were brought to Peru in this brief time, but only 157 returned alive to Polynesia. Fortunately, the active intervention of the French Ambassador in Lima, combined with sustained opposition from the Peruvian paper *El Comercio*, persuaded the Peruvian government to halt the traffic before the tragedy worsened. Even so, given the small population of the Polynesian islands at the time, Maude brands this brief Peruvian slave trade "genocide of an order never seen before or since" in the history of Polynesia (p. 182). Maude's chief interest is the impact of this slave trading on Polynesia, and he makes no attempt to compare "blackbirding" with the equally infamous trade in Chinese indentured laborers. His study reiterates, however, that the search for servile labor to work in American countries did not end with the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade. The Pacific also witnessed an illegal trade in human beings.

As the works by Craton and Turner illustrate, historians of slavery recently have been attempting to reconstruct the institution from the slaves' viewpoint. Robert Edgar Conrad's *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* provides abundant material for historians and students of African slavery in Brazil to understand what the slaves actually experienced. It is an invaluable contribution both to the scholarly examination of Brazilian slavery and to the evolving debate on comparative slave systems in the Americas.

Conrad has gathered a collection of documents covering the slave trade to Brazil and Brazilian slavery in all its manifestations from the colonial period on through to emancipation in the late nineteenth century. Each section and each document is prefaced by a lucid introduction that sets the context and presents the reader with key facts. A thorough search by the author turned up only two documents written by slaves while they still were slaves. Seven documents in all are direct accounts by slaves or former slaves and four others are by descendants of slaves. The contrast with the relatively large amount of original

"slave testimony" from the United States is marked.⁵ Conrad attributes this paucity to the very low literacy rate among Brazilian slaves.

Conrad's collection is a documentary portrait of a society whose most enduring institution, apart from the church, was slavery. Far from the relatively humane or milder slavery in Brazil pictured by earlier authors such as Frank Tannenbaum or Gilberto Freyre, Conrad's documents reveal a much more brutal system that "comprises one of the harsher chapters in human history, comparable in ferocity to some of the cruel events in our own historical period" (p. xxvi). His particularly valuable sections on slave resistance and slave punishment bring out this aspect vividly. The treatment endured by Brazil's slaves, especially on rural plantations, provoked almost continual resistance. While organized rebellions were more dramatic, if less frequent, flight or other individual acts were more common. The characterization of Brazilian slavery as "a state of domestic war" is much closer to the mark in describing the institution (p. 359). Conrad suggests, and the documents bear him out, that many similarities exist between the plantation slave system of Brazil and those of the Caribbean.

Eighty percent of the documents selected for inclusion in *Children of God's Fire* originated in the nineteenth century. Conrad's claim of a reasonable balance between the colonial period and that of the empire is generally valid, except perhaps in the sections dealing with urban slave life and slavery at the mines during the colonial period. A. J. R. Russell-Wood has drawn attention to the differences of Brazilian colonial slavery in the gold mining areas and has raised the intriguing question of the extent to which different economies altered slave life.⁶ Two documents in Conrad's book, one discussing slaves' gambling and another banning slaves' possession of weapons, refer to eighteenth-century mining camps. In a later section on slave resistance, the author includes another document on a 1719 slave conspiracy in Minas Gerais. These fragmentary references hint at the contrasts raised by Russell-Wood but do not permit any detailed comparison. Conrad himself is well aware that slave conditions in the nineteenth century did not necessarily apply in the earlier colonial period. Slavery did evolve over time. Nevertheless, the reader of the section "Slave Life in Cities and at the Mines" might assume that it did not evolve because the documents included refer only to the nineteenth century.

Conrad selected specific documents on the problems of female slaves and on the deeply ambiguous position of the Roman Catholic church on slavery. He concludes that the church was "a bulwark of slavery" (p. 152). He also demonstrates with documentary evidence how pervasive racial discrimination has been in Brazil since the Portuguese arrived. One nineteenth-century document offers a striking contrast between Brazilian racial discrimination and the racism encoun-

tered by a Brazilian mulatto in New York, although Conrad cautions that both forms were equally "destructive to the personalities and lives of those concerned" (p. 202).

A number of sections contain specific refutations of Freyre's and Tannenbaum's outdated theories of Brazilian slavery, but the documents themselves suggest that the time has come to get away from an agenda circumscribed by reaction to Tannenbaum and Freyre and move toward a more realistic assessment of the complexity of Brazilian slavery. This move may be heralded by A. J. R. Russell-Wood's penetrating study of what he terms the "chiaroscuro" in colonial Brazil.⁷

The study of comparative slave systems in the Americas has focused on comparisons between Brazil and the United States. Robert Brent Toplin's book of essays entitled *Freedom and Prejudice: The Legacy of Slavery in the United States and Brazil* carries on the tradition. He seeks to broaden the comparisons made by historian Carl Degler and sociologist Harmarnus Hoetink in an effort to penetrate to the roots of racial attitudes in the two countries. Toplin believes that the history of slavery in Brazil and the United States, especially the respective abolition experiences, determined the legacy of race relations that followed. Tensions over abolition "pushed loosely articulated racial concepts into the open and gave them the force of formal ideology" (p. xxii). Even after the institution of slavery had long disappeared, the twin legacies of color prejudice and economic inequality remain. Many of the essays Toplin reproduces in *Freedom and Prejudice* first appeared in the early 1970s. The book usefully gathers them together, permitting comparisons with Degler and Thomas Skidmore, who published a seminal article in 1971 pointing out the differences between the history of race relations in Brazil and the United States.⁸

Germán Colmenares and Jorge Castellanos, in their respective studies of slavery in Popayán in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, together provide a picture of a slave society in periods of expansion and decline. Colmenares discovered that Popayán offers rich documentary material for the historian to exploit, and he has done so with rewarding results in *Popayán, una sociedad esclavista, 1680-1800*, which is the second volume of his *Historia económica y social de Colombia*. Castellanos's *La abolición de la esclavitud en Popayán, 1832-1852* is a helpful introductory essay, but it is not based on the wealth of primary sources used by Colmenares nor does it reveal the nature of nineteenth-century Popayán society with insights equal to those that Colmenares sheds on the eighteenth century.

Germán Colmenares's second volume in his synthesis of the social and economic history of New Granada is a profound work, one that will stand with Manuel Moreno Friginals's volume study on Cuba, *El ingenio*, as major contributions to the knowledge of slavery in Latin

America.⁹ When Magnus Mörner reviewed recent research on slavery and its abolition in Latin America in 1978, he concluded that research results on the Latin American side had been "less striking" than those in North America or in Europe.¹⁰ With the publication of these studies on Cuba and New Granada, the balance is being redressed.

Colmenares has closely reviewed recent historical work and the methods used by North American and European historians. He acknowledges that serious historical work on the social and economic aspects of slavery in New Granada has only occurred within the last fifteen years, but his synthesis is carefully designed to explore the connections between slavery and the economic, social, and political structure of the colony. He divided *Popayán* into sections on the slaves, the mines, the land and society, and politics, and explores each theme separately, yet he is careful always to weave the complex web of historical interconnections. Slavery within the colonial society of New Granada remains the unifying theme.

Colmenares pictures eighteenth-century Popayán as a slave society midway between the slave system of the U.S. South, where domestic reproduction steadily increased slave numbers, and the plantation slave societies of the Antilles and Brazil, where high slave mortality rates necessitated continual replenishment through the Atlantic slave trade. He concludes that the conditions of slave existence in Popayán were not as harsh as those prevailing in the plantation societies of the Antilles and Brazil. He finds that until the last three decades of the eighteenth century, the birthrate among Popayán slaves exceeded the death rate.

As a slave society, New Granada absorbed slightly over 20 percent of all slave imports to Spanish America; and of those imported through Cartagena, especially under the English *asiento* in the early eighteenth century, nearly a quarter were destined for Popayán and the mining centers of the Pacific.¹¹ Colmenares gathered data on ninety-four hundred slave transactions in the Popayán slave market from 1680 to 1800 and analyzed these to extract valuable information on where the slaves came from, who bought them, and how they were allocated to the various sectors of the colonial Popayán economy. He discovered that the nature of slave sales changed in the second half of the eighteenth century. After 1780 very few slaves brought directly from Africa were sold in Popayán, but the slave market remained active due to the sales of creole slaves. Coincident with this change was an increase in the number of female slaves sold and a drop in sales of large slave gangs. Colmenares also found a gradual, but steady, diminution in slave prices during the eighteenth century, which he explains as a response to local economic circumstances.

Colmenares's extensive analysis of both the colonial economy

and the colonial slave society of Popayán has led him to challenge the methods used in recent studies of slave profitability.¹² Using the same data as William F. Sharp on one mine, Colmenares arrived at substantially different results (pp. 154–65). Colmenares's challenge, however, goes well beyond individual instances. He views eighteenth-century Popayán as a feudal and precapitalist slave society with features typical of the *ancien régime*. Mining, labor, and land were all monopolies derived from social and political privilege. Models and methods used to calculate profitability in a capitalist economy, he argues, are inappropriate in a precapitalist society where people invested in land or slaves not just for profit but also for stability and prestige. Colmenares's real challenge is to discover suitable historical tools to understand the reality of this precapitalist slave society.

He goes on to emphasize that historians cannot separate precapitalist economic structures from the social and ideological structures that sustained them. He performed the same careful dissection of six hundred land sales in Popayán from 1680 to 1800 as he did with the sales of slaves. His conclusion is that land sales are intimately tied to the fate of the mining economy, which in turn rested on slave labor. Prior to 1750, slave labor was directed toward the expansion of the mining economy. In this period, large latifundios remained generally unproductive because of the absence of labor. This situation changed in the latter part of the century, as wealthy mine owners bought land and began to construct haciendas for prestige and security.

The society Colmenares brings to life was socially immobile and aristocratic. Its structure peers through the fortunes made in mining and slave trading, but Colmenares acknowledges the difficulties of understanding it from the slaves' viewpoint. His investigations reveal little about the daily life of the slaves or common people, even if he succeeds in uncovering information on slave diet, disease, and manumission rates. His great success is his synthesis of the different sectors of this feudal and precapitalist slave society planted in Popayán by Spanish colonists.

Jorge Castellanos agrees in *La abolición de la esclavitud en Popayán* that even in its era of decline, Popayán society still rested on slavery. He finds nineteenth-century Popayán a polarized world divided between an entrenched aristocracy and their slaves. As late as the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, Castellanos finds, slavery still permeated Colombian socioeconomic structures. The Law of Cúcuta had proclaimed free birth and gradual abolition throughout Gran Colombia in 1821, but just as slavery in Venezuela lingered until 1854, so abolition was delayed in Colombia until 1852. After two introductory chapters, Castellanos's study focuses on the twenty years prior to abolition. He used documentary evidence from Popayán, but if the rich eigh-

teenth-century documentary sources mined by Colmenares also exist for the nineteenth century, they remain to be fully exploited. Castellanos alludes to the questions surrounding the abolition of slavery in Popayán, but his work is disappointing in its lack of detail on any aspect of the topic.

Castellanos indicates that the average annual rate of manumission was lower between 1835 and 1840, when fewer than five slaves per year were freed in Popayán, than it had been in the eighteenth century. Colmenares calculated an average of six slaves manumitted per year in the eighteenth century (p. 98). The manumission rate in Popayán was also lower than in neighboring Venezuela.¹³ Gradual manumission clearly failed, blocked by the last-ditch resistance of the Popayán slave-owners. What then forced the final abolition of slavery?

Castellanos argues that the cause was not an automatic evolution of new economic forces or a movement initiated from the upper hierarchy of society but a development owing much to the efforts of slaves themselves. Yet apart from an account of a slave uprising in 1843, he does not develop or document this thesis. Later in *La abolición*, Castellanos offers another explanation. The continuous decline of economic power of the slaveholding south in the first half of the nineteenth century was offset by a parallel increase in vigor of the commercial and artisan sectors of the Colombian economy. The 1848 revolutions in Europe inspired a group of young intellectuals, the so-called Generation of '48, and a political crisis ensued. After coming to power, the intellectuals successfully attacked slavery as the most prominent and enduring legacy of the colonialism they wished to eradicate. When the abolition law finally took effect at the beginning of 1852, only 16,500 slaves remained. The slave population of Popayán had diminished by 41 percent in the eight years from 1835 to 1843, so that even before the final struggle, the institution had been disintegrating due to slave flight and what Castellanos describes as "demographic erosion" (p. 85).

Obvious parallels exist between Colombia and Venezuela, and further comparisons can be made with Brazil and Cuba. Colombia adopted a *patronato* system in 1842. Rebecca Scott's recent studies analyzing the abolition of slavery within Cuba and the operation of the *patronato* system there offer insights that might be used in Colombia as well.¹⁴ Whether slave labor and technology were incompatible in Colombia, as Manuel Moreno Fraginals argues they were in Cuba, has not been explored.¹⁵ Castellanos does not believe that slavery in Colombia died naturally because it had ceased to be profitable, but he agrees that the economic history of nineteenth-century Popayán remains to be written. The abolitionist campaign launched by the Generation of '48 had links to developments in France's colonies and broader ties with abolitionist currents in other parts of the Americas. These and other themes

still await historians of Colombian abolition who, like Germán Colmenares, must be fully cognizant of contemporary historical work and equally familiar with the documentary resources of Colombia.

Of the eight books reviewed in this essay, three particularly stand out as representative of new approaches. Michael Craton's *Testing the Chains* highlights the importance of slave resistance in the Caribbean and tries to incorporate various forms of slave resistance into one continuum extending from the earliest colonies to the postemancipation era. Robert Conrad's documentary collection, *Children of God's Fire*, makes the primary evidence of the real character of Brazilian slavery available to a much wider audience. Germán Colmenares draws on the tools of social and economic history to construct a synthesis of a colonial slave society in *Popayán*. Both Craton and Conrad succeed in drawing back the veils of slave life as the slaves themselves experienced it, while Colmenares sinks an even deeper historical shaft, laying bare the skeletal structure of colonial Popayán. The diversity of historical methods employed in these books as well as the differences and the similarities of slave existence in widely separated regions of the Americas revealed by the authors all point to the complexity confronting historians of slavery in the New World and to the rich rewards beckoning intrepid pioneers who are prepared to push back the existing boundaries.

NOTES

1. J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 4.
2. M. Craton, "The Passion to Exist: Slave Rebellions in the British West Indies, 1650-1832," *Journal of Caribbean History* 13 (Summer 1980):1-20; and *Sinews of Empire: A Short History of British Slavery* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1974), 226-37. See also H. Orlando Patterson, "Slavery and Slave Revolts: A Socio-Historical Analysis of the First Maroon War, Jamaica, 1655-1740," *Social and Economic Studies* 19 (1970):289-335; and *The Sociology of Slavery* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1967), 260-83.
3. D. B. Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 71.
4. Mary Reckford, "The Jamaica Slave Rebellion of 1831," *Past and Present* 40 (July 1968):108-25.
5. See, for example, John W. Blassingame, *Slave Testimony: Two Centuries of Letters, Speeches, Interviews, and Autobiographies* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977).
6. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 104-27.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Thomas Skidmore, "Toward a Comparative Analysis of Race Relations since Abolition in Brazil and the United States," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 4, no. 1 (1971):1-28.
9. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio: complejo económico social cubano del azúcar* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1978). See also Franklin Knight, "The Caribbean Sugar Industry and Slavery," *LARR* 18, no. 2 (1983):219-29 for a review of *El ingenio*.
10. Magnus Mörner, "Recent Research on Negro Slavery and Abolition in Latin America," *LARR* 13, no. 2 (1978):266.

11. For a fuller description of the British slave trade during this period, see Colin A. Palmer, *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700-1739* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981).
12. See especially Robert W. Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Slavery*, 2 vols. (New York: Little, Brown, 1974); and William F. Sharp, "The Profitability of Slavery in the Colombian Chocó, 1680-1810," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 55, no. 3 (Aug. 1975):463-95.
13. John V. Lombardi, *The Decline and Abolition of Negro Slavery in Venezuela, 1820-1854* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971), 68.
14. See Rebecca J. Scott, "Explaining Abolition: Contradiction, Adaptation, and Challenge in Cuban Slave Society, 1860-1886," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 1 (Jan. 1984):83-111; and her article "Gradual Abolition and the Dynamics of Slave Emancipation in Cuba, 1868-86," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 3 (1983):449-77. See also her forthcoming book, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
15. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio*.

The dilemma for a reviewer is simple. I look back to the day I was attending an Annual Conference of the South African Institute for Race Relations at the University of Capetown. The setting was comfortable, the analyses in the papers being presented was careful, cool and quietly critical. My hosts took me out that afternoon to the Black Sash office just outside the black township of Langa and to a squatter settlement on the Cape Flats. The facts at the conference were unsettling. The realities of daily life under apartheid outside the conference were shattering. *Living Under Apartheid* is unsettling. The rope still binds fast, but time will still be longer than rope.

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HISTORIAN'S IDEAL TOPIC

H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1981.

Over the last two decades Pacific historians have been re-examining many of the long-accepted versions of European-Islander culture contact. One of the more emotive subjects, the gathering of Islanders for plantation work beyond their homelands, has received particular attention. The net result is that Pacific historians now use terms like 'labour recruiting' rather than 'blackbirding' and 'kidnapping' since the new academic orthodoxy depicts the European use of islands' labour and the Islanders' responses more in terms of a subtle, largely cooperative, mutually advantageous interaction. Initial and classic expression of this interpretation came with Peter Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation* (Melbourne, 1973) which examined labour trading in the Solomon Islands. Since then other researchers have come to similar conclusions about labour trading in many other regions of the Pacific. Yet there is one albeit brief episode which defies re-interpretation along these lines — the Peruvian forays across the equatorial Pacific islands in the 1860s and the kidnapping of almost 4000 Islanders for plantation work in South America.

Maude's narrative of this topic is as lucid as it is harrowing. Only 3000 survived the journey to Peru and only 150 of these survived the brief experiment with island labour and were returned to their homes. Yet even their repatriation was a major disaster for they carried smallpox which infected those who welcomed them back. It must have taken the author a remarkable act of will to avoid lapsing into outraged moralising at times; controlled scholarship prevails throughout (except for a few little slips such as in the titling of the book — to call the islands 'paradise' is rather too romantic an indulgence). It is difficult to imagine what else of substance there is left to say about this topic. Maude's study is comprehensive to say the least, ranging from an analysis of the economic motives behind the scheme, to a detailed account of the individual vessels and their routes through the Pacific and the nature of their kidnapping, to the story of the labourers' lives and deaths shipboard and in Peru, to the local and international reaction to the 'experiment' and its eventual demise.

This Peruvian episode is in some respects an historian's ideal topic in that it is shortlived, has an obvious beginning and end, and a very strong story line. Yet the ease with which Maude unfolds the tale belies the years of detective work that have produced it. It is a gem of historical scholarship, thoroughly deserving of all the praise it has received in the five years since its publication.

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Vol.7, nos 1 & 2 (1984)

Slavers in Paradise: the Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. H.E. Maude. Canberra: Australian National University Press; Stanford: Stanford University Press; Suva: University of the South Pacific. 1981. xxii, 246pp., maps, illus., appendix, bibliography, index. \$10.50 (paper), \$25.50 (cloth).

'Du cognac pour les Marquisiens' (extract from *Slavers in Paradise*). Translated by Ch. Langevin-Duval. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques* XVIII:219,8 (1982):1088-95.

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Niel Gunson

Swedish kinship: an exploration into cultural processes of belonging and continuity. Åsa Boholm (Gothenburg Studies in Social Anthropology, no.5). Göteborg, Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. 1983. 252pp., appendices, references. SEK 110 (paper).

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Readers will not find the answers to such questions in *Swedish kinship*, a book that proceeds from the premise that kinship is a wholly appropriate way to delimit one's interest wherever one might be. True, anthropologists have discovered that kin relations are the axis along which most business gets transacted in some societies. However, it does not follow from this fact that 'kinship' is a lens that will bring every society into focus. It certainly cannot be assumed that in investigating kinship one is investigating the only or even the most important processes of belonging and continuity in Swedish society.

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Book review pages: It was a banner year with 93 selections

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By DUNCAN STEVENS
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restaurante chino» nos refiere la historia y la fortuna de *Las hermanas de Búfalo Bill* con algunas palabras sobre el teatro en general. *J.B.S.*

Maude, H.E. *Slaves in Paradise. The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. 244 pp. Hard cover.

This well documented and researched history reveals for the first time the tragic events and traumatic effects of the Peruvian slave raids of 1862-1863 in Polynesia which reduced the population of many island communities by two-thirds. The author has consulted several hundred scattered primary sources in missionary archives to gather the necessary information for this factual two-part narrative. Part I (Chapters 1 to 13) deals with Peruvians in Polynesia and traces the reasons behind the slave trade, offers the statistics of the numbers of Polynesians abducted (approximately 3634) from each island, identifies the ships involved (27 Peruvian, 4 Chilean, 1 Spanish and 1 Tasmanian), and studies 4 principal routes taken in the 38 voyages to 51 islands and the methods used by captains and supercargoes. Part II (Chapters 14 to 23), Polynesians in Peru, examines the return voyages to Peru, the employment, treatment and conditions of slaves there, the attitudes of the authorities toward this illicit trade, its eventual abolition, the attempts to repatriate the survivors as well as the repercussions felt by those still left on the islands. This study with illustrative plates contains Introduction, Appendix with statistical Tables, Notes to the 23 chapters, Bibliography, and Index. *J.B.S.*

Meier, Matt S. and Feliciano Rivera. *Dictionary of Mexican American History*. Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1981. 498 pp. Hard cover.

This one volume comprehensive dictionary compiled by its two principal authors and more than 30 contributors begins properly with La Malinche and Hernán Cortés focusing on the more significant individuals and events between 1519 and 1836. It deals with northern New Spain (Mexico) known today as the Southwest and has as its main scope the period from 1835 beginning with the Texas revolt against Mexico up to 1980. The dictionary is ordered alphabetically with brief entries on numerous topics (religious, cultural, political, economic, etc.) that often include additional sources and references. In its arrangement it includes the Dictionary, Appendix A: Bibliography of General Works, Appendix B: Chronology of Mexican American History, Appendix C: The Complete Text of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Protocol of Querétaro, Appendix D: Glossary of Chicano Terms, Appendix E: Mexican American Journals, Appendix F: Tables of Census, Education, Employment and Immigration Statistics, Appendix G: Figures, Appendix H: Maps, and Index. *J.B.S.*

Mendoza, María Luisa. *El perro de la escribana o Las Piedecosas*. México, D.F.: Editorial Joaquín Mortiz, S.A., 1982. 141 pp. Paperback.

Parece a veces que la protagonista de esta curiosa novela, narrada en tiempo presente en primera persona por la escribana Piedecosas acompañada siempre de las dos perras Dimes y Diretes, es

Fundamentos, 1982. 260 pp. Paperback.

En este análisis se estudian dos novelas fundamentales de Adolfo Bioy Casares—*La invención de Morel* (1940) y *Plan de evasión* (1945)—en el contexto de la tradición de la literatura fantástica contemporánea, cuyos orígenes son trazados desde la novela gótica o el romance, la literatura pastoril y la utópica en la Introducción. En el primer capítulo se analizan las dos novelas en cuanto a sus interrelaciones, y en el segundo se trata de la ciencia-ficción y en particular de *La isla del Doctor Moreau* como «pre-texto» de las dos obras de Bioy. El capítulo tres examina las características de lo pastoril y el cuarto discute la utopía borgiana en relación con las «novelas-isla» de Bioy Casares. Se incluyen Apéndice I: Autocronología de Alfonso Bioy Casares, Apéndice II: Los novios en las tarjetas postales, Notas, Bibliografía e Índice de nombres propios. *J.B.S.*

Lewald, H. Ernest. (Ed). *The Web. Stories by Argentine Women.* Trans. by H.E. Lewald. Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1983. 170 pp. Hardcover.

This volume is an anthology in English translation of 17 short stories and one essay by 12 different female authors from Buenos Aires, Argentina whose principal vehicle of expression is normally the novel. Among the writers represented are Silvina Bullrich, Beatriz Guido and Silvina Ocampo as well as Luisa Valenzuela, Amalia Jamilis and Reina Roffé of the younger generation. For the most part the common theme of these stories involves the ever changing problems of male-female relationships in

an urban society and culture as seen from a woman's perspective. H. E. Lewald, the translator, has provided an Introduction, as well as brief yet informative sketches of each of the 12 women authors. *J.B.S.*

Lombardi, John V. *Venezuela. The Search for Order, The Dream of Progress.* N.Y., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. 348 pp. Paperback.

This six-chapter history of Venezuela maintains logically that whatever insights are to be gained by an examination of the country's recent economic prosperity, largely as a result of her petroleum resources, can only be properly understood within the context of her past. Lombardi's study, therefore, is holistic in its approach and chronological in its structure, while emphasizing both surface transformation and deep-rooted continuities which underlie Venezuela's historical identity. Chapter I examines Venezuela's human and natural resources and the composition of her population. The book also contains: «Introduction,» «Conclusion,» «Chronology,» prepared by Mary B. Floyd, «Bibliographic Essay,» «Statistical Supplement,» «Tables,» and «Index.» *J.B.S.*

Martínez Mediero, Manuel. *La novia. Lisistrata. Las hermanas de Búfalo Bill.* Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 1980. 174 pp. Paperback.

Este libro reúne tres dramas de M. Martínez Mediero: *La novia*, del año 1978 en un solo acto; *Lisistrata*, del año 1980 en dos partes; y *Las hermanas de Búfalo Bill*, de 1972 en dos actos. Un prólogo titulado «Un sabor a

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Knife and Fork

By MARY ROBERTS
Food & Wine Editor

Anchovy stuffed eggs - Huevos rellenos con anchoitas - Uruguay

12 hard boiled eggs, cut in half lengthwise
1 small tin of boneless anchovies
4 tablespoons of mayonnaise
pinch of white pepper
Optional—Canned sweet red peppers and black olives for garnishing

Carefully remove yolks from egg halves and mash well with finely chopped anchovies to form a smooth paste, add mayonnaise and pepper and blend thoroughly. Generously fill each egg half and decorate tops with two strips of canned sweet red pepper and ¼ a black olive. Serve on lettuce leaves.
For six.

Sopa Manabita—Manabi soup. (Manabi is a coastal province of Ecuador)

1 pound of fish (If you are not fond of fishbones use fillets rolled and held together with a wooden pick)

1 cup of cooked peas
1 cup of cooked beans
1 small head of cabbage cooked and chopped fine
1 cup of milk
3 bananas cut in pieces and boiled in their skins
¼ pound of ground toasted peanuts (or use 4 tablespoons of peanut butter)
1 onion and 2 cloves of garlic
1 teaspoon of color (Color-Achiote is an almost indispensable ingredient in Ecuadorian cooking, and it comes in powder form or as a 'butter'. It is available in many U.S.

supermarkets paprika). Fry chopped pepper. Add sliced into large vegetables and the milk. The served with a on each plate

Cassava stick

1 lbs. of cassava (food stores)
4 cups of water
1/3 cup of vegetable salt
Defrost cassava tender
Cool, dry with sticks.
Fry in hot oil cooked

Mexican

1 jar of well
5 oz. bacon
2 oz. bread
1 small slice
4 oz. butter
Roll a strip
fasten with a
and arrange
In a small pan
heated butter
Bake in a me
Serve hot.

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REVIEWERS IN
THIS ISSUE

[J.W.C.] Dr. James W. Carty, Jr., a Senior Reviewer, is Professor of Communications at Bethany (WV) College.

Material präsentieren, welches durch einzelne Surveys und Interviews kaum zu erhalten ist. Sie bieten somit die Möglichkeit, das Kommunikationspotential einer Region oder einer Nation zu quantifizieren oder die Variable Sprachbeherrschung in Beziehung zu anderen soziologischen Variablen zu setzen. Andererseits ist, wie seine Ausführungen zeigen, das Problem Sprache und Ethnizität derart komplex, daß makro-soziologische Daten leicht zu irrtümlichen Schlußfolgerungen führen und daß Faktoren wie Prestige, Macht, Ideologie bei der Erhaltung und Verbreitung von Sprachen kaum quantitativ zu bestimmen sind. Lieberson streitet die Problematik quantitativer Untersuchungen nicht ab, sondern fordert, daß quantitative makro-soziologische Daten zur Gesamtanalyse von Sprache und Gesellschaft beitragen können, vorausgesetzt, daß man ihre Grenzen und Fehlerquellen erkennt und reflektiert.

Teil IV besteht aus einem Essay, "Forces Affecting Language Spread: Some Basic Propositions", in dem das komplizierte Spannungsverhältnis von Ursache und Wirkung bei der Verbreitung von Sprachen deutlich zutage kommt. Es handelt sich um einen Versuch, die Ausbreitung einer Sprache über ihre nationale Sprachgrenze hinaus, zum Beispiel des Englischen, zu erklären. Lieberson untersucht eine Vielfalt von Faktoren, die zur internationalen Ausbreitung der englischen Sprache im 20. Jh. beigetragen haben, wie historisch-politische Zusammenhänge, wirtschaftliche Beziehungen und soziale Interaktion. Hier läßt sich erkennen, daß Konsequenzen unabhängig von ihren Ursachen weiterwirken können: "A language pattern, once established, has a life of its own that may continue long after the initial causes have disappeared" (373).

Liebersons Arbeit bietet eine Fülle von quantitativem Material, das er jedoch sorgsam erwägt, prüft und erläuternd in Frage stellt. Für Soziologen – und erst recht Ethnologen – bestätigt sie die Grenzen oder sogar Fragwürdigkeit quantitativer Forschung und ihrer Ergebnisse: Statistische Untersuchungen zur Sprache werfen mehr Fragen auf als sie beantworten, was vielleicht ein impliziter Wert ist, da quantitative Daten durch das, was sie *nicht* erklären, einen Anknüpfungspunkt für detaillierte qualitative Untersuchungen über den Inhalt, politischen und sozialen Sinn und schließlich über die Kausalität von Sprachverschiedenheit und Ethnizität liefern können. Für Sozialplaner und Demographen schließlich mag Liebersons Werk von noch größerem Wert sein, indem es praktisch und methodologisch auf die Fehlerquellen bei der Erstellung und Auswertung von Zensusmaterial hinweist. Marianne Boelscher

they were abandoned (see, for example, T.H. Lewis, *El Palacio* 57/1. 1950: 198–203) leaving historians to speculate about climatic disasters or warfare. Now the ongoing research along the Salt River in east-central Arizona gives a more complex and satisfactory account of the vicissitudes and disappearance of the Mogollon culture.

Grasshopper Pueblo was built between 1300 and 1360. It was abandoned about 1400. The ruins contain 500 masonry rooms, originally in at least two stories, with associated plazas, kivas, cemeteries, trash dumps, and outlier buildings. For the past two decades this pueblo has been the object of intensive study by the University of Arizona Archeological Field School. Much of the work has been done under the direction of the senior editor of the present rich report. From the beginning of excavations at Grasshopper Pueblo, organizational effort has been focused on cohesive and collaborative studies, avoiding thereby the otherwise inevitable problems of integrating individual specialized reports. This volume is an example and an explication of the approach, and as the title says, it is an extended discussion of interdisciplinary research, and not a final account of the archeology of Grasshopper Pueblo.

The editors begin with a description of the modern environment and follow with the methods and models of understanding the construction and growth of the pueblo. Next is a study of behaviorally-altered soils and archeological sediments, and the advancing methodologies of extracting information from them. Skeletal data are presented from the viewpoint of biosocial interpretation. Other chapters are concerned with geology and lithic resources and prehistoric environments as revealed by vertebrate faunal analysis, plant remains, and pollen profiles. The final chapter is a lucid account of the dynamics of aggregation and abandonment. It is illuminating to follow Longacre's development of the idea that population increase and town-building followed periods of decreased rainfall (resulting in lowered water tables and the emergence of more salt-free cultivatable para-riparian land). The dissolution of the pueblo, on the other hand, may reflect the unwieldiness of human population groups over about 500 when a suitably firm political structure is absent, a dysbalance observed in current pueblo communities and perhaps also operant at Grasshopper. The beauty and power of current archeologic techniques allow us to learn how the inhabitants of these ancient towns added a room to an existing structure, how they utilized turkeys and eagles, and that they enjoyed the companionship of captive macaws, and may even have bred them. Thomas H. Lewis

Longacre, William A., Holbrook, Sally J., and Michael W. Graves (eds.). *Multidisciplinary Research at Grasshopper Pueblo, Arizona*. (Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, 40.) X + 138 pp. in 4°. With 35 fig. and 29 tab. Tucson 1982. University of Arizona Press. Price: \$12.95.

The Mogollon inhabited the near-desert plateaus of New Mexico and Arizona in small sedentary or semi-sedentary groups. They practised a precariously-balanced maize agriculture. In about 1250 they began to build large pueblo communities and developed manufacture and trade, but almost as soon as their impressive centers were completed

Maude, H. E. *Slavers in Paradise: Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864*. 244 pp. Canberra 1981. Australian National University Press. Price: DM 96,15.

Innerhalb der Kolonialgeschichte des Pazifik, die an durch Europäer verursachten Brutalitäten zweifellos nicht arm ist, stellt die Geschichte des Handels mit Polynesiern (Männern, Frauen und Kindern!) als Arbeitskräften und De-facto-Sklaven für die Plantagen Perus sicher einen Höhepunkt dar. Dies gilt sowohl für die Formen, in denen dieser Sklavenhandel in den 60er Jahren des 19. Jh.s vorstatten ging, als auch für die Folgen, die er vor allem für

die Bevölkerungen kleinerer Inseln in Polynesien hatte. Maude hat diese Geschichte als ein Memento geschrieben. Er verheimlicht nicht, daß die Entstehung seines Buches auf persönlicher Liebe für die Polynesier und allgemeiner moralischer Empörung über – wenn auch vergangenes – Unrecht gründet. Dieser Hintergrund persönlichen Engagements gibt dem Buch seine Lebhaftigkeit und Spannung und verhindert, daß es zu einer bloßen Dokumentenanalyse wird, die in ihrer notwendigen Trockenheit der Thematik gewiß nicht angemessen wäre.

Maude gliedert das von ihm in äußerst langwieriger Arbeit und dazu noch mit breiter Hilfe von Kollegen zusammengetragene Quellenmaterial zunächst in zwei Felder, die er plakativ „I. Peruvians in Polynesia“ und „II. Polynesians in Peru“ überschreibt. Dies gibt ihm die Möglichkeit, im ersten Teil für jede Inselgruppe getrennt die Ereignisgeschichte zu erzählen, in der das Leiden der jeweiligen Bevölkerung unter Betrug, Raub, Mord und Vergewaltigung durch die Europäer immer wieder neu lebendig wird. Im zweiten Teil geht es zunächst um eine Darstellung der unmenschlichen Aufenthaltsbedingungen für die Polynesier in Peru, die für die Mehrheit von ihnen den baldigen Tod bedeuteten. Daran schließt sich die Geschichte der Bemühungen von Europäern in und außerhalb Perus an, diesen Sklavenhandel so rasch wie möglich zu unterbinden, da er nicht nur als unerträglich für die Polynesier erkannt wurde, sondern auch die von ihm ausgehenden Gefahren für die europäische Handelsschifffahrt in Polynesien sehr bald einschätzbar wurden. Maude bemüht sich hierbei, dem zentralen Träger dieser Aktivitäten, dem französischen Gesandten in Peru, de Lesseps, ein Denkmal dafür zu setzen, daß dieser sich weit über seine diplomatisch-politische Funktion hinaus aufgrund eines humanitären Engagements für die Polynesier eingesetzt habe.

Den großen und prinzipiellen Zügen von Maudes Argumentation in diesem Teil wird man gewiß folgen können. In Einzelheiten wird man jedoch zu Modifizierungen geneigt sein. So scheint mir Maudes Interpretation von de Lesseps' Haltung gegenüber einem offensichtlich damals sehr wichtigen Dokument nicht ganz nachvollziehbar, zumal er auch keinen Beleg anführt, der eine persönliche Stellungnahme von de Lesseps dazu enthält. Es handelt sich um eine gemeinsame Deklaration des damaligen diplomatischen und konsularischen Corps in Peru, die offensichtlich unter Federführung von de Lesseps zustande kam. In diesem Dokument wird in diplomatischer Diktion zunächst die Verurteilung des von Peru ausgehenden Sklavenhandels und sodann die Verantwortlichkeit der peruanischen Regierung für dessen Unterbindung zum Ausdruck gebracht. Es verwundert ein wenig, daß gerade der ehemalige Kolonialbeamte und in diesem Sinne Diplomat H. E. Maude sich von der diplomatischen Sprache des 19. Jh.s täuschen läßt und zu der Ansicht kommt, de Lesseps wäre der Tenor dieser Stellungnahme nicht ausreichend weit in Richtung einer Verurteilung der peruanischen Regierung gegangen. Die Berichte der damaligen hanseatischen Konsuln von Hamburg und Bremen an ihre jeweiligen Regierungen, die Maude allerdings nicht bekannt waren, zeigen dagegen, daß die an dem Zustandekommen der Deklaration unmittelbar Beteiligten diesem in den peruanischen Zeitungen veröffentlichten

Dokument in jedem Fall einen bedeutenden Einfluß auf die peruanische Regierung beimaßen.

Weniger aufgrund einer anderen Interpretation und wahrscheinlich sogar im Widerspruch zu Maudes Absichten wird die Darstellung des von den Polynesiern erfolgreich geleisteten Widerstands in seinem Buch ein wenig zu knapp abgehandelt. Dies dürfte zu einem Teil an seinem Gliederungsprinzip und zum anderen Teil an der Art und der Zahl der verfügbaren Quellen liegen. Es sei daher gestattet, diesem Aspekt durch die Verteilung der Gewichte wenigstens in dieser Rezension die wünschbare Prominenz zu verschaffen. Die Bevölkerung von Rapa bewies, wie gut die Polynesier es dann verstanden, nicht zu Opfern der Sklavenfänger und -händler zu werden, wenn die strategischen Bedingungen ihnen dies erlaubten. Darüber hinaus zeigten sie ein beeindruckendes Augenmaß für das unter den Bedingungen des (Vor-)Kolonialismus politisch Machbare, als sie die Besatzung eines Schoners, deren Absicht, sie zu versklaven, für sie unzweifelhaft war, in gänzlich unblutiger Weise auf ihrer Insel festsetzten und sodann den Kapitän zusammen mit seinem Schoner den französischen Behörden in Tahiti für ein ordentliches Gerichtsverfahren übergaben.

Insgesamt bleibt das Buch von Maude sowohl seiner stilistischen Qualität als auch des darin erschlossenen und verarbeiteten außerordentlich umfangreichen Quellenmaterials wegen eine dringend empfohlene Lektüre. Es macht einmal mehr den Umstand bewußt, daß selbst die bloße Ereignisgeschichte des europäischen Kolonialismus im Pazifik noch in weiten Bereichen kaum erschlossen ist und daß für dessen historisch-sozialwissenschaftliche Erklärung noch um so mehr zu leisten bleibt.

Volker Harms

McKinnon, John, and Khun Wanat Bhruksasri (eds.). *Highlanders of Thailand*. 358 pp., illustr. Oxford, New York, Melbourne 1983. Kuala Lumpur-Oxford University Press.

Das vorliegende Buch ist eine der neueren Publikationen des Stammesforschungsinstituts in Chiang Mai, Nord-Thailand. Die insgesamt 22 Beiträge wurden sowohl von thailändischen Autoren wie auch von Ethnologen, Linguisten und Sozioökonomen verschiedener westlicher Länder verfaßt. Einer der beiden Herausgeber, Khun Wanat Bhruksasri, ist der langjährige Direktor des Tribal Research Centre, der andere, John McKinnon, einer der diesem Forschungs- und Dokumentationszentrum assoziierten ausländischen Konsulenten. Die Publikation spiegelt also das Joint Enterprise, d. h. das gemeinsame Unternehmen von thailändischen Institutionen und ausländischen Fachkräften und wissenschaftlichen Instituten wider, das von Anfang an bei der Gründung, 1964, dieses Stammesforschungsinstituts ins Auge gefaßt worden war.

Dieses Research Centre hat den Zweck, die Feldforschung in den verschiedenen Disziplinen der Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften in der Region des nördlichen Südost-Asien anzuregen und dabei auch die interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit zu koordinieren. Es sollen in erster Linie die ethnischen Minoritäten, die sog. Bergstämme und Bergvölker Nord-Thailands, und ihre kulturellen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zur Tieflandbevölkerung

BOOK REVIEW FORUM

H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific; Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1981. Pp. xxiii, 246, 49 black and white illustrations, 12 maps, index, 9 tables. \$38.95

To call someone a slaver is a powerful accusation, drawing up images of bestial brutality, coffin cargos, and rapacious Europeans exploiting technologically simple populations for the growth of home industry or agriculture. Slavery does seem to be as old as recorded history, and were it not for the institution, most of the world's great monuments to human ingenuity would not have been built; the Golden Age of Greece might not have eventuated, and European colonialism not secured its headstart for two centuries of domination.

Harry Maude, doyen of Pacific historians, does not tell of a grand slavery enterprise, but of a small nation succumbing to temptation. His study of the Peruvian labor trade shows us how an otherwise humanistic government in Peru could permit itself to be duped and entrapped in a situation which it did not make, but did nothing to prevent.

Hidden behind the tale, though, is a chapter in colonialism only now beginning to be finely drawn by the modern historian: what capitalism did to secure the labor it required to continue the expansion of the late nineteenth century, to produce the worlds (first, second, third and fourth) we now know.

Through the work of Guttman and other American historians we know that slavery, the purchase and transport of human beings as chattels, did not cease entirely because of humanitarian pressure, but because it became too expensive. As slavery from Africa faded out, indenture became the slave system transformed. And it was cheaper.

Indenture worked by the drawing up of a contract, in the body of which specified duties for specified compensation (in wages or kind) were apparently agreed upon by the hiring agent and the laborer. Typically, indenture was handled by middlemen, who sought out the prospective laborers. Such contracts usually involved a set period of labor, transport to and from the laborer's place of residence, provision of food and clothing,

and sometimes a small wage. These contracts were then sold to individuals and companies requiring the labor.

In principle, it seemed a straightforward business arrangement. In practice, of course, these contracts often were composed in such a fashion that their implications were unclear to the (often illiterate) laborer. Cash wage was kept so low that there was little chance of a laborer buying his (or her) own contract, and work conditions were only vaguely specified.

It would have been difficult to have differentiated an auction of labor contracts (indenture) from an auction of laborers (slavery); the one difference was that while slavery was for the life of the commodity-laborer, indenture had a specified duration. The effect of this was that the holder of the contract got the labor without having to become responsible over the long term for the laborer.

While Peru will always carry the shame of its short-lived trade, many other countries have prospered through indenture, including the United States, Britain (in its colonies, such as Fiji), and Australia. Both Britain and Australia, along with Peru, had their indenture slavery using South Pacific labor in the nineteenth century.

There is no need to recapitulate the details of the Peruvian episode, as Maude can tell the interested reader that story in fine prose. I would like to consider what has been left out. To say that there are omissions is not to denigrate Maude, for he writes with the British historian's fine eye for detail and integrity for documentation. What he does not do, and this is typical of the tradition, is to do more than to interpret the basic facts. Being atheoretical in orientation, the British historian conventionally does not provide context. We know a great deal about the few months of the trade itself, which began in October 1862 and terminated, as far as Island raids were concerned, within six months.

Context can tell us why the actors in the drama we read might have performed as they did. Why, for example, did Peru not continue to use the more plentiful supply of Chinese "coolies"? Documents I have researched from the period in Peru show that even while Peruvian and other vessels headed for Polynesia, the much larger China clippers still moved to and from Cathay, bringing 600 to 700 laborers on a voyage. This trade was slowed down only slightly by British protests about Peruvian operations in their colony.

Why, to take another example, did France so strenuously oppose the trade? France has a long tradition of *Liberté, Égalité, and Fraternité*. But there was an additional reason why France, through its chargé d'affaires, de Lesseps, should wish to embarrass the Peruvian government in

1862-1863. At that time, the French were seeking to impose their self-styled Emperor Maximilian on the throne of republican Mexico and the Peruvians, along with other American republics, sided with their neighbor to the north.

Perhaps, however, my quibbles about the larger context, including the colonial one, seem unfair to the work Maude has produced for us. What he has provided, that the theoretical historians sometimes do not, are all the details about the incidents. From Maude's *Slavers*, future generations will be able to reinterpret, for the groundwork has been laid, and expertly, too.

In addition to thorough research, extending over many years, there is a detailed index, a scholarly bibliography of fifteen archives and eighty-five sources, with maps showing ship's routes, and twenty-seven pages of careful footnotes. All of this material has been digested for us into nine central tables, placed in an Appendix. Maude's work, in short, is the definitive study of this particular episode, even if it does not tell us much about why such a series of events might have taken place at that time.

There is some strong language from Maude and it is directed mainly against the Peruvians who did allow it to take place. Lima was not some barbarian capital, but the (former) jewel of the Spanish empire, rich in artwork and history. High culture flourished and Limeños (the people of Lima) maintained close and appreciative contacts with European events and trends. Their main newspaper, *El Comercio*, carried features on philosophy, as well as the news of the day. The paper itself was cautious when the trade began and became, within Peruvian society, one of the strongest opponents of the Polynesian importations.

Maude calls part of the trade's effect genocidal and the word was not lightly chosen. It is true that genocide, when we think of massacres of Jews, Armenians, and others in this century, is a deliberate campaign to eradicate a particular racial group. In that sense, the Peruvians were not genocidal in intention though ethnocide was one of its justifications. Part of the argument for the trade was to bring the fruits of European civilization, including Christianity, to Polynesia, to the detriment of the Islanders' own beliefs. Genocide, however, was the effect or near-effect of the trade and for that reason the use of this powerful word is justified.

Peruvian reaction to Maude's study will no doubt be varied: few of its citizens today would be aware that it took place. Even the term "Canaca," being the Hawaiian *kanaka* for human being, now exists in modern Peruvian only in association with brothels. "To Canaca (*canaquear*)" means to frequent Chinese brothels or to behave in a similar dissolute manner.

Just as Australians are generally ignorant of their Queensland trade, involving Melanesians in the sugar fields of the far north, so many Peruvians today will be surprised to hear of the limits of their ancestors' actions to promulgate agriculture and other industries.

The book will be of particular interest not only to Pacific specialists but to the general reader as well. It is vintage Maude, with that fine prose style that not only informs, but is a pleasure to read. It is a fine product from a quiet Canberra garden.

Grant McCall
University of New South Wales

This book is Professor Maude's "intermittent labor of love" researched amidst a busy life first as a British administrator and subsequently as a scholar of Pacific history at the Australian National University. Like everything else Maude has written, this work, too, bears all the hallmarks of his scholarship which is characterized by meticulous research and elegant, evocative prose. Professor Maude clearly has a romantic fascination with the South Seas, born no doubt out of his long and deep association with it. This book as a result is replete with words and phrases that conjure in the mind the image of tranquility, peace, and abandon in which the island people lived before the intrusion of the Europeans. Indeed, Maude sees the general reader viewing his account "as the story of the most dramatic region-wide conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence ever to occur in the romantic setting of the South Seas" (p. viii).

This romantic, as opposed to "analytical," vision informs and indeed pervades the whole book which deals with the seven month period between September 1862 and April 1863 when hundreds of Polynesians were taken away by Peruvian recruiters for employment in Peru. All facets of this episode are described and documented. We are told of the numbers of people who were recruited, the islands from which they came, the mortality rate among the laborers, their repatriation, the brutalizing ordeal of shipment, and so on. The discussion of the dynamics of recruitment and shipment of the Polynesian laborers forms the core of the story. One wishes the author had told us more about the social and economic realities of the world from which the islanders had been recruited and the realities of the new environment into which they were introduced. We

would then have had a more composite and full picture of the episode. As it stands, the reader is left with a romanticized picture of the Polynesian world, an impressionistic, and at times derogatory picture of Peruvian society.

Professor Maude's moral outrage at the activities of the rapacious Peruvian recruiters is apparent, as it is also in the title of the book. To him, the elaborate process of labor recruitment, "the inspection of ships' papers and recruits' contracts was a farce," (p. 123). Nine-tenths of the Polynesian laborers "had been tricked or forced into leaving their islands and had little or no knowledge of the purport of the document, written in Spanish and occasionally also in English, which they had been told to put a mark on long after they came on board" (p. 124). In short, Polynesian labor recruitment was slave trade.

The contemporary officials and observers, Maude tells us, were all agreed that the labor traffic indeed resembled slavery; and he is content to go by their opinion. It may be worth noting that the Melanesian labor migration was also viewed in this light by many contemporary observers, especially self-interested missionaries, until critical investigations of scholars such as Peter Corris and Deryck Scarr showed it to be a more complex and two-sided affair. Indian indentured migration has also been viewed as slavery by many people, though detailed investigation of aspects of it have raised serious questions about the validity of the description. Slavery is a problematic concept as the intense debate about it in the United States clearly shows; and the use of the term can just as easily confuse and obscure as it can illuminate. But perhaps the Polynesian episode was unique, something which does not emerge clearly from the narrative, but may have emerged in a more comparative perspective.

A chronological, island-by-island account of recruitment adds color and variety to the book, and it is bound to increase its appeal in those islands from where the laborers were taken. However, such treatment unfortunately detracts from the emergence of a more complete picture of the process of recruitment and shipping of the laborers, besides being repetitive at times. It also leads to the banishment of important statistical information, central to the purpose of the book, to the end, something which at least one numerate reader found disappointing.

Professor Maude's study of a little-known episode in Polynesian history will be welcomed by scholars of Pacific history and especially by *aficionados* of Polynesian studies. A general student of Pacific history, however, would probably have been satisfied with a less detailed treat-

ment in the form of a long chapter included in the author's masterly collection of essays, *Of Islands and Men*.

Brij V. Lal

The University of the South Pacific

Slavers in Paradise is clearly a pioneering work. Its greatest importance, obviously, is for Polynesian history. But it also has value for the student of Peruvian social history, bringing out some relatively unknown factual aspects of the contract labor arrangements under which Asian workers were brought to Peru to replace the emancipated Black slaves in the mid-nineteenth century.

The importation of Chinese "coolies" under Peruvian contract labor law has been studied by scholars, but the record of the short-lived arrangement for importing workers from Polynesia for the sugar plantations and for guano mining has been little studied because of the difficulty of finding the documentation; it is a sorry record, indeed, as the author shows. Fortunately, as he brings out in chapter 18, Peruvian humanitarians, prodded especially by the French chargé d'affaires, Edmond de Lesseps, brought a quick end to the traffic, once the abuses became known, though not before thousands of Polynesians had lost their lives because of inhumane treatment and disease. The small population of Polynesia had been reduced to a catastrophic degree, particularly in Easter Island.

The United States, engaged in the Civil War, paid little attention to the abuses in the trade reported from Peru. Hawaiian officials were largely ineffective. Britain, which had important interests in Polynesia, procrastinated, not deciding until the traffic was virtually over, whether or not the islanders were entitled to British protection. Chile, although later claiming the Easter Islands, had no officials there. For this reason some of the worst abuses occurred there. The author appropriately lauds the French representatives and the French government for their active protestations which helped secure the abolition of the traffic. Edmond de Lesseps receives special praise.

Some Peruvian aspects of the study may be open to criticism, even though the author's appropriate emphasis is upon Polynesia. The opening chapter, "The Peruvian Background," for example, will raise questions by Peruvian historians. They may rightly ask why so little attention is given in this chapter to the almost overwhelming domestic and international

problems, social, economic, and political, faced by Peru at this time. They will doubtless resent the derogatory reference to the population of Peru (p. 1) as consisting of "disparate ethnic groups between which there is little in common other than a disinclination to engage in manual labour if it could be avoided." They might also have wished to see more credit given to Peruvian liberals for their abolition of Black slavery and for their struggles against Chinese contract labor, before it was reallocated in 1861.

A reviewer should not quibble over words, but in the interest of accuracy it may be appropriate to raise a question about the use of the terms *slavers* and *slave trade* in the title of the book. No one questions the right of an author to use these terms in their broad popular sense on occasion. But their use in this sense in a careful and precise historical study such as this one seems to mar rather than add to its effectiveness for the historian. The historical institution of slavery had been abolished in Peru and the slaves had left the plantations and guano islands. While some of the aspects of the recruitment and transportation of the Polynesians may have been as bad or worse than the worst of the African slave shipments, it was a different kind of social and economic abuse.

Although the author does not seem to have used computerized statistical techniques, he rates high in terms of quantification. Meager and scattered figures have been gathered from the documents and carefully collated to give a reliable idea of the number of recruits involved, the number of ships employed, the numbers landed and refused landing, and the numbers repatriated. The greatest gap in statistical information seems to be in respect to the workers who stayed on in Peru. Data here is largely lacking. But the author's ingenious calculation of the number of workers from Easter Island is worthy of special mention. Lacking any official records from Easter Island itself, he identified shipments from there by carefully calculating the sailing times of the various vessels arriving in Callao, thus deducing the origin of the shipments.

The author identified 32-33 vessels engaged in the trade, of which 27 were Peruvian, 4 Chilean, 1 Spanish, and (possibly) 1 Tasmanian. The total number of laborers recruited is calculated as 3,634, including 1,407 from Easter Island, 1,915 from other Polynesian islands and 312 from Micronesia.

The saddest aspect of the Polynesian labor recruitment is the record of repatriation, inspired though it was by the humane efforts of French and British officials and by missionaries. "Of the total of 3125 brought to Peru," writes Professor Maude (p. 164), "1216 or 39 percent, were thus retained or put on board four repatriation vessels, but only 157 or 5 percent, landed once again on a Polynesian island alive." The author uses the

term "genocide" to describe this wholesale loss of life. Sensitive Peruvians may resent the implied comparison with the Nazi holocaust, since their objective was not to wipe out a race but to provide workers. Yet the term certainly imparts a vivid sense of the tragedy in Polynesia.

The impact of the incipient Christian missionary efforts in the islands, both Catholic and Protestant, might have received more careful evaluation. While disease of the coconut palm, the islanders' major food source, was a prime factor in favoring the recruitment, missionaries, somewhat naively, sometimes collaborated with the labor recruiters under the mistaken idea that they were helping to ward off starvation (pp. 76-77, 174-175). However, the London Missionary Society and other missionary groups helped to arouse the public opinion in Peru that brought an end to the traffic. Missionaries also helped to calm the fears and resentment of the islanders, and to reconcile them to the tragedy they had suffered.

While this is a book that may well invite controversy, it is a notable contribution, not only to Polynesian history, but also to the more complex field of comparative history.

Harold E. Davis
The American University

Response: H. E. Maude

I am relieved at the temperate tenor of these critiques, and I find myself in agreement with many of the points made, though to have provided all the information apparently considered desirable would have necessitated the production of a book which few could have afforded to buy.

All contributors comment on my use of the term slavery. I wish that I could have found a less emotive and opprobrious word that expressed the real, as against the theoretical, position of the recruits; for though Davis implies, if I understand him rightly, that because slavery had been abolished in Peru the treatment of the Polynesians did not constitute slavery, but "a different kind of social and economic abuse," this is not the view I have taken.

Slavery is abolished in the United States, and yet as recently as 1947 the Supreme Court held a person to be enslaved, using a definition of de facto slavery which would be as applicable to the Polynesian recruits as the one I have given on p. xx, and cases of slavery are reported as existing

in countries where it has been legally abolished for decades. In fact, I used the term advisedly and not in a broad popular sense; but perhaps it would have been less invidious to have adopted McCall's more precise term: indentured slavery.

It is true, as Brij Lal points out, that many contemporary observers considered the Polynesian labor trade to be a disguised slave trade, but I should have been loathe to have based my judgment on their view alone, for missionaries in particular were apt to call all forms of the indentured labor trade slavery. Some fifty years ago I was a labor recruiting officer myself on ships working the Gilbert and Tuvalu Groups, and since then I have read most of the documentation on the seven other major labor trades in Oceania—to New South Wales, Queensland, New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti, and Hawaii—as well as on a number of minor recruiting ventures to such places as Nauru and Ocean Island, Makatea, Fanning Island, and Guatemala; but in general character, none of them were slave trades, and it was to accentuate my view that the Peruvian traffic was unique that I chose an unequivocal title for the book.

Davis reproves me for giving too little attention to Peru's contemporary problems and to the work of Peruvian liberals. In extenuation I can but plead that the book was written for, and at the request of, a Polynesian readership and much of interest to Peruvian scholars had perforce to be omitted unless it bore directly on my main theme: the fate of the Polynesians in Peru. Credit was given, for instance, to the help afforded by the newspaper *El Comercio* and employers such as Cipriano Elguera and John Montero; but there were no doubt others, and it is to be hoped that someone may be stimulated by such omissions to write an account of the labor trade as seen from the receiving end. I suspect, however, that what constituted a major tempest in Oceania caused only a ripple on the shores of Peru.

For my disparaging remark on ethnic attitudes towards manual labor I must do penance; it was not well-phrased and should in any case have referred specifically to plantation labor. On the other hand, Davis has misread me in concluding that the coconut palm disease affected atolls other than Tongareva; and as regards missionary activity, I think that apart from the efforts of the Catholic Bishop in Tahiti to alert Catholics on the mainland, these were of little avail. The Protestant missions, having no contacts in Peru, concentrated on inducing the British Government to do something, but without success, while endeavoring at the same time to mitigate the traumatic effects of the trade on those left on the islands.

Brij Lal is right; I have been engaged in a love affair with the South Sea islands all my life and view the atoll world in particular in somewhat

roseate hues. I was actually engaged in producing the "long chapter" he speaks of when the sheer drama of the episode coming to light for the first time captured my imagination, and I felt compelled to tell it in full as it happened. History, to me at least, must be literature if it is to hold the interest of the reader, while transcending other literary forms by its scrupulous fidelity to fact.

I am sorry if I have evinced moral outrage, as Lal considers, for this is generally an impermissible indulgence in writing about people of another age and cultural background. One may report indignation felt by others at the time, for this is often an important fact, but it is hazardous for us to pronounce judgment when past community ethical standards are hard to ascertain and may well vary within the group; and it would be anachronistic to judge those who lived in the past by our standards today.

Other points raised by Lal are dealt with later but it should perhaps be emphasized here that the chronological island-by-island accounts in Part One, admittedly in places confusing and repetitive, are what the islanders themselves wanted and invariably turn to first. Their justification lies in the fact that they have been translated into Tokelau, Tongan, Niuean, French (for Tahiti), and I believe Kiribatese, Tuvaluan and Cook Islands Maori, with at best a summary of what happened before and after the events at a particular island group.

I am flattered by McCall's description of me as a typical historian of the British school, though I fear that a renegade anthropologist with an interest in cultural dynamics would be rejected by that august fraternity. Nor should I care to consort with historians who, we are told, ignore context.

Surely questions of context are the very essence of any diachronic study and they were my main interest and concern when writing on the Peruvian trade. It is for others to judge whether I have succeeded or failed, but the two examples of omission adduced by McCall do not prove his contention since the first was in fact dealt with, including the special licenses which permitted the continuance of the coolie trade at a reduced level. As it was peripheral to my main theme, however, I referred those who required more information to the detailed account in Watt Stewart's *Chinese Bondage in Peru*.

The second example, after investigation, I dismissed as a hypothesis without documentary support which in any case had no effect on de Lesseps, whose motivations are clear from his official and private correspondence. I suggest that a conclusive objection is the fact that when Peru sought France's support early in 1864 over Spain's seizure of the Chincha Islands the Polynesian labor trade was found to be the only issue of any

importance between the two countries, and on this being settled by a reimbursement and indemnity their relations immediately became cordial, and remained so. Yet France's participation in the Mexican adventure continued until 1867.

Apart from this minor variance I am in agreement with all McCall's comments, including his inference that I am a narrative rather than a theoretical historian. I should be churlish, furthermore, if I did not acknowledge here the assistance obtained in completing the study from his own pioneering work on the Easter Island trade and his researches in Peru, which I was able to pursue in more detail "from a quiet Canberra garden," as he happily phrases it, where I was not burdened with a teaching load.

Some passages in the critiques call not so much for comment here as for further research on subjects connected with, but ancillary to, the theme of the book. I have already expressed the hope that to amplify, and correct any imbalance in, the account given in part 2, a South American specialist might care to research the trade from the Peruvian perspective, after examining documentation which I was unable to obtain such as the minutes of the Executive Council, the Naval correspondence, hacienda records, and the books of the commercial firms engaged in recruiting operations.

Such a survey could include the information asked for by Lal on the Peruvian social and economic environment into which the recruits were precipitated, but his analogous survey of the situation in Polynesia would require a detailed enquiry into the early political, economic, and social development of Polynesia from the beginnings of European contact to the middle of the nineteenth century. There are studies on particular aspects, notably J. M. Davidson's 1942 doctoral thesis, and on particular areas, such as Colin Newbury's recent book *Tahiti Nui*, but much information has come to hand of recent years and what is now wanted is a synoptic survey of the whole Polynesian region; it would, I believe, establish that trading and missionary inter-island communications had integrated Polynesia as never before.

In reply to a query by Lal I have affirmed that the Polynesian trade was unique in bearing the general character of a slave trade, but there is now sufficient material available to enable a comparative study to be made of the Pacific labor trades as a significant element in the overall picture of culture contact in Oceania. It should elicit some surprising data on such matters as the number of recruits involved: the locale and methods of recruitment; the nature and efficiency of government controls; the location and nature of employment; the legal and actual status of the

laborers; conditions of employment; repatriation arrangements and their efficacy; mortality statistics and causes; and the effect of the trade on the island societies.

Another study of, I submit, even greater importance to our understanding of island, and especially atoll, societies concerns their reaction to disaster conditions, for it became clear when writing the chapter on "Crisis in the Atolls" that the many specialized works on disasters in other regions were mainly concerned with modern, urbanized communities. Practically no work has been done on the effects of, and response to, calamities in Oceania and yet, with its unique multiplicity of small and culturally variant societies known to have been subject to natural disasters, the region is ideally suited to research on this theme. We do not really know, for example, the precise mechanisms by which the island communities coped with disaster conditions and whether, as I strongly suspect, the more rigorous conditions of atoll life enabled the inhabitants to adapt to catastrophe with greater success than those on the volcanic islands.

That two out of the three topics suggested in the commentaries or this reply represent comparative studies of regional or subregional scope is not surprising for, as Kerry Howe has indicated in *Pacific Studies* for Fall 1979, the great number of detailed papers on particular themes now published makes the synoptic approach a feasible and profitable one.

Nevertheless, a perusal of the book will show that there are still many topics of mainly local importance concerning that of which we know next to nothing and which might well interest someone seeking a subject for research: for example, an investigation into the land tenure system on Tongareva as affected by the labor trades; the history of the pearlshell industry in the Tuamotus during the early nineteenth century; the significance of the oral traditions relating to the cannon preserved at 'Uiha in Tonga; and the recovery and reproduction of the missing diary of the Jennings settlement on Olosenga from 1856 to 1866, last seen during 1919 in the possession of a Miss Nellie Skeen of Nuku'alofa.

A final point which has been raised by readers, though not by the commentators, is whether the sudden depopulation and associated cultural shock experienced by the eight island communities who lost more than half their population bear out the views advanced by Alan Moorehead in *The Fatal Impact*. Moorehead's thesis, however, was based on an examination of induced change on a single Pacific island, and it would seem that, with the exception of Easter Island, the marked demographic resurgence and community regeneration following the Peruvian raids suggest on the contrary the remarkable resilience of island, and in particular atoll, communities.

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Maude, H.E. *Slaves in Paradise. The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. 244 pp. Hard cover.

This well documented and researched history reveals for the first time the tragic events and traumatic effects of the Peruvian slave raids of 1862-1863 in Polynesia which reduced the population of many island communities by two-thirds. The author has consulted several hundred scattered primary sources in missionary archives to gather the necessary information for this factual two-part narrative. Part I (Chapters 1 to 13) deals with Peruvians in Polynesia and traces the reasons behind the slave trade, offers the statistics of the numbers of Polynesians abducted (approximately 3634) from each island, identifies the ships involved (27 Peruvian, 4 Chilean, 1 Spanish and 1 Tasmanian), and studies 4 principal routes taken in the 38 voyages to 51 islands and the methods used by captains and supercargoes. Part II (Chapters 14 to 23), Polynesians in Peru, examines the return voyages to Peru, the employment, treatment and conditions of slaves there, the attitudes of the authorities toward this illicit trade, its eventual abolition, the attempts to repatriate the survivors as well as the repercussions felt by those still left on the islands. This study with illustrative Plates contains Introduction, Appendix with statistical Tables, Notes to the 23 chapters, Bibliography, and Index. *J.B.S.*

Meier, Matt S. and Feliciano Rivera. *Dictionary of Mexican American History*. Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1981. 498 pp. Hard cover.

This one volume comprehensive dictionary compiled by its two principal authors and more than 30 contributors begins properly with La Malinche and Hernán Cortés focusing on the more significant individuals and events between 1519 and 1836. It deals with northern New Spain (Mexico) known today as the Southwest and has as its main scope the period from 1835 beginning with the Texas revolt against Mexico up to 1980. The dictionary is ordered alphabetically with brief entries on numerous topics (religious, cultural, political, economic, etc.) that often include additional sources and references. In its arrangement it includes the Dictionary, Appendix A: Bibliography of General Works, Appendix B: Chronology of Mexican American History, Appendix C: The Complete Text of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Protocol of Querétaro, Appendix D: Glossary of Chicano Terms, Appendix E: Mexican American Journals, Appendix F: Tables of Census, Education, Employment and Immigration Statistics, Appendix G: Figures, Appendix H: Maps, and Index. *J.B.S.*

Mendoza, María Luisa. *El perro de la escribana o Las Piedecosas*. México, D.F.: Editorial Joaquín Mortiz, S.A., 1982. 141 pp. Paperback.

Parece a veces que la protagonista de esta curiosa novela, narrada en tiempo presente en primera persona por la escribana Piedecosas acompañada siempre de las dos perras Dimes y Diretes, es

Fundamentos, 1982. 260 pp. Paperback.

En este análisis se estudian dos novelas fundamentales de Adolfo Bioy Casares—*La invención de Morel* (1940) y *Plan de evasión* (1945)—en el contexto de la tradición de la literatura fantástica contemporánea, cuyos orígenes son trazados desde la novela gótica o el romance, la literatura pastoril y la utópica en la Introducción. En el primer capítulo se analizan las dos novelas en cuanto a sus interrelaciones, y en el segundo se trata de la ciencia-ficción y en particular de *La isla del Doctor Moreau* como «pre-texto» de las dos obras de Bioy. El capítulo tres examina las características de lo pastoril y el cuarto discute la utopía borgiana en relación con las «novelas-isla» de Bioy Casares. Se incluyen Apéndice I: Autocronología de Alfonso Bioy Casares, Apéndice II: Los novios en las tarjetas postales, Notas, Bibliografía e Índice de nombres propios. *J.B.S.*

Lewald, H. Ernest. (Ed). *The Web. Stories by Argentine Women.* Trans. by H.E. Lewald. Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1983. 170 pp. Hard cover.

This volume is an anthology in English translation of 17 short stories and one essay by 12 different female authors from Buenos Aires, Argentina whose principal vehicle of expression is normally the novel. Among the writers represented are Silvina Bullrich, Beatriz Guido and Silvina Ocampo as well as Luisa Valenzuela, Amalia Jamilis and Reina Roffé of the younger generation. For the most part the common theme of these stories involves the ever changing problems of male-female relationships in

an urban society and culture as seen from a woman's perspective. H. E. Lewald, the translator, has provided an Introduction, as well as brief yet informative sketches of each of the 12 women authors. *J.B.S.*

Lombardi, John V. *Venezuela. The Search for Order, The Dream of Progress.* N.Y., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. 348 pp. Paperback.

This six-chapter history of Venezuela maintains logically that whatever insights are to be gained by an examination of the country's recent economic prosperity, largely as a result of her petroleum resources, can only be properly understood within the context of her past. Lombardi's study, therefore, is holistic in its approach and chronological in its structure, while emphasizing both surface transformation and deep-rooted continuities which underlie Venezuela's historical identity. Chapter I examines Venezuela's human and natural resources and the composition of her population. The book also contains: «Introduction,» «Conclusion,» «Chronology,» prepared by Mary B. Floyd, «Bibliographic Essay,» «Statistical Supplement,» «Tables,» and «Index.» *J.B.S.*

Martínez Mediero, Manuel. *La novia. Lisistrata. Las hermanas de Búfalo Bill.* Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 1980. 174 pp. Paperback.

Este libro reúne tres dramas de M. Martínez Mediero: *La novia*, del año 1978 en un solo acto; *Lisistrata*, del año 1980 en dos partes; y *Las hermanas de Búfalo Bill*, de 1972 en dos actos. Un prólogo titulado «Un sabor a

Pacific Affairs
vol.VI, no.2 (Spring 1983),
pp.60-71.

BOOK REVIEW FORUM

H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific; Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1981. Pp. xxiii, 246, 49 black and white illustrations, 12 maps, index, 9 tables. \$38.95

To call someone a slaver is a powerful accusation, drawing up images of bestial brutality, coffin cargos, and rapacious Europeans exploiting technologically simple populations for the growth of home industry or agriculture. Slavery does seem to be as old as recorded history, and were it not for the institution, most of the world's great monuments to human ingenuity would not have been built; the Golden Age of Greece might not have eventuated, and European colonialism not secured its headstart for two centuries of domination.

Harry Maude, doyen of Pacific historians, does not tell of a grand slavery enterprise, but of a small nation succumbing to temptation. His study of the Peruvian labor trade shows us how an otherwise humanistic government in Peru could permit itself to be duped and entrapped in a situation which it did not make, but did nothing to prevent.

Hidden behind the tale, though, is a chapter in colonialism only now beginning to be finely drawn by the modern historian: what capitalism did to secure the labor it required to continue the expansion of the late nineteenth century, to produce the worlds (first, second, third and fourth) we now know.

Through the work of Guttman and other American historians we know that slavery, the purchase and transport of human beings as chattels, did not cease entirely because of humanitarian pressure, but because it became too expensive. As slavery from Africa faded out, indenture became the slave system transformed. And it was cheaper.

Indenture worked by the drawing up of a contract, in the body of which specified duties for specified compensation (in wages or kind) were apparently agreed upon by the hiring agent and the laborer. Typically, indenture was handled by middlemen, who sought out the prospective laborers. Such contracts usually involved a set period of labor, transport to and from the laborer's place of residence, provision of food and clothing,

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and sometimes a small wage. These contracts were then sold to individuals and companies requiring the labor.

In principle, it seemed a straightforward business arrangement. In practice, of course, these contracts often were composed in such a fashion that their implications were unclear to the (often illiterate) laborer. Cash wage was kept so low that there was little chance of a laborer buying his (or her) own contract, and work conditions were only vaguely specified.

It would have been difficult to have differentiated an auction of labor contracts (indenture) from an auction of laborers (slavery); the one difference was that while slavery was for the life of the commodity-laborer, indenture had a specified duration. The effect of this was that the holder of the contract got the labor without having to become responsible over the long term for the laborer.

While Peru will always carry the shame of its short-lived trade, many other countries have prospered through indenture, including the United States, Britain (in its colonies, such as Fiji), and Australia. Both Britain and Australia, along with Peru, had their indenture slavery using South Pacific labor in the nineteenth century.

There is no need to recapitulate the details of the Peruvian episode, as Maude can tell the interested reader that story in fine prose. I would like to consider what has been left out. To say that there are omissions is not to denigrate Maude, for he writes with the British historian's fine eye for detail and integrity for documentation. What he does not do, and this is typical of the tradition, is to do more than to interpret the basic facts. Being atheoretical in orientation, the British historian conventionally does not provide context. We know a great deal about the few months of the trade itself, which began in October 1862 and terminated, as far as Island raids were concerned, within six months.

Context can tell us why the actors in the drama we read might have performed as they did. Why, for example, did Peru not continue to use the more plentiful supply of Chinese "coolies"? Documents I have researched from the period in Peru show that even while Peruvian and other vessels headed for Polynesia, the much larger China clippers still moved to and from Cathay, bringing 600 to 700 laborers on a voyage. This trade was slowed down only slightly by British protests about Peruvian operations in their colony.

Why, to take another example, did France so strenuously oppose the trade? France has a long tradition of *Liberté, Égalité, and Fraternité*. But there was an additional reason why France, through its chargé d'affaires, de Lesseps, should wish to embarrass the Peruvian government in

1862-1863. At that time, the French were seeking to impose their self-styled Emperor Maximilian on the throne of republican Mexico and the Peruvians, along with other American republics, sided with their neighbor to the north.

Perhaps, however, my quibbles about the larger context, including the colonial one, seem unfair to the work Maude has produced for us. What he has provided, that the theoretical historians sometimes do not, are all the details about the incidents. From Maude's *Slavers*, future generations will be able to reinterpret, for the groundwork has been laid, and expertly, too.

In addition to thorough research, extending over many years, there is a detailed index, a scholarly bibliography of fifteen archives and eighty-five sources, with maps showing ship's routes, and twenty-seven pages of careful footnotes. All of this material has been digested for us into nine central tables, placed in an Appendix. Maude's work, in short, is the definitive study of this particular episode, even if it does not tell us much about why such a series of events might have taken place at that time.

There is some strong language from Maude and it is directed mainly against the Peruvians who did allow it to take place. Lima was not some barbarian capital, but the (former) jewel of the Spanish empire, rich in artwork and history. High culture flourished and Limeños (the people of Lima) maintained close and appreciative contacts with European events and trends. Their main newspaper, *El Comercio*, carried features on philosophy, as well as the news of the day. The paper itself was cautious when the trade began and became, within Peruvian society, one of the strongest opponents of the Polynesian importations.

Maude calls part of the trade's effect genocidal and the word was not lightly chosen. It is true that genocide, when we think of massacres of Jews, Armenians, and others in this century, is a deliberate campaign to eradicate a particular racial group. In that sense, the Peruvians were not genocidal in intention though ethnocide was one of its justifications. Part of the argument for the trade was to bring the fruits of European civilization, including Christianity, to Polynesia, to the detriment of the Islanders' own beliefs. Genocide, however, was the effect or near-effect of the trade and for that reason the use of this powerful word is justified.

Peruvian reaction to Maude's study will no doubt be varied: few of its citizens today would be aware that it took place. Even the term "Canaca," being the Hawaiian *kanaka* for human being, now exists in modern Peruvian only in association with brothels. "To Canaca (*canaquear*)" means to frequent Chinese brothels or to behave in a similar dissolute manner.

Just as Australians are generally ignorant of their Queensland trade, involving Melanesians in the sugar fields of the far north, so many Peruvians today will be surprised to hear of the limits of their ancestors' actions to promulgate agriculture and other industries.

The book will be of particular interest not only to Pacific specialists but to the general reader as well. It is vintage Maude, with that fine prose style that not only informs, but is a pleasure to read. It is a fine product from a quiet Canberra garden.

Grant McCall
University of New South Wales

This book is Professor Maude's "intermittent labor of love" researched amidst a busy life first as a British administrator and subsequently as a scholar of Pacific history at the Australian National University. Like everything else Maude has written, this work, too, bears all the hallmarks of his scholarship which is characterized by meticulous research and elegant, evocative prose. Professor Maude clearly has a romantic fascination with the South Seas, born no doubt out of his long and deep association with it. This book as a result is replete with words and phrases that conjure in the mind the image of tranquility, peace, and abandon in which the island people lived before the intrusion of the Europeans. Indeed, Maude sees the general reader viewing his account "as the story of the most dramatic region-wide conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence ever to occur in the romantic setting of the South Seas" (p. viii).

This romantic, as opposed to "analytical," vision informs and indeed pervades the whole book which deals with the seven month period between September 1862 and April 1863 when hundreds of Polynesians were taken away by Peruvian recruiters for employment in Peru. All facets of this episode are described and documented. We are told of the numbers of people who were recruited, the islands from which they came, the mortality rate among the laborers, their repatriation, the brutalizing ordeal of shipment, and so on. The discussion of the dynamics of recruitment and shipment of the Polynesian laborers forms the core of the story. One wishes the author had told us more about the social and economic realities of the world from which the islanders had been recruited and the realities of the new environment into which they were introduced. We

would then have had a more composite and full picture of the episode. As it stands, the reader is left with a romanticized picture of the Polynesian world, an impressionistic, and at times derogatory picture of Peruvian society.

Professor Maude's moral outrage at the activities of the rapacious Peruvian recruiters is apparent, as it is also in the title of the book. To him, the elaborate process of labor recruitment, "the inspection of ships' papers and recruits' contracts was a farce," (p. 123). Nine-tenths of the Polynesian laborers "had been tricked or forced into leaving their islands and had little or no knowledge of the purport of the document, written in Spanish and occasionally also in English, which they had been told to put a mark on long after they came on board" (p. 124). In short, Polynesian labor recruitment was slave trade.

The contemporary officials and observers, Maude tells us, were all agreed that the labor traffic indeed resembled slavery; and he is content to go by their opinion. It may be worth noting that the Melanesian labor migration was also viewed in this light by many contemporary observers, especially self-interested missionaries, until critical investigations of scholars such as Peter Corris and Deryck Scarr showed it to be a more complex and two-sided affair. Indian indentured migration has also been viewed as slavery by many people, though detailed investigation of aspects of it have raised serious questions about the validity of the description. Slavery is a problematic concept as the intense debate about it in the United States clearly shows; and the use of the term can just as easily confuse and obscure as it can illuminate. But perhaps the Polynesian episode was unique, something which does not emerge clearly from the narrative, but may have emerged in a more comparative perspective.

A chronological, island-by-island account of recruitment adds color and variety to the book, and it is bound to increase its appeal in those islands from where the laborers were taken. However, such treatment unfortunately detracts from the emergence of a more complete picture of the process of recruitment and shipping of the laborers, besides being repetitive at times. It also leads to the banishment of important statistical information, central to the purpose of the book, to the end, something which at least one numerate reader found disappointing.

Professor Maude's study of a little-known episode in Polynesian history will be welcomed by scholars of Pacific history and especially by *aficionados* of Polynesian studies. A general student of Pacific history, however, would probably have been satisfied with a less detailed treat-

ment in the form of a long chapter included in the author's masterly collection of essays, *Of Islands and Men*.

Brij V. Lal
The University of the South Pacific

Slavers in Paradise is clearly a pioneering work. Its greatest importance, obviously, is for Polynesian history. But it also has value for the student of Peruvian social history, bringing out some relatively unknown factual aspects of the contract labor arrangements under which Asian workers were brought to Peru to replace the emancipated Black slaves in the mid-nineteenth century.

The importation of Chinese "coolies" under Peruvian contract labor law has been studied by scholars, but the record of the short-lived arrangement for importing workers from Polynesia for the sugar plantations and for guano mining has been little studied because of the difficulty of finding the documentation; it is a sorry record, indeed, as the author shows. Fortunately, as he brings out in chapter 18, Peruvian humanitarians, prodded especially by the French chargé d'affaires, Edmond de Lesseps, brought a quick end to the traffic, once the abuses became known, though not before thousands of Polynesians had lost their lives because of inhumane treatment and disease. The small population of Polynesia had been reduced to a catastrophic degree, particularly in Easter Island.

The United States, engaged in the Civil War, paid little attention to the abuses in the trade reported from Peru. Hawaiian officials were largely ineffective. Britain, which had important interests in Polynesia, procrastinated, not deciding until the traffic was virtually over, whether or not the islanders were entitled to British protection. Chile, although later claiming the Easter Islands, had no officials there. For this reason some of the worst abuses occurred there. The author appropriately lauds the French representatives and the French government for their active protestations which helped secure the abolition of the traffic. Edmond de Lesseps receives special praise.

Some Peruvian aspects of the study may be open to criticism, even though the author's appropriate emphasis is upon Polynesia. The opening chapter, "The Peruvian Background," for example, will raise questions by Peruvian historians. They may rightly ask why so little attention is given in this chapter to the almost overwhelming domestic and international

problems, social, economic, and political, faced by Peru at this time. They will doubtless resent the derogatory reference to the population of Peru (p. 1) as consisting of "disparate ethnic groups between which there is little in common other than a disinclination to engage in manual labour if it could be avoided." They might also have wished to see more credit given to Peruvian liberals for their abolition of Black slavery and for their struggles against Chinese contract labor, before it was reallocated in 1861.

A reviewer should not quibble over words, but in the interest of accuracy it may be appropriate to raise a question about the use of the terms *slavers* and *slave trade* in the title of the book. No one questions the right of an author to use these terms in their broad popular sense on occasion. But their use in this sense in a careful and precise historical study such as this one seems to mar rather than add to its effectiveness for the historian. The historical institution of slavery had been abolished in Peru and the slaves had left the plantations and guano islands. While some of the aspects of the recruitment and transportation of the Polynesians may have been as bad or worse than the worst of the African slave shipments, it was a different kind of social and economic abuse.

Although the author does not seem to have used computerized statistical techniques, he rates high in terms of quantification. Meager and scattered figures have been gathered from the documents and carefully collated to give a reliable idea of the number of recruits involved, the number of ships employed, the numbers landed and refused landing, and the numbers repatriated. The greatest gap in statistical information seems to be in respect to the workers who stayed on in Peru. Data here is largely lacking. But the author's ingenious calculation of the number of workers from Easter Island is worthy of special mention. Lacking any official records from Easter Island itself, he identified shipments from there by carefully calculating the sailing times of the various vessels arriving in Callao, thus deducing the origin of the shipments.

The author identified 32-33 vessels engaged in the trade, of which 27 were Peruvian, 4 Chilean, 1 Spanish, and (possibly) 1 Tasmanian. The total number of laborers recruited is calculated as 3,634, including 1,407 from Easter Island, 1,915 from other Polynesian islands and 312 from Micronesia.

The saddest aspect of the Polynesian labor recruitment is the record of repatriation, inspired though it was by the humane efforts of French and British officials and by missionaries. "Of the total of 3125 brought to Peru," writes Professor Maude (p. 164), "1216 or 39 percent, were thus retained or put on board four repatriation vessels, but only 157 or 5 percent, landed once again on a Polynesian island alive." The author uses the

term "genocide" to describe this wholesale loss of life. Sensitive Peruvians may resent the implied comparison with the Nazi holocaust, since their objective was not to wipe out a race but to provide workers. Yet the term certainly imparts a vivid sense of the tragedy in Polynesia.

The impact of the incipient Christian missionary efforts in the islands, both Catholic and Protestant, might have received more careful evaluation. While disease of the coconut palm, the islanders' major food source, was a prime factor in favoring the recruitment, missionaries, somewhat naively, sometimes collaborated with the labor recruiters under the mistaken idea that they were helping to ward off starvation (pp. 76-77, 174-175). However, the London Missionary Society and other missionary groups helped to arouse the public opinion in Peru that brought an end to the traffic. Missionaries also helped to calm the fears and resentment of the islanders, and to reconcile them to the tragedy they had suffered.

While this is a book that may well invite controversy, it is a notable contribution, not only to Polynesian history, but also to the more complex field of comparative history.

Harold E. Davis
The American University

Response: H. E. Maude

I am relieved at the temperate tenor of these critiques, and I find myself in agreement with many of the points made, though to have provided all the information apparently considered desirable would have necessitated the production of a book which few could have afforded to buy.

All contributors comment on my use of the term slavery. I wish that I could have found a less emotive and opprobrious word that expressed the real, as against the theoretical, position of the recruits; for though Davis implies, if I understand him rightly, that because slavery had been abolished in Peru the treatment of the Polynesians did not constitute slavery, but "a different kind of social and economic abuse," this is not the view I have taken.

Slavery is abolished in the United States, and yet as recently as 1947 the Supreme Court held a person to be enslaved, using a definition of de facto slavery which would be as applicable to the Polynesian recruits as the one I have given on p. xx, and cases of slavery are reported as existing

in countries where it has been legally abolished for decades. In fact, I used the term advisedly and not in a broad popular sense; but perhaps it would have been less invidious to have adopted McCall's more precise term: indentured slavery.

It is true, as Brij Lal points out, that many contemporary observers considered the Polynesian labor trade to be a disguised slave trade, but I should have been loathe to have based my judgment on their view alone, for missionaries in particular were apt to call all forms of the indentured labor trade slavery. Some fifty years ago I was a labor recruiting officer myself on ships working the Gilbert and Tuvalu Groups, and since then I have read most of the documentation on the seven other major labor trades in Oceania—to New South Wales, Queensland, New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti, and Hawaii—as well as on a number of minor recruiting ventures to such places as Nauru and Ocean Island, Makatea, Fanning Island, and Guatemala; but in general character, none of them were slave trades, and it was to accentuate my view that the Peruvian traffic was unique that I chose an unequivocal title for the book.

Davis reproves me for giving too little attention to Peru's contemporary problems and to the work of Peruvian liberals. In extenuation I can but plead that the book was written for, and at the request of, a Polynesian readership and much of interest to Peruvian scholars had perforce to be omitted unless it bore directly on my main theme: the fate of the Polynesians in Peru. Credit was given, for instance, to the help afforded by the newspaper *El Comercio* and employers such as Cipriano Elguera and John Montero; but there were no doubt others, and it is to be hoped that someone may be stimulated by such omissions to write an account of the labor trade as seen from the receiving end. I suspect, however, that what constituted a major tempest in Oceania caused only a ripple on the shores of Peru.

For my disparaging remark on ethnic attitudes towards manual labor I must do penance; it was not well-phrased and should in any case have referred specifically to plantation labor. On the other hand, Davis has misread me in concluding that the coconut palm disease affected atolls other than Tongareva; and as regards missionary activity, I think that apart from the efforts of the Catholic Bishop in Tahiti to alert Catholics on the mainland, these were of little avail. The Protestant missions, having no contacts in Peru, concentrated on inducing the British Government to do something, but without success, while endeavoring at the same time to mitigate the traumatic effects of the trade on those left on the islands.

Brij Lal is right; I have been engaged in a love affair with the South Sea islands all my life and view the atoll world in particular in somewhat

roseate hues. I was actually engaged in producing the "long chapter" he speaks of when the sheer drama of the episode coming to light for the first time captured my imagination, and I felt compelled to tell it in full as it happened. History, to me at least, must be literature if it is to hold the interest of the reader, while transcending other literary forms by its scrupulous fidelity to fact.

I am sorry if I have evinced moral outrage, as Lal considers, for this is generally an impermissible indulgence in writing about people of another age and cultural background. One may report indignation felt by others at the time, for this is often an important fact, but it is hazardous for us to pronounce judgment when past community ethical standards are hard to ascertain and may well vary within the group; and it would be anachronistic to judge those who lived in the past by our standards today.

Other points raised by Lal are dealt with later but it should perhaps be emphasized here that the chronological island-by-island accounts in Part One, admittedly in places confusing and repetitive, are what the islanders themselves wanted and invariably turn to first. Their justification lies in the fact that they have been translated into Tokelau, Tongan, Niuean, French (for Tahiti), and I believe Kiribatese, Tuvaluan and Cook Islands Maori, with at best a summary of what happened before and after the events at a particular island group.

I am flattered by McCall's description of me as a typical historian of the British school, though I fear that a renegade anthropologist with an interest in cultural dynamics would be rejected by that august fraternity. Nor should I care to consort with historians who, we are told, ignore context.

Surely questions of context are the very essence of any diachronic study and they were my main interest and concern when writing on the Peruvian trade. It is for others to judge whether I have succeeded or failed, but the two examples of omission adduced by McCall do not prove his contention since the first was in fact dealt with, including the special licenses which permitted the continuance of the coolie trade at a reduced level. As it was peripheral to my main theme, however, I referred those who required more information to the detailed account in Watt Stewart's *Chinese Bondage in Peru*.

The second example, after investigation, I dismissed as a hypothesis without documentary support which in any case had no effect on de Lesseps, whose motivations are clear from his official and private correspondence. I suggest that a conclusive objection is the fact that when Peru sought France's support early in 1864 over Spain's seizure of the Chinch Islands the Polynesian labor trade was found to be the only issue of any

importance between the two countries, and on this being settled by a reimbursement and indemnity their relations immediately became cordial, and remained so. Yet France's participation in the Mexican adventure continued until 1867.

Apart from this minor variance I am in agreement with all McCall's comments, including his inference that I am a narrative rather than a theoretical historian. I should be churlish, furthermore, if I did not acknowledge here the assistance obtained in completing the study from his own pioneering work on the Easter Island trade and his researches in Peru, which I was able to pursue in more detail "from a quiet Canberra garden," as he happily phrases it, where I was not burdened with a teaching load.

Some passages in the critiques call not so much for comment here as for further research on subjects connected with, but ancillary to, the theme of the book. I have already expressed the hope that to amplify, and correct any imbalance in, the account given in part 2, a South American specialist might care to research the trade from the Peruvian perspective, after examining documentation which I was unable to obtain such as the minutes of the Executive Council, the Naval correspondence, hacienda records, and the books of the commercial firms engaged in recruiting operations.

Such a survey could include the information asked for by Lal on the Peruvian social and economic environment into which the recruits were precipitated, but his analogous survey of the situation in Polynesia would require a detailed enquiry into the early political, economic, and social development of Polynesia from the beginnings of European contact to the middle of the nineteenth century. There are studies on particular aspects, notably J. M. Davidson's 1942 doctoral thesis, and on particular areas, such as Colin Newbury's recent book *Tahiti Nut*, but much information has come to hand of recent years and what is now wanted is a synoptic survey of the whole Polynesian region; it would, I believe, establish that trading and missionary inter-island communications had integrated Polynesia as never before.

In reply to a query by Lal I have affirmed that the Polynesian trade was unique in bearing the general character of a slave trade, but there is now sufficient material available to enable a comparative study to be made of the Pacific labor trades as a significant element in the overall picture of culture contact in Oceania. It should elicit some surprising data on such matters as the number of recruits involved; the locale and methods of recruitment; the nature and efficiency of government controls; the location and nature of employment; the legal and actual status of the

laborers; conditions of employment; repatriation arrangements and their efficacy; mortality statistics and causes; and the effect of the trade on the island societies.

Another study of, I submit, even greater importance to our understanding of island, and especially atoll, societies concerns their reaction to disaster conditions, for it became clear when writing the chapter on "Crisis in the Atolls" that the many specialized works on disasters in other regions were mainly concerned with modern, urbanized communities. Practically no work has been done on the effects of, and response to, calamities in Oceania and yet, with its unique multiplicity of small and culturally variant societies known to have been subject to natural disasters, the region is ideally suited to research on this theme. We do not really know, for example, the precise mechanisms by which the island communities coped with disaster conditions and whether, as I strongly suspect, the more rigorous conditions of atoll life enabled the inhabitants to adapt to catastrophe with greater success than those on the volcanic islands.

That two out of the three topics suggested in the commentaries or this reply represent comparative studies of regional or subregional scope is not surprising for, as Kerry Howe has indicated in *Pacific Studies* for Fall 1979, the great number of detailed papers on particular themes now published makes the synoptic approach a feasible and profitable one.

Nevertheless, a perusal of the book will show that there are still many topics of mainly local importance concerning that of which we know next to nothing and which might well interest someone seeking a subject for research: for example, an investigation into the land tenure system on Tongareva as affected by the labor trades; the history of the pearlshell industry in the Tuamotus during the early nineteenth century; the significance of the oral traditions relating to the cannon preserved at 'Uiha in Tonga; and the recovery and reproduction of the missing diary of the Jennings settlement on Olosenga from 1856 to 1866, last seen during 1919 in the possession of a Miss Nellie Skeen of Nuku'alofa.

A final point which has been raised by readers, though not by the commentators, is whether the sudden depopulation and associated cultural shock experienced by the eight island communities who lost more than half their population bear out the views advanced by Alan Moorehead in *The Fatal Impact*. Moorehead's thesis, however, was based on an examination of induced change on a single Pacific island, and it would seem that, with the exception of Easter Island, the marked demographic resurgence and community regeneration following the Peruvian raids suggest on the contrary the remarkable resilience of island, and in particular atoll, communities.

Pacific Affairs

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Cornell University, U.S.A.

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George Gilbert was only seventeen when he accompanied Captain James Cook on the latter's third great voyage in July 1776 "to prosecute our grand object: the Search of a NW passage to India" (p. 53). The undertaking lasted over four years and was, in the young man's words, "long, tedious and disagreeable" (p. 157). We are doubly fortunate, therefore, that he chose to record his experiences, and that his journal, acquired by the British Museum in 1912, is now available to us—thanks to Christine Holmes—in an edited version nicely provided with maps, illustrations, footnotes, and marginal keys.

It is hard to know what makes Gilbert's account most valuable—whether it is the information on eighteenth-century nautical activity; the ethnographic observations about Maoris, Hawaiians, and Aleuts; or the commentary on Cook's uncharacteristic irascibility. Historians have long been fascinated by the evidence from this voyage that Cook, worn out by nine years at sea, was becoming increasingly impatient and short-tempered—a testiness which may have contributed to his death at Kealakekua Bay on the southwestern coast of the island of Hawaii on 14 February 1779. In this regard, Gilbert's journal does not disappoint us.

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The Age of Cook soon gave way, in the nineteenth century, to the age of labour. An almost insatiable demand developed throughout the Pacific region for cheap tractable labour: for Chinese to drive railway tunnels through the Canadian Rockies; for Melanesians and Indians to work the sugar estates of Queensland and Fiji; and for Polynesians to underpin the burgeoning agricultural economy of Peru.

It is this last-mentioned labour trade—or, more precisely, slave trade—that is the subject of H.E. Maude's brilliantly researched *Slavers in Paradise*. An elegant example of historical reconstruction, the book chronicles a grim and hitherto little-understood chapter in Pacific history during which 3,125 Pacific Islanders were kidnapped or recruited to work in Peru during the period 1862–63. Bit by bit, the hellish nature of the trade, which resulted in the death from pulmonary or intestinal diseases of sixty-five per cent of those put ashore in Peru, became common knowledge; and the Peruvians, bowing to British and French diplomatic pressure, agreed to repatriate the islanders. The result, however, was the catastrophic decimation of the islanders as the deadly contagions borne by the returned labourers swept away thousands.

Maude's study is superb detective work: painstaking, encyclopaedic, and precise. While all those interested in the history of the Pacific will profit from his scholarship, his sombre account was compiled primarily for the descendants of those who suffered. "Only through a knowledge of their history," he writes, "can the islanders of today become fully conscious of their regional identity, and thus guard themselves against the piecemeal cultural annihilation which threatens them in the present century, as Peruvian bondage did in the last" (p. xxii).

That passage might well have been written by Maurice Leenhardt, the French protestant missionary, ethnologist, linguist, and scholar who laboured intermittently for half a century among the *Canaque*, the Melanesians of *La Grande Terre*, or New Caledonia. He established mission stations, encouraged the development of a native pastorate, monitored attempts by the *colons* to encroach on Melanesian lands, and strove to "rediscover his God concretely in Melanesian religious experience" (p. 5), all the while trying to avoid the "defensive narrowness that haunts mission works" (p. 74). Leenhardt was, in a way, an intellectual beachcomber, a man who stood at the margin of a variety of worlds: of

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Leenhardt left New Caledonia in 1920 and became increasingly interested in comparative mission strategies and ethnology. He was not a missionary-turned-ethnologist, but rather an increasingly ethnographically inclined missionary fascinated by the problems of myth, the person, and aesthetic perception. His concern was not merely to decode Melanesian culture, but to live inside it—to think like a *Canaque* and to know more of himself and his religion as a consequence. *Person and Myth*, which James Clifford describes matter-of-factly as "a sympathetic, though not uncritical, account of Maurice Leenhardt's experience and writings," is a deeply impressive work. It is a closely argued yet graceful account of the complex world of religious phenomenology and colonialism.

Royal Roads Military College, Canada

JAMES A. BOUTILIER

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Book Reviews

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The Bostonian Society

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Virginia, in Australia and South America, but the idea of Peruvians looking for slaves in Polynesia and Melanesia is something that is very novel. Therefore, it makes for fascinating reading.

Peru in the nineteenth century was relatively short of labour—this was particularly the case in the great rural *haciendas* that had traditionally been supported by Indian slaves, a state of affairs having changed with independence. The possibility of using the Chinese coolie was considered but not greeted with enthusiasm; therefore, the idea of using Polynesian workers was conjured up as a suitable alternative by the landowners. The other form of economic activity requiring servile labour was in the guano trade and here again it was assumed that these people from the Western Pacific would be more than adequate.

The Peruvian slavers set out in 1862. Over the next two years they were to make raids on the Marquesas, the Cook Islands, Society Islands, Tuamotu Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Tuvalu Group among others. The 'black-birders' were ruthless individuals—the potential rewards in Peru being high they were prepared to take many risks in the hope of success—and the islands were decimated. Adults, who were capable of being impressed into servitude, were either lured on board the vessels or simply kidnapped. Whole islands became virtually depopulated—the Tokelaus, for example, were particularly affected. The principal organizer of this nefarious activity was Joseph C. Byrne—a man who in his own day would have been described at least as a 'cad' or 'a bad hat.' He had a penchant for dubious colonial speculation and a reputation for chicanery and dishonesty.

The poor ignorant Polynesians were treated horribly on shipboard and many died. To both neutral and sympathetic observers, these people presented a tragic picture and independent reports confirmed that their future was obviously bleak whether or not they survived. Fortunately they were not friendless—accounts of the 'black-birding' reached various European chancelleries and diplomatic officers and the latter, especially those in South America, took up the cudgels on behalf of these benighted individuals. Their greatest champion was Edmond de Lesseps, the French chargé d'affaires in Lima. He exposed the whole nefarious business to the authorities in Paris and to his diplomatic colleagues generally. The Peruvian authorities were embarrassed by his activities and protests against the government's policies became more vocal. Two years after the initial raids in the islands began and after much tergiversation, Juan Ribevro, the Peruvian Foreign Minister, undertook to cancel all licenses to import Polynesian labour into the country. All that remained was to try and rescue the few poor unfortunates who survived.

The statistics reporting the results of the efforts of repatriations tell their own tragic story. Of the 3,125 brought to Peru only 157 returned alone to Polynesia. Something under two percent survived. The long-term consequences for the islands are obvious. Depopulation meant a decline in all aspects of life for the local inhabitants—a catastrophe not experienced by many other societies. However, people are resilient, relationships were restored and the past events can now be seen not only as tragedy but with a certain black humour.

This book is most agreeably written and it is a good example of the highly competent scholar undertaking a project that is not only interesting in itself but also having wider significance. The author's research is impeccable, the end-paper maps instructive, the notes are informative—once again one must make the cavil con-

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cerning the placing of notes at the end of the text—and the widest variety of sources have been used. The illustrations are very well chosen too. Professor Maude has brought to life a virtually forgotten incident in the world's history, but one which has a very real value in an epoch when human rights are even more vital than in the past.

University of Victoria

S. W. JACKMAN, Ph.D.

BRITON COOPER BUSCH, Editor. *Alta California 1840-1842: The Journal and Observations of William Dane Phelps, Master of the Ship Alert* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1983). 6 1/2" x 9 1/2", cloth, 364 pages, nine illustrations, three appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.50.

During our being on the coast we have been seven times to St. Francisco, thirteen times to Monterey, three times to Santa Cruz, four times to St. Louis [San Luis Obispo], once to St. Simeon, 17 times to Santa Barbara, 17 to St. Pedro, and returned to St. Diego 9 times, anchoring frequently along the coast to take in hides and wait for wind. We have hove up the bower anchor 131 times, and killed and consumed 203 bullocks, and not a man a boy has been seriously sick . . . I ascribe it under God to the exceeding salubrity of the climate, and to the absence of ardent spirits, their always being well fed and never sent away in the boats without a change of clothing. . . .

Thus Captain Phelps concludes the log of his two-year trading venture on the California coast. This trade accrued to '33,000 hides, 200 bags of tallow, 10,000 horns & 2 casks of beaver' in exchange for household goods ranging from bedding to brandy, from 'boots fine' to brass tacks.

What gives this book especial interest is its close description of colonial life in California before both the Mexican War and the gold rush. Indeed, Phelps was the first American shipmaster to navigate the Sacramento: ' . . . At 11 AM started from the ship in the pinnace with 4 hands & a pilot for the River Sacramento . . . about 100 miles from its mouth a settlement . . . commenced by Capt. J. A. Sutter. . . .'- Guest and host got on famously; Phelps admired Sutter for his serious attempt—among the first—to plant and reap from this, one of the most fertile valleys on earth. Thus is described in graphic detail the settlement of New Helvetia, then unsullied by the hoards who, after 1848, were to transform that earthly paradise into a rabble hell, bringing bankruptcy to its imaginative founder.

Captain Phelps wrote this log for his wife's eyes alone, but it is to the credit of editor Busch that it has now attained a larger audience, for the captain, despite his independent spelling and punctuation, is a born writer. The reviewer would favorably compare his direct, racy prose to that of Joshua Slocum. Try to beat this (p. 269) for direct narrative:

About 4 PM while standing in shore with a strong breeze a man was sitting on the lee anchor fixing the buoy rope and while so occupied a squall struck the ship, bringing the anchor under water and washing the poor fellow off. I was standing by the wheel, and hearing the cry of 'A man overboard' immediately brought the ship to the wind with all sails aback, and quickly lowered a quarter boat picked him up, but not until the poor fellow was most exhausted, and had he not been a

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The poor ignorant Polynesians were treated horribly on shipboard and many died. To both neutral and sympathetic observers, these people presented a tragic picture and independent reports confirmed that their future was obviously bleak whether or not they survived. Fortunately they were not friendless—accounts of the 'black-birding' reached various European chancelleries and diplomatic officers and the latter, especially those in South America, took up the cudgels on behalf of these benighted individuals. Their greatest champion was Edmond de Lesseps, the French chargé d'affaires in Lima. He exposed the whole nefarious business to the authorities in Paris and to his diplomatic colleagues generally. The Peruvian authorities were embarrassed by his activities and protests against the government's policies became more vocal. Two years after the initial raids in the islands began and after much tergiversation, Juan Ribevro, the Peruvian Foreign Minister, undertook to cancel all licenses to import Polynesian labour into the country. All that remained was to try and rescue the few poor unfortunates who survived.

The statistics reporting the results of the efforts of repatriations tell their own tragic story. Of the 3,125 brought to Peru only 157 returned alone to Polynesia. Something under two percent survived. The long-term consequences for the islands are obvious. Depopulation meant a decline in all aspects of life for the local inhabitants—a catastrophe not experienced by many other societies. However, people are resilient, relationships were restored and the past events can now be seen not only as tragedy but with a certain black humour.

This book is most agreeably written and it is a good example of the highly competent scholar undertaking a project that is not only interesting in itself but also having wider significance. The author's research is impeccable, the end-paper maps instructive, the notes are informative—once again one must make the cavil con-

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cerning the placing of notes at the end of the text—and the widest variety of sources have been used. The illustrations are very well chosen too. Professor Maude has brought to life a virtually forgotten incident in the world's history, but one which has a very real value in an epoch when human rights are even more vital than in the past.

University of Victoria

S. W. JACKMAN, Ph.D.

BRITON COOPER BUSCH, Editor. *Alta California 1840-1842: The Journal and Observations of William Dane Phelps, Master of the Ship Alert* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1983). 6½" x 9½", cloth, 364 pages, nine illustrations, three appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.50.

During our being on the coast we have been seven times to St. Francisco, thirteen times to Monterey, three times to Santa Cruz, four times to St. Louis [San Luis Obispo], once to St. Simeon, 17 times to Santa Barbara, 17 to St. Pedro, and returned to St. Diego 9 times, anchoring frequently along the coast to take in hides and wait for wind. We have hove up the bower anchor 131 times, and killed and consumed 203 bullocks, and not a man a boy has been seriously sick . . . I ascribe it under God to the exceeding salubrity of the climate, and to the absence of ardent spirits, their always being well fed and never sent away in the boats without a change of clothing. . . .

Thus Captain Phelps concludes the log of his two-year trading venture on the California coast. This trade accrued to '33,000 hides, 200 bags of tallow, 10,000 horns & 2 casks of beaver' in exchange for household goods ranging from bedding to brandy, from 'boots fine' to brass tacks.

What gives this book especial interest is its close description of colonial life in California before both the Mexican War and the gold rush. Indeed, Phelps was the first American shipmaster to navigate the Sacramento: '... At 11 AM started from the ship in the pinnace with 4 hands & a pilot for the River Sacramento . . . about 100 miles from its mouth a settlement . . . commenced by Capt. J. A. Sutter. . . . Guest and host got on famously; Phelps admired Sutter for his serious attempt—among the first—to plant and reap from this, one of the most fertile valleys on earth. Thus is described in graphic detail the settlement of New Helvetia, then unsullied by the hoards who, after 1848, were to transform that earthly paradise into a rabble hell, bringing bankruptcy to its imaginative founder.

Captain Phelps wrote this log for his wife's eyes alone, but it is to the credit of editor Busch that it has now attained a larger audience, for the captain, despite his independent spelling and punctuation, is a born writer. The reviewer would favorably compare his direct, racy prose to that of Joshua Slocum. Try to beat this (p. 269) for direct narrative:

About 4 PM while standing in shore with a strong breeze a man was sitting on the lee anchor fixing the buoy rope and while so occupied a squall struck the ship, bringing the anchor under water and washing the poor fellow off. I was standing by the wheel, and hearing the cry of 'A man overboard' immediately brought the ship to the wind with all sails aback, and quickly lowered a quarter boat picked him up, but not until the poor fellow was most exhausted, and had he not been a

Harry E. MAUDE, *Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford, Stanford University Press — Canberra, Australian University Press, 1981, xxii + 244 p., bibl., index, tabl., cartes, pl.

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palliatif, ainsi qu'une immigration masculine en provenance d'îles épargnées par les négriers. Autre conséquence de grande portée : les populations victimes des Péruviens venaient de se convertir au christianisme ou étaient sur le point d'abjurer leur religion ancestrale ; le désastre provoqué par les négriers les poussa à rechercher plus ardemment les secours de la foi nouvelle. Ironie de l'histoire puisque, l'auteur le souligne opportunément, les Polynésiens auraient été beaucoup moins nombreux à se laisser kidnapper par trahison si leurs missionnaires et catéchistes, trop occupés à dénigrer la vie et les œuvres des païens autochtones, avaient songé à les mettre en garde contre certains Blancs d'une mauvaiseté encore plus grande (p. 53) !

Deux points méritent d'être soulignés pour conclure. En premier lieu, de toutes les autorités officielles, institutions reconnues ou instances morales impliquées dans ce drame, l'Administration française est bien la seule à s'en sortir avec honneur. Du gouverneur Gaultier de La Richerie qui envoyait ses bateaux de guerre dans les îles de Polynésie française pour avertir les habitants du danger péruvien et même capturer les négriers, jusqu'au diplomate Edmond de Lesseps, en poste à Lima, qui remua ciel et terre pour faire cesser le trafic, constituer des commissions d'enquête et finalement indemniser les insulaires recrutés, il y eut là une activité incessante et efficace qui, eût-elle été imitée par les autres gouvernements ayant des intérêts dans le Pacifique, aurait sauvé de nombreuses vies humaines. Et il importe assez peu, au bout du compte, que les motifs humanitaires des responsables français aient été mêlés au désir de faire respecter la souveraineté de Paris face aux incursions étrangères. C'est pourquoi une traduction en français du livre, ou des chapitres consacrés à Tahiti et aux interventions diplomatiques de la France, serait d'une grande utilité pour le public océanien et métropolitain. Enfin, il faut retenir que Maude, tout au long de son livre, se rit magnifiquement du formalisme juridique qui voudrait nous faire accroire, comme s'y évertuaient négriers et ministres péruviens, que seuls quittaient leur île les Polynésiens ayant librement signé un contrat avec les recruteurs. Par-delà les paperasses (garanties légales énoncées dans les textes officiels, licences de recrutement, contrats où une croix tenait lieu de signature, etc.), grossier travestissement à la mode libérale, l'auteur montre que la réalité tenait en deux mots : dol et violence, et qu'il en était nécessairement ainsi, les enjeux économiques étant si considérables et l'impuissance des insulaires si complète qu'un refus de leur part ne pouvait être admis. D'ailleurs, l'agent du gouvernement péruvien accompagnant le bateau dans les îles et chargé de contrôler la régularité du recrutement, ne percevait-il pas une rémunération *proportionnelle* au nombre d'individus embarqués ? Un de ces fonctionnaires a voulu accomplir sa mission — c'est arrivé une fois en sept mois — et il s'est retrouvé immédiatement aux fers dans la cale avec les recrues ! Question : s'agissant des Mélanésiens recrutés vingt ou trente ans plus tard pour les plantations du Queensland, de Samoa et de l'archipel Bismarck, comment se fait-il que bien des historiens s'obnubilent sur des règlements administratifs et des modèles de contrat-type, et prétendent encore, sans chercher plus loin, que tout reposait sur la liberté du consentement ? Je crois avoir démontré ailleurs² ce qu'il en était réellement au vu des archives allemandes de 1884 à 1914. Et ce serait encore un autre mérite du livre de Maude si, avec l'autorité qui lui est reconnue par tous les spécialistes, il mettait en déroute cette bonne conscience.

Michel PANOFF

2. M. PANOFF, « Travailleurs, recruteurs et planteurs dans l'archipel Bismarck », *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 1979, 35 (64) : 159-173.

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Harry E. MAUDE, *Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford, Stanford University Press — Canberra, Australian University Press, 1981, xxii + 244 p., bibl., index, tabl., cartes, pl.

Tout s'est joué en sept mois, de septembre 1862 à avril 1863. Dans ce laps de temps, trente-trois bateaux ont écumé cinquante-cinq îles de Polynésie, n'épargnant aucun des archipels habités sauf les Hawaï, enlevant 3 483 personnes et introduisant des maladies mortelles inconnues jusqu'alors. Résultat : des populations ayant perdu de 24 à 79 % de leurs effectifs, des sociétés mises dans l'impossibilité de fonctionner, et des patrimoines culturels menacés de disparition dès lors que la relève des générations n'était plus assurée. Pour qu'il en fût ainsi, il a suffi que le gouvernement péruvien, harcelé par les grands propriétaires manquant de main-d'œuvre agricole, autorise le recrutement d'insulaires du Pacifique, pudiquement appelés « colons » dans les documents officiels, que financiers, armateurs et capitaines, prévoyant d'énormes profits, s'associent et lancent des expéditions qui allaient en effet leur rapporter trois ou quatre fois leur mise de fonds en une centaine de jours. Et il a fallu ensuite la terrifiante mortalité des Polynésiens pour que les employeurs découvrent qu'ils perdaient de l'argent en utilisant cette force de travail et pour qu'ils fassent cesser le trafic.

Voilà vingt ans que Harry Maude, dont les lecteurs de *L'Homme* connaissent bien les travaux¹, fouille les archives diplomatiques, missionnaires, maritimes et coloniales d'un bout à l'autre du monde pour trouver les documents incontestables qui feront parler les divers protagonistes du drame : insulaires kidnappés, marins des bateaux négriers, médecins des commissions d'enquête, consuls des États ayant des intérêts dans le Pacifique, propriétaires ayant employé cette main-d'œuvre sur leurs plantations, etc. Sa recherche tournait à l'obsession, avec l'angoisse de ne jamais pouvoir en venir à bout, lorsqu'on lui communiqua une grande quantité de documents péruviens permettant des recoupements décisifs. Et maintenant le livre est là, qui déborde heureusement la période des raids proprement dits et analyse aussi tous les tenants et aboutissants de ce phénomène comparable à un cataclysme à l'échelle des petites communautés polynésiennes. Aussi l'ouvrage se divise-t-il logiquement en deux parties : la première, intitulée « Des Péruviens en Polynésie », explique pourquoi et comment le trafic négrier vit le jour, puis décrit, archipel par archipel, les coups de main effectués par les chasseurs d'esclaves, les moyens utilisés et les résultats obtenus ; quant à la seconde, portant le titre symétrique « Des Polynésiens au Pérou », elle reconstitue le transport des insulaires jusqu'à leur lieu de captivité et expose leurs conditions de travail, l'attitude des Grandes Puissances devant ce commerce, puis son abolition et le rapatriement des survivants.

Le plus étonnant de toute l'affaire et qui fait le prix singulier de ce livre, c'est que l'histoire même des raids péruviens dans le Pacifique était restée presque totalement ignorée à ce jour et que les rares bribes qui en avaient été conservées dans telle ou telle île donnaient une image grossièrement déformée de l'ensemble. Aussi Maude, au prix d'une minutie de bénédictin, s'emploie-t-il à rétablir la vérité sur des points où l'imagination des Européens anti-esclavagistes et des autochtones s'était donné libre carrière et avait fini par accréditer des événements sensationnels qui n'eurent jamais lieu. Non, les Polynésiens ne furent pas envoyés à l'enfer minier des îles Chinchas pour y exploiter le guano, contrairement à la légende. N'en déplaise aux missionnaires dont l'indignation devait heureusement alerter les administrations coloniales, il n'est pas vrai non plus

1. Voir par exemple le compte rendu, par M. PANOFF, de Harry E. MAUDE, *Evolution of the Gilbertese Boti*, dans *L'Homme*, 1964, XIV (1) : 131-133.

L'HOMME

XXII (2) 1983

JUSTIFICATIF

que tous les insulaires furent enlevés de vive force par les négriers en armes : du nombre total un tiers seulement subit ce sort, les autres furent embarqués par traîtrise ou même de leur plein gré, comme les recrues de l'île de Pâques qui ignoraient ce qui les attendait au Pérou (tabl. 8, p. 193). Ce ne sont là que deux exemples, mais ils font bien voir et le propos de l'auteur et l'état de nos connaissances au moment où il aborda le sujet. L'horreur des seuls faits scientifiquement établis suffit à faire considérer ces raids comme l'un des plus sombres épisodes de l'histoire du Pacifique ; nul besoin d'en rajouter. En un an, 93 % des recrues étaient mortes, dont presque la moitié au cours des déportations et des rapatriements ; quant aux conditions d'existence au Pérou, elles furent révélées par une commission d'enquête qui observa dans les *haciendas* des scènes dignes des camps nazis : Polynésiens agonisant sur un tas de fumier où ils furent abandonnés sans le moindre soin, planteurs cessant définitivement de nourrir leur main-d'œuvre dès qu'elle ne leur rapportait plus assez, etc. On comprend, dès lors, que les premiers lecteurs que Maude souhaite à son livre soient les habitants eux-mêmes des îles visitées jadis par les négriers et auxquels l'histoire authentique et complète de ce génocide n'avait jamais été racontée. Souhait qui n'en est pas resté là : une édition « populaire » a été tirée, qui est d'ores et déjà épuisée, et l'on est en train de traduire les principaux chapitres dans les diverses langues locales en vue d'une utilisation dans les écoles.

Pour substituer l'exposé de faits attestés au ressassement de bobards, pour fournir les éléments d'un manuel scolaire inédit, il fallait bien plus que la persévérance mentionnée ci-dessus : il fallait une grande rigueur et une vigilance extrême à l'égard des documents de l'époque aussi bien que des idées communément reçues aujourd'hui. C'est pourquoi l'auteur n'a pas hésité à suivre, jour par jour, l'itinéraire des navires péruviens, rassemblant tous les témoignages disponibles à la manière des morceaux d'un puzzle — tâche difficile car les négriers n'étaient pas gens à se compromettre par des livres de bord fidèlement tenus et autres écrits trop détaillés. Ainsi réussit-il à identifier quel capitaine et quel agent recruteur sévirent dans quelle île et à quelle date, combien d'habitants ils embarquèrent et où se trouvait alors le missionnaire ou le catéchiste local, renseignements essentiels pour déterminer l'origine des 3 483 prétendus « colons », la durée du voyage et ses risques de mortalité, et pour apprécier la véracité des récits de seconde main faits par des Blancs bien intentionnés mais absents lors des événements. Ce lui est une occasion de discuter les limites de validité de la tradition orale et les conditions de son utilisation par les historiens, sujet qu'il connaît bien et où maint lecteur trouvera de précieux avertissements. Mais tout cela aurait été incomplet sans une vision proprement anthropologique de la période étudiée. Pour y avoir passé près de trente ans de sa vie, Maude est riche d'une grande familiarité avec les îles et leurs habitants, dont on peut juger par ses belles publications antérieures sur l'organisation sociale ou la technologie. Il est donc en mesure de reconstituer et de commenter les conséquences les plus indirectes et les plus profondes de ces agressions, pages qui probablement intéresseront le plus la majorité des lecteurs de *L'Homme* (pp. 170-184). Il montre notamment comment, parmi les survivants, la famille étendue ou la parentèle se mobilisèrent pour affronter le désastre et permettre à la vie de continuer, lors même qu'il ne restait plus ni chefs traditionnels ni groupe quelconque investi d'une autorité reconnue. C'est que, sur les atolls particulièrement, le risque de famine était immédiat, la terrible ponction subie par la population masculine entraînant la cessation de nombreuses activités de subsistance et appelant de nouveaux modes de coopération et une nouvelle répartition des responsabilités. A plus long terme, le déséquilibre du sex ratio allait compromettre la reproduction biologique de ces petites communautés : une plus grande tolérance à l'égard de l'adultère en faveur des rares hommes restés sur place semble avoir été un

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sant de ces « tristes tropiques ».

✓ • **Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian slave trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864**, par H.-E. Maude, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1981, 244 p., prix non indiqué.

L'auteur a travaillé à partir de sources du Foreign Office et des ministères des Affaires étrangères français et péruvien, sur un épisode peu connu. L'esclavage aboli en 1854, les grands propriétaires péruviens à cours de main-d'œuvre sont allés chercher en Polynésie, pendant deux ans, des « colonisateurs » forcés, qui furent les victimes de la difficile adaptation du capitalisme péruvien au système de la main-d'œuvre libre.

• **Broken Hand. The life of Thomas Fitzpatrick, mountain man, guide and Indian agent**, par Leroy R. Hafen, University of Nebraska Press, 1981 (rééd. de 1931), 359 p., prix non indiqué.

La vie de Fitzpatrick n'a inspiré aucun romancier, ni aucun cinéaste. La légende de l'Ouest n'a pas retenu son nom. Et pourtant, avec lui la réalité dépasse la fiction. Les trois-quarts de son existence se sont déroulés dans ce qui était encore le *Wild West*, entre les Arapaho et les Pieds Noirs. Comptant des amis fidèles parmi les grandes tribus de l'Ouest, il s'est fait souvent l'ambassadeur du blanc auprès d'elles, mais il a toujours tenu à défendre leurs droits.

• **The Pretend Indians. Images of natives american movies**, Gretchen M. Bataille et Charles L. P. Silet éd., The Iowa University Press, 1981, 202 p., prix non indiqué.

Les contributions de cette étude collective de l'image de l'Indien dans le cinéma américain examinent la naissance du stéréotype « Indien » au XIX^e siècle, son passage dans l'industrie hollywoodienne au début de notre siècle puis les fluctuations de ce modèle au gré des crises de la société blanche. Une histoire des mythes de la civilisation américaine. Un ouvrage qui passionnera sociologues, historiens et cinéphiles. Trouvera-t-il un éditeur français ?

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Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. By H.E. Maude. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1981. xxii, 244 pp, index, illus., bibliog. \$A25.50 cloth, \$A10.50 paper.

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The Peruvian slave raids in Polynesia between 1862 and 1864 deprived many of the scattered island communities of Polynesia of two-thirds of their inhabitants. These raids were made, ostensibly, to fill the labor needs of the large Peruvian coastal plantations or *haciendas*. Since Negro slavery had been abolished in Peru in 1854, the large landowners or *hacendados* were constantly on the lookout for alternative sources of cheap labor to exploit. Even before slavery was abolished, land-owning interests pressured the Peruvian government centered in Lima to pass a liberal immigration law in 1849. This law permitted astute speculators to import hoards of cheap Chinese coolie laborers or "colonists" into Peru. These Chinese laborers, if they lived through the horrible passage to Peru, became the virtual slaves of the *hacendados*. Suffice it to say that the 1849 immigration law was suspended in 1856. However, by 1861 the Peruvian congress was once again persuaded by the politically powerful *hacendados*, who sought nothing less than the perpetuation of their slave labor system, to pass yet another immigration law to allow more "Asian colonists" into the country. In fact, this later law became the only legal basis for the so-called Polynesian labor trade. Significantly, the traffic of Chinese coolie laborers satisfied the greed of both the speculators in human cargo and the plantation owners until J. C. Byrne, an unscrupulous Irish adventurer, and B. D. Clark, an American hotelkeeper, pooled their resources to outfit a ship to recruit Polynesians, geographically much nearer than the Chinese, for the Peruvian labor market. So successful and profitable was Byrne's initial cache of 251 bewildered Tongarevan islanders—the men were sold for \$200 each, women for \$150 each, and boys for \$100 apiece—that Peruvian entrepreneurs rushed pell-mell into the lucrative business of recruiting South Sea islanders for work on the mainland.

The enslavement of innocent Polynesians, most of whom were either duped or kidnapped for the Peruvian labor market, usually meant their early death through forced labor, melancholia, malnutrition, or disease. Many Polynesians died en route to the infamous Peruvian slave port of Callao in the dark, disease-ridden holds of the slave vessels. Those unlucky enough to survive the hellish passage to Peru were sold into bondage as house servants in Lima or for work on the *haciendas*. Most of the enslaved Polynesians sickened and died within six months of their arrival at Callao, principally because they had no immunity from the diseases peculiar to Peru—especially smallpox. Their early deaths, of course, "exasperated their employers," who had paid good money for them.

H. E. Maude's meticulously written book, *Slavers in Paradise*, based on over 20 years of research, graphically depicts the horrors of the Peruvian slave trade. Maude chronicles the permanently blighted lives of thousands of unsuspecting innocent South Sea islanders—those unfortunate enough to be kidnapped into slavery and almost certain death, and the loved ones left behind, whose grief must have been unbearable. Ironically, many of those enslaved Polynesians from exotic South Sea islands like Tongareva, Mangareva, the Marquesas, and Tuvalu had only recently been converted to Christianity before the raids commenced. The depopulation of most of the able-bodied men, women, and adolescents from the islands and the destruction of whole families naturally destroyed the existing social structure of the islands and seriously threatened with extinction their cultural ethos. It is significant to note that over 6000 Polynesians died as a direct or indirect result of the Peruvian slave trade. "For Polynesia," writes H. E. Maude in his concluding chapter, "the Peruvian slave trade thus constituted genocide of an order never seen before or since in her history; but this the islanders never knew themselves, for they were never told." That the islanders were never told about this important aspect of their history certainly

seems a curious statement for Maude to make, but it is nonetheless a true irony of Pacific islands history that no comprehensive account of Peruvian slave trade in Polynesia has existed until now. Apart from piecemeal accounts of the period usually found in general histories of the islands, only oral traditions of the "terror and pathos of it all" survive. Unfortunately, most of the oral traditions are questionable, since they have lost much of their original content and reliability due to the rapid acculturation of the island communities following World War II. As Maude poignantly writes in his introduction, "The time has now arrived when the whole story can, and should, be told: not to exacerbate old wounds but because it is an essential link in the common historical heritage of the Polynesian peoples." Maude has written a scholarly yet enthralling historical narrative and one that may indeed stand the test of time.

FREDERICK J. STEFON

Pennsylvania State University
Wilkes-Barre

GAIL MINAULT. *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*. Pp. x, 294. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. \$25.00.

Minault has produced a thorough and comprehensible account of the politics behind the Khilafat Movement as it developed among Indian Muslims after World War I. She has correctly drawn our attention to the Indian-ness of this movement, both in regard to the particular political and factional alignments within the Indian Muslim community, which gave shape to the movement, and in regard to the Indian Muslims' need for group solidarity, which made the Khilafat a kind of symbol for Indian Muslims which it could not be for Muslims elsewhere in the Islamic world.

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Despite these problems the book does offer a wealth of information on the Khilafat Movement, and it presents the reader with a good analysis of its internal workings. The value of this must not be underestimated. This reader would, however, have appreciated some additional analysis of the broader ideological significance that this mass mobilization had for Indians generally, and for the Indian Muslims particularly. This movement was a watershed in India's Muslim politics, and it dramatically altered both the language and the stakes involved in political activity. Given Minault's considerable knowledge of this period, I look forward to additional work, which might expand our understanding of its wider significance.

WARREN FUSFELD

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia

MILES L. WORTMAN. *Government and Society in Central America, 1680-1840*. Pp. xvii, 374. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. \$27.50.

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Offprint from

The Journal of the
Polynesian Society

SEPTEMBER 1982

Vol. 91

No. 3

and his work could be a major contribution. Marche's work was a rare early scientific study of the Marianas, and he was in the islands for two years. Did he keep a detailed journal and collection book from which this article was derived? If so, translations and publication of these documents could have great value for Micronesian social anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians. Also, a detailed historic background of Marche himself would lead to a better understanding of the history of scientific research in Micronesia.

MAUDE, H. E.: *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Canberra and Suva. Australian National University Press and University of the South Pacific, 1981. xxii, 244 pp., figs, tables, maps, photos, end-papers. Price A\$25.50 (cloth), A\$10.50 (paper).

Hugh Laracy
University of Auckland

Apart from a touch of cliché in the title (the description of Polynesia as *Paradise* is a usage better left to the meretricious pens of contributors to "in-flight" magazines) and the overly dramatic cover picture in which the recruiters/slavers are depicted like Hollywood versions of Caribbean pirates, there is little to criticise in this book. Moreover, considering the substance of the work and the authority of the writer, it is not improbable that such solecisms were intended as a tongue-in-cheek joke. If so, Maude is entitled to it.

His book is the result of a superb research effort. It makes known in clear and abundant detail an episode of profound importance for many of the atolls of Polynesia (and some in Kiribati) but about which no comprehensive or reliable account has hitherto been available. Between mid-1862 and mid-1863 32 ships from South America made a total of 37 voyages to the Pacific to obtain labourers to work in the plantations and guano mines of Peru, where slavery had been abolished in 1854. By deceit, they succeeded in kidnapping 3634 people from 33 islands, including 1407 from Easter Island alone.

To tell the story of this shameful affair Maude has drawn on a wide range of obscure published sources and on an extensive yet fragmentary body of documents scattered round the globe from Chile and Peru to England and France. Many of these records, as Maude warmly acknowledges, were drawn to his attention by the anthropologist Derek Freeman. But the painstaking way in which he had sifted them for the facts with which to build a solid monograph about a topic that previously has been knowable only through a few unconnected comments is uniquely Maude-ian. In the mastery of minutiae which it reveals, and in the triumphant empiricism which relates the particular data unambiguously to the broader pattern of events within which they need to be understood, *Slavers in Paradise* is of a piece with Maude's earlier book, *Of Islands and Men*. Maude's gift and interest is, as it was for Blake, 'to see Heaven in a wild-flower, a universe in a grain of sand'; to write a book where others write only headlines.

An Irish adventurer named Joseph Charles Byrne initiated the Peruvian labour trade by bringing 253 recruits to Callao from Tongareva in the Cook Islands. His initiative was quickly followed up by other entrepreneurs. And Polynesians, thinking that they were merely being taken away for a short while to be instructed as to how they might obtain access to the knowledge and material goods of the *palagi*, readily let themselves be taken in by the lying promises of the traders. Some islands were severely depopulated. On Easter Island, for instance, the native population was almost destroyed, a fact which led to a break in the transmission of the ancient traditions of the island, and so has left its past peculiarly vulnerable to the speculations of any wayward theorist with more enthusiasm than facts to call on.

When news of the slavers' depredations eventually got abroad, international pressure was brought to bear on the Peruvian Government, forcing it to put an end to their activities and to agree to repatriate the recruits. Unfortunately, most of the recruits, at least those of them who could be located, died of smallpox before completing the return journey.

To European powers the Peruvian labour trade was the occasion of a minor diplomatic flurry, but to many Polynesians it was a profoundly disturbing matter which changed the course of their history. The effects of it are still being felt by many of their descendants. Maude has told the whole story, and told it well, and (thanks to obliging publishers) with an abundance of illustrations.

NEWBURY, Colin: *Tahiti Nui: Change and Survival in French Polynesia, 1767-1945*. Honolulu, University Press of Hawaii, 1980. xvi, 380 pp., figs, tables, maps, photos. Price US\$25.00.

Robert Langdon
Australian National University

Few people in the world know more about the history of French Polynesia than Colin Newbury. He has been studying it since the early fifties when he went from New Zealand to the Australian National University as the first Ph.D. student in the Department of Pacific History and wrote a thesis entitled "The Administration of French Oceania, 1842-1906." Later, having obtained a post at Oxford, Newbury edited John Davies' *The History of the Tahitian Mission* for the Hakluyt Society, and he combined with Father Patrick O'Reilly to edit Honoré Laval's *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Mangareva* for the Société des Océanistes in Paris. Newbury has also published important studies on early Society Islands history and culture in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* and economic studies elsewhere.

Considering this background, one might expect Newbury's book *Tahiti Nui* to be an authoritative work. And it is. A perusal of its list of references makes it clear that Newbury has combed the world for his material whether in print, manuscript or on microfilm, and one can readily appreciate why his book was roughly a quarter of a century in the making.

Reviews

H.E. MAUDE. *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. Pp. xxii, 244. \$22.50 (us).

THIS SLIM VOLUME is a masterpiece. An elegantly written example of historical reconstruction, *Slavers in Paradise* chronicles a grim genocidal chapter in Pacific history during which 3,125 Pacific Islanders were kidnapped or recruited to work in Peru in the period 1862-3. Professor Maude is the doyen of Pacific historians and his account reflects his enormous expertise, his life-long acquaintance with Oceania, and his sympathetic understanding of the islanders and their cultures.

By his own admission, the book was the result of an 'intermittent twenty-year labour of love.' He began with a virtual *tabula rasa*, drew upon a vast array of documentation in French, British, Hawaiian, Peruvian, and Spanish archives, and hammered 'the intractable collection of discrete facts into a composite picture.' The result is superb detective work; painstaking, encyclopaedic, and precise. The story Maude tells is of 'the most dramatic region-wide conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence ever to occur in the romantic setting of the South Seas.'

The history of the colonial period in Oceania was and is one of labour hunger. The imperial powers that partitioned the Pacific Islands in the last century were constantly looking for assured supplies of cheap, tractable labour to work their labour-intensive agricultural and mining interests. Thus the French utilized Vietnamese political prisoners in the nickel mines of New Caledonia, and recruited Chinese to serve as artisans in Tahiti; the Australians recruited Solomon Islanders to cut cane in Queensland; and the British transported indentured Indian labourers to Fiji to harvest sugar. The Peruvian slave trade – for legal niceties aside no other words describe the process more aptly – was, therefore, one (albeit a more tragic one) of a series of human convection currents linking the Pacific Islands with the Pacific rim.

The labour experience had a profound effect not only upon the labourers themselves but upon the home and host territories. In the first place the recruitment process was an homogenizing one which broke down the class, caste, tribal, and linguistic distinctions existing among the recruits. In the second place it introduced them to alien – and generally Western – material and non-material cultures and ensured, by way of repatriation, the diffusion of those cultures throughout the Pacific region. Generally speaking, repatriated culture undermined indigenous political, economic, and social structures while simultaneously forging new links of dependence, particularly at the material level, between the home and host territories.

At the same time the host territories were transformed. The labour experience gave rise to plural societies, as is the case in Fiji and New Caledonia,

Reviews

or created small foreign enclaves, as is the case with the Chinese in Tahiti and Pacific Islanders in Australia.

Fortunately the past twenty years have witnessed an enormous growth in our knowledge of these various labour trades as a consequence of research by such scholars as Parnaby, Corris, Scarr, Gillion, and McCall. However, until the publication of *Slavers in Paradise* the story of the Peruvian recruitment of Pacific Islands' labour in the 1860s was only dimly understood. Maude has performed an invaluable service by documenting the trade in detail and destroying the myths associated with it.

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The recruitment of Polynesians in fact occurred by accident. An Irish adventurer named J.C. Byrne received a licence on 1 April 1862 to introduce colonists from the Pacific Islands and he left Callao bound for the New Hebrides in Melanesia. On his way he happened to visit Tongareva in the northern Cook Islands. He arrived at a highly fortuitous moment. The French had just recruited Tongarevans to work in Tahiti and the remainder, faced with a periodic food shortage, were anxious to leave. Byrne signed on 253 islanders and with that the rush was on for Polynesian labour. Eventually 33 vessels were engaged in recruitment (27 Peruvian, 4 Chilean, 1 Spanish, and 1 Tasmanian) and during thirty-eight voyages between September 1862 and April 1863 they visited every inhabited group in Polynesia except Hawaii.

A variety of stratagems was used to obtain labour. Eight ships staged an armed raid on Easter Island in December 1862 and carried off 349 of the inhabitants; the captain of the *Empressa* offered the high chief of Atiu in the southern Cooks \$3,000 in gold coins for two hundred men; and the doctor on board the same ship stupefied islanders with a mixture of brandy and opium.

Not all of the islanders were obtained by violence or deception, however. Like the Tongarevans, the inhabitants of the Southern Gilberts were prompted to volunteer, because food was scarce. The young men on Niue, it is reported, had a positive 'mania' to emigrate in search of adventure, while over seven hundred Cook Islanders, naive, credulous, and accustomed to trusting Europeans, signed on willingly.

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The recruiters encountered two island-wide communities which helped and hindered their endeavours: beachcombers and missionaries. Byrne, for example, utilized the services of a beachcomber known as Beni to help him recruit at Tongareva while Paddy Cooney, 'a British subject of notorious character,' induced 85 Pakapukans to engage on the *Jorge Zahara*. Some of the beachcombers and ship's crew, however, were unwilling to be parties to fraud and the super-cargo on the *Empresa* was abandoned to die because he insisted the islanders be recruited voluntarily.

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The islanders were not always helpless victims of the slaving operations. In a number of cases Polynesian chiefs prevented abduction or recruitment by placing *tapus* on the Peruvian vessels. In other instances they took matters into their own hands by seizing ships and crews: the Rakahangans seizing the *Empresa*; the Rapans commandeering the schooner *Cora*, which they sailed to Tahiti; and the Tongans of Ha'apai ambushing the sailors of the *Margarita*.

While the majority of those kidnapped or recruited were not treated brutally during their journey to Callao, 'the gate of hell,' many of them fell victim to disease. Ashore, matters were worse. Indeed, as Maude suggests, a period of indenture in Peru was 'tantamount to a death sentence.' Sixty-five per cent of those landed died of pulmonary or intestinal diseases while a sixth perished from smallpox.

The true nature of the labour trade soon became apparent and the Peruvians, bowing to British and French diplomatic pressure, agreed to repatriate the islanders. Overladen, pestiferous vessels returned their sick and dying cargoes to Polynesia. The result was a catastrophic denudation of the islands and all told, some six thousand died directly or indirectly as a result of the slave trade.

How did the islanders accommodate this major, externally induced, social disaster? What stratagems did they employ in the face of the sudden disappearance of between 24 and 79 per cent of the population of thirteen islands? The biggest problem they had to face was the lack of adult males. This meant that traditional food-getting tasks had to be reallocated and the island populations had to be replenished by suspending sanctions forbidding adultery, by encouraging male immigration, and by terminating such practices as abortion and infanticide.

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At the same time the trauma of the Peruvian experience encouraged the spread of Christianity, and undermined traditional power structures. Thus, when missionaries arrived on Easter Island in 1864 they found 'only the ruins of civilization,' the old economic and political system having collapsed into chaos.

While all those interested in the history of the Pacific will profit from Maude's scholarship, his sombre litany was compiled primarily for the descendants of those who suffered. 'Only through a knowledge of their history,' he writes, 'can the islanders of today become fully conscious of their regional identity, and thus guard themselves against the piecemeal cultural annihilation which threatens them in the present century, as Peruvian bondage did in the last.'

JAMES A. BOUTILIER, ROYAL ROADS MILITARY COLLEGE

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H.E. MAUDE. *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. Pp. xxii, 244. \$22.50 (US).

THIS SLIM VOLUME is a masterpiece. An elegantly written example of historical reconstruction, *Slavers in Paradise* chronicles a grim genocidal chapter in Pacific history during which 3,125 Pacific Islanders were kidnapped or recruited to work in Peru in the period 1862-3. Professor Maude is the doyen of Pacific historians and his account reflects his enormous expertise, his life-long acquaintance with Oceania, and his sympathetic understanding of the islanders and their cultures.

By his own admission, the book was the result of an 'intermittent twenty-year labour of love.' He began with a virtual *tabula rasa*, drew upon a vast array of documentation in French, British, Hawaiian, Peruvian, and Spanish archives, and hammered 'the intractable collection of discrete facts into a composite picture.' The result is superb detective work; painstaking, encyclopaedic, and precise. The story Maude tells is of 'the most dramatic region-wide conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence ever to occur in the romantic setting of the South Seas.'

The history of the colonial period in Oceania was and is one of labour hunger. The imperial powers that partitioned the Pacific Islands in the last century were constantly looking for assured supplies of cheap, tractable labour to work their labour-intensive agricultural and mining interests. Thus the French utilized Vietnamese political prisoners in the nickel mines of New Caledonia, and recruited Chinese to serve as artisans in Tahiti; the Australians recruited Solomon Islanders to cut cane in Queensland; and the British transported indentured Indian labourers to Fiji to harvest sugar. The Peruvian slave trade – for legal niceties aside no other words describe the process more aptly – was, therefore, one (albeit a more tragic one) of a series of human convection currents linking the Pacific Islands with the Pacific rim.

The labour experience had a profound effect not only upon the labourers themselves but upon the home and host territories. In the first place the recruitment process was an homogenizing one which broke down the class, caste, tribal, and linguistic distinctions existing among the recruits. In the second place it introduced them to alien – and generally Western – material and non-material cultures and ensured, by way of repatriation, the diffusion of those cultures throughout the Pacific region. Generally speaking, repatriated culture undermined indigenous political, economic, and social structures while simultaneously forging new links of dependence, particularly at the material level, between the home and host territories.

At the same time the host territories were transformed. The labour experience gave rise to plural societies, as is the case in Fiji and New Caledonia,

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JAMES A. BOUTILIER, ROYAL ROADS MILITARY COLLEGE

THE MARINER'S MIRROR

The Quarterly Journal of the Society for Nautical Research

SLAVERS IN PARADISE. The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. By H. E. MAUDE. Australian National University Press, 1981. 244 pages. Aus. \$25.50 (Cloth), \$10.50 (Paper).

One of the more sordid aspects of nineteenth-century economic development was the practice of 'blackbirding' - the raiding of primitive Pacific Island communities as a source of cheap labour. For some maritime historians, their first exposure to this phenomenon was perhaps the references thereto by Basil Lubbock in the second volume of his immense compendium *The Last of the Windjammers*. Since his day, several scholarly works have described and quantified this thoroughly unwholesome traffic in human beings, and this book is a new contribution to our understanding of the subject.

The noted anthropologist H. E. Maude, who achieved the unique distinction for one of his profession of becoming a colonial administrator, has, in this study rescued from obscurity a branch of this unsavoury commerce, the recruitment by fair means or foul (mostly foul) of Polynesians to serve the needs of the Peruvian labour market in the early 1860's. Peru had originally obtained much of its labour from China, but this source of cheap labour was much curtailed by the late 1850's, and the stimulus given to Peruvian cotton and rice cultivation with the advent of the American Civil War again stimulated demand for some new external source. An Irish adventurer of dubious reputation named J. C. Byrne, sought and obtained a concession permitting the recruitment of labour from the scattered islands of Polynesia and it is this episode that is the subject of Dr Maude's fascinating study, which has drawn upon the work of another distinguished anthropologist, Professor J. D. Freeman. The author lays particular stress upon the disastrous effect this traffic was to have on the Polynesian Islands in the 1860's and thereafter.

This is a well documented and valuable study of an aspect of oceanic commerce which reflects ill upon nearly everyone connected with it. However, it is of interest that Dr Maude can find little evidence to support the often repeated assertion (by, among others, Levin in his study, *The Export Economies*) that much of the labour thus recruited was destined to live and die working the guano deposits on the Chincha Islands. On the contrary, the Polynesians were ill-suited to such arduous labour, and were mostly employed on plantations and as domestic servants subject to much exploitation.

This scholarly study will be full of interest to historians and anthropologists alike and it is a pity that the paperback edition is disfigured by a cover of unappealing vulgarity which belies the true character of the contents.

ROBIN CRAIG

Europeans and their diseases occurred, lay in the range of 4–15 million. Rather tentatively Cook proposes 9 million as a specific figure.

The second half of the book examines the demography of native Peru from 1520 to 1620 region by region. The largest block of information used is the general census taken by the fifth viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, in the early 1570s. Subsequent counts, irregular but numerous, were done of many districts. Cook uses them all. His efforts in finding, analyzing, and collating them have indeed been prodigious. Some of the conclusions he draws are expected, others not. For instance, as in Mexico, the rate of native depopulation in Peru was far higher on the coast than in the mountains. From 1570 to 1620 the highland population fell by 44 percent, while on the coast the decline was 65 percent. The reasons for this difference include less intense contact between Spaniards and Indians in the mountains and a lesser virulence of the diseases brought in by the conquerors in the highlands. As in Mexico, also, disease is given first place as the cause of mortality among the natives. So much more devastating was it than anything else the Spanish introduced that even in highland regions where Indians were forced into mining labor, their mortality was lower than that on the coast—an unexpected finding. Also unexpected is the contention that birth rates remained high among Indians, although offset by great infant mortality during numerous epidemics. Birth rates are often said to have fallen severely in Spanish America after the conquest.

By 1620 the native population of Peru had sunk to 670,000, probably no more than a tenth of its number in 1520, and possibly well under a tenth. The proportion of the decline, however dismal, will come as no surprise to colonial Latin Americanists: as in Mexico, so in Peru. We are grateful, nevertheless, to Cook for bringing his research of twenty years to conclusion.

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H. E. MAUDE. *Slavers in Paradise: Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1981. Pp. xxiii, 244.

Within the growing body of literature on the history of labor recruitment in the Pacific, the mid-nineteenth-century exodus of islanders to Peru has received very little attention. In 1862 and 1863, some 3,470 Polynesians (including some Micronesians and Easter Islanders) were induced or forced into contracts for the plantations of a new state where slavery had been abolished, but where little had changed for unprotected Chinese, Negroes, and unfortunate recruits from the Pacific. The

numbers were not large, but as this detailed and well-documented study makes clear, the incidence was particularly severe for small populations of the northern Cooks and Tuvalu. Very few were repatriated after a mortality rate of over 90 percent—one of the highest in tropical labor history. Those recruits who were brought back in 1863, moreover, occasioned a second demographic disaster in the Marquesas, Easter Island, at Rapa, and in the Leeward Islands by introducing smallpox and dysentery.

Thus, from every point of view the episode is one of the most unsavory in Pacific migrant history, reflecting very little credit on the authorities at Lima or Callao and relieved only by the legal and naval action taken by the French administration at Tahiti and the efforts of Edmond de Lesseps, the French *chargé d'affaires* in Peru, whose persistence was instrumental in obtaining an end to the system.

The recruits died in droves, however, before the Peruvian administration acted. By a careful survey of official and printed sources collected and translated by a number of specialists, H. E. Maude has revealed both the full horror of their fate at sea and ashore in Peru, as well as correcting some of the demographic exaggeration that has accumulated in the works of earlier writers. It is now clear that most of the islanders were taken abroad by a mixture of trickery and deceit, while perhaps one-third of the total was taken by force. The large totals for the Cook Islands also include many who already had some experience of wage labor on Fanning Island, while those from Tongareva were familiar with labor migration to Tahiti. Thus, it is not quite accurate to conclude, as Maude does, that the initial cargo for Peru was so easily obtained "due to an accident" (p. 7) arising from a desire to spend cash on church construction. Rather, the recruitment can be seen from the evidence presented by the author as a particularly catastrophic incorporation of islanders into the cash economies of states on the Pacific border, at a date when few Europeans, except the French at Tahiti, were in a position to protect them.

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Linacre College
Oxford University

HERBERT S. KLEIN. *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*. (Latin American Histories.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1982. Pp. xi, 318. \$6.95.

Drawing on the exponential growth of research during the past two decades, Herbert S. Klein has provided English-language readers with an admira-

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Società italiana di demografia storica, 1980, 353-363, Bibl. (6), Graph. (2), Tabl. (4).

82-342

MAUDE H.E. - Slavers in Paradise : the Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1981, XXXII+244, Bibl. (154), Cartes (12), Tabl. (9).
Parties principales : Peruvians in Polynesia (13 sections); Polynesians in Peru (10 sections).
Résultats : Peruvian kidnapping of Polynesians for work in guano mines, leading to depopulation.

8_-343

McARTHUR Norma. - New Hebrides Population, 1840-1967 : a Re-Interpretation. Noumea, South Pacific Commission, 1981, 53 p., Bibl. (19), Résumé (F), Carte (1), Graph. (2), Tabl. (1).
Parties principales : the sandalwood era; the recruiting era; under the Condominium.
Sources : unpublished missionary letters.
Méthodes : demographic analysis of impact of introduced diseases.
Résultats : re-assessment of causes of depopulation.

82-344

PRADEL DE LAMAZE François, ARMENGAUD André. - L'extension du malthusianisme dans le sud-ouest français. Revue géographique des Pyrénées et du Sud-Ouest, Toulouse, Vol.51, Fasc.2, 1980, p.101-109, Résumé (E), Tabl. (4).
Parties principales : solde naturel et migratoire, structure par âges en 1861 et 1975, évolution de l'indicateur de fécondité.
Sources : recensements.
Résultats : la diminution de la population a commencé en Aquitaine Centrale, puis s'est propagée vers les zones marginales.

however. Both the military occupation and the Freedmen's Bureau, especially before it was purged in the summer of 1865 of dedicated, efficient officers such as Edward Wild, were essential to support the missionaries and the freedmen. On the other hand, soldiers, excepting those officers of black troops, had developed a reputation by 1865 of exploiting the "contrabands of war" in a fashion scarcely different from the Southern slaveholders. Early promises of a distribution of the land confiscated from leading Confederates to freedmen were shattered by the President's policy of pardoning rebels and by Congressional refusal to abandon the principle of the sanctity of private property. It was only logical that the Northern aid societies should see the necessity of federal involvement in the South while at the same time feeling a deep sense of betrayal towards officers, congressmen, and the President.

Occasionally the book is weakened by unnecessary digressions. In one such case, Jones lays herself open to the charge of reading history backwards when she suggests that freedmen's aid societies should have adopted "affirmative action" policies and suspended "formal culture-bound qualifications in certain hiring situations" (p. 206), or that they might have supported "boycotts, civil disobedience, and other forms of collective action to effect social change" (p. 206). These interjections are unfortunate because they take away from the otherwise important contributions of the book. For those readers concerned with education and the freedmen, *Soldiers of Light and Love* will be an essential study but one which must be read with care.

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Richard Reid

Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-64, by H. E. Maude. Stanford University Press (in Australia, Australian National University Press), 1981. xxii, 231 pp.

For a period of just seven months, between September 1862 and April 1863 the people of the unappropriated Polynesian islands, outside the main centres of European activity in Tahiti, Raratonga and Samoa, were exposed to the depredations of slave traders recruiting for Peru. The episode was embedded in the traditional history of the Polynesians and the author, who worked among them, was inspired to reconstruct it. Drawing together scattered references in the government documents of Britain and Peru, disparate newspaper accounts, elements in missionary archives and with the generous assistance of scholars in many disciplines, he has delineated the Polynesian variant of the nineteenth century international slave and contract labour trade.

The trade involved thirty-three ships which made thirty-eight voyages and transported 3,634 people. The book traces each voyage, tabulates the impact of the predators on each small, fragile island society and traces the victims to their death beds, on the manure heaps of the *haciendas*, in the Lima charity hospital and, most grotesquely, on the islands to which they were repatriated. Almost every element in the account excites comparisons with well established patterns.

In legal terms the traders were introducing colonists to work as bonded labourers on the estates. Contract labour, first introduced in 1849 to supply Chinese workers for the guano beds, was re-introduced in 1861 after the abolition of slavery to supply, as in the British West Indies, agricultural workers for the estates. From its inception, however, the trade was

recognised in the Peruvian press and by government officials as a new slave trade. The ships were fitted up like ships in Chinese coolie trade, the holds divided by iron gratings, with swivel guns over the hatches. The slave captains resorted, more often than not, to the blackbirding techniques of the earliest American slavers: people were enticed aboard with trade goods and then driven to the holds.

A distinguishing feature of the Polynesian slave trade, however, was that a third of the recruits were genuinely voluntary. The slavers were operating in an area where many of the islands were already caught up in the expanding network of European civilization — commercial agricultural and Christian missions. On Tongareva in the Northern Cooks, for example, the islanders were accustomed to contract work on the coconut plantations of Fanning Island and, unfortunately, predisposed to trust white men as fellow Christians. It was the peaceful recruitment of 251 Tongarevans who were "contracted" in Callao for two hundred dollars for five years' work which stimulated a flurry of expeditions to the islands. Tongareva itself was almost depopulated — 472 of its 570 people (82.8%) were recruited. For the rest of the Polynesians the horrors and the desperate resistance attempts of the Atlantic's "middle passage" were repeated.

In Peru the Polynesians were considered "superior, physically and morally to the Chinese." They were used in the towns as agreeably decorative house servants: on the plantations they were used like slaves. In both contexts they fell prey to pulmonary and intestinal diseases aggravated, on the plantations, by malnutrition. The death rate among the Polynesians in Peru was so high, in fact, that the slave trade might, arguably have collapsed for want of a market. In less than a year almost 2000 died. The trade was declared illegal however, in response to international pressure triggered by the slave traders' disregard for those European interests which, at the local level, had facilitated the enslavement of the Tongarevans. The missionary societies, the Aboriginal Protection Society, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery society, alerted by accounts from established churches in the Pacific, petitioned the British, the French and the Peruvian governments to end the trade. Congregations in the four corners of the British Empire, from Australia to Jamaica made their opinion known. At the same time, the French in Tahiti, with their long-term concern for the area's labour supply, kept up steady diplomatic pressure. The Peruvian government, confronted by the fact that the Polynesian slave trade was an economic loss and an international scandal, ordered the Polynesians' repatriation. This apparently benevolent gesture was conducted in such a way that it inflicted, in fact, a sort of vengeance on the Polynesians for occasioning economic loss to the planters and international humiliation for Peru.

The government employed slave captains as repatriation agents and paid them only thirty-one dollars per head for journeys of two to four thousand miles and allowed them to pack their ships to double capacity. These factors, combined with smallpox infection and dysentery ensured that most of the repatriates died; when they survived they spread death and destruction to every island they landed in. On Easter island, for example, the arrival of sixteen repatriates (of an original one hundred shipped home) led to the death of half the population.

This carefully documented vignette reminds us of the barbarism inseparable from the marketing of people, as it was first comprehended by Thomas Clarkson and his co-workers. Its small scale and short duration permit the development of no palliating historical perspectives. The depopulation of

these minute islands cannot be deodorized as a "diaspora": the grubby small-time profit seekers who conducted the trade cannot be viewed as contributing to an epoch-making shift in the mode of production. And their victims left no heirs whose superior physique testifies to the material well-being of the enslaved. It confronts us with the essence of the phenomenon: the destruction wrought by using people as commodities.

Dalhousie University

Mary Turner

Ladies of the Leisure Class, The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century, by Bonnie G. Smith. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1981. xi, 303 pp. \$22.50. \$9.95 paperback.

This work explores the complex domestic world of upper middle class women, a world which differs radically from that traditionally associated with the term bourgeois. In examining this world, Bonnie G. Smith, assistant professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, has contributed in an important way to our understanding of women, private life and the social history of France in the nineteenth century.

Much has been written about the impact of industrialization on middle class women in the nineteenth century, with the resulting cult of domesticity which enshrined women in the home, their "separate sphere," and exalted their role as mothers and moral preceptors. In the Nord, the effects of economic change appear to have been dramatic. In this most north-easterly and highly industrialized department of France, businessmen were, according to this study, model capitalists: pragmatic and competitive with a utilitarian attitude toward religion and social problems. In the first half of the century so too were their wives, and Professor Smith describes a number of women who were tough entrepreneurs, sharing equally in the direction of the family firm. The focus of this study, however, is on their daughters who, by the 1860s, were abandoning family enterprises and retiring to their households to fulfill their maternal role with zeal.

Convent educated, sexually innocent and married early to men chosen by their families, this younger generation passed their lives in a world whose rhythms and values were not those of a modern industrial society. Professor Smith is particularly good at describing the domestic details of this world, with its daily pattern of reading, needlework, prayer, instruction of servants and children, and social visits so carefully regulated that six or eight could be made in one afternoon. Buried in their domestic world, these women espoused what the author terms the essentially preindustrial values of family, order, hierarchy and a religious, rather than a scientific, view of the world. When they ventured outside the home it was to affirm their domestic vision of the world. In two excellent sections, this work analyzes the ways in which these bourgeois of the Nord resolutely defended their Catholic schools and charities against republican reformers, including their husbands, whose educational and social welfare systems were based on hostile values. The picture that emerges is of women living in a world totally apart from that of men, with opposing values, a different language (the women's is labelled more primitive), and even literally in separate spheres, for as these bourgeois retreated into their houses, the bourgeois of the Nord withdrew to private clubs. It speaks to the effectiveness of this study that whether or

order and dream of progress. Lacking strong colonial institutions and the wealth of Mexico or Peru, Venezuela's history until recently has been turbulent. Governments which failed to maintain order and promise progress were quickly deposed; continuity was provided by a Venezuelan elite centered in Caracas. The export of cacao, then coffee and finally petroleum have provided the financial base for this elite.

The experience of Venezuela suggests that democratic institutions can be developed within one generation. The "generation of 1928" headed by Rómulo Betancourt successfully patterned Venezuela after North Atlantic nations. Venezuelans wanted to emulate the life styles and prosperity of the Texas rancher, the Iowa farmer, and the Detroit auto worker. In short, modern Venezuela has imported industrial, political, and to a certain extent, even cultural models from the North Atlantic community.

The one defect in the book is the author's failure to clearly outline the chronology of events in the narrative. While a thorough chronology is added in the appendix, identifying administrations in the text would be most helpful, especially for newcomers to Venezuelan history for whom the book was presumably written as part of Oxford's Latin American History series.

Nevertheless, Lombardi's book is well suited for those new to Venezuelan history. It provides a framework for further study and the appendices, in addition to the detailed chronology, include a wonderful annotated bibliography, maps, and a lengthy statistical supplement.

Southern Technical Institute

Robert Fischer

Maude, H. E., *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. 184 pp., Cloth, \$23.50.

Today the Peruvian term *canaca*, meaning a lazy worker, harkens back to the experiment with Polynesian laborers in the nineteenth century. In Polynesia, the words "Peru" and "Callao" are synonymous with cruelty and terror because of the horrible experiences suffered by the islanders at the hands of Peruvian labor recruiters.

H. E. Maude learned of the Peruvian "blackbirding" while a British colonial official in the South Seas between the world wars. He recorded the oral traditions of the slave raids on many islands, and later, while a historian at the Australian National University, he spent twenty years gathering information from scattered sources. Maude used missionary archives; British, French, Hawaiian, and Peruvian Foreign Office correspondence; French colonial and British Admiralty and consular

papers; and contemporary newspaper and periodical accounts. The result, *Slavers in Paradise*, is a factual narrative of the islanders' folk memory.

Part One, "Peruvians in Polynesia," reconstructs each slaver's voyage through the islands, comparing the written records with each other and with the oral tradition of each island. Part Two, "Polynesians in Peru" examines the successful efforts of the French government to persuade the Peruvian government to stop the trade and to repatriate the few surviving Polynesians.

Maude found that much of the story, whether told by islanders or published by poorly informed western writers, was inaccurate and exaggerated. Maude concludes: the Peruvian government did not intend to enslave the Polynesians but did not respond very promptly, humanely, or efficiently when confronted with the reality of the tragedy; islanders sometimes boarded ships voluntarily but were more often tricked or forced into the holds of the slave ships; the total number of enslaved islanders was 3,634; tales of brutality, lust, and starvation are accurate; most victims came from the western Pacific islands, not Easter Island; in Peru the *canacas* "worked" as domestics and farm hands, not guano miners; and the French, particularly Chargé d'Affaires Edmond de Lesseps—not the British—acted vigorously on behalf of the bewildered, dying Polynesians.

Maude's account is a fine contribution to island literature and should stimulate some Peruvianist to fill in details of Peruvian political history surrounding the incident.

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Paul E. Kuhl

Halperin, Maurice, *The Taming of Fidel Castro*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981. 345 pp., Cloth, \$18.95.

This book is a sequel to the author's *The Rise and Fall of Fidel Castro* (University of California Press, 1972) in which he traced the progress of the Cuban Revolution up to 1963. In the present volume, Maurice Halperin, drawing on his own experiences in Cuba from 1962 to 1968, continues the narrative through the 1970s.

Halperin provides a critical, albeit not unsympathetic, assessment of Cuba's revolutionary regime attributing most of its problems to Fidel Castro's chaotic and highly centralized administrative style. A long-time leftist, although not an ideologue, Halperin is probably about as objective an observer as one could hope to find.

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THE FIRST is H.E. Maude's "Slavers in Paradise" (from Stanford U. Press). Did you know that there was an outburst of slave trading from Peru into the Polynesians? It lasted only a short time, but it was violent, striking the islands in 1862-1864 "with the force of one of the region's 'tsunami' —the great seismic waves that from time to time bring death and starvation to the area." Slave raids cut populations by two-thirds. "by outright kidnaping or by disease introduced by the kidnapers."

Maude's book tells it all, with lists of the ships that sailed in the trade, and how many slaves each vessel brought back to Peru.

THE TIMES OF AMERICA 3/82

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This book is important because it draws a full picture: the capture, enslave-
ment, subsequent ship journey and life of the Polynesians in Peru. It then goes back to the ⁵² Islands themselves and shows the catastroph^Aic effect of the def
population ^{on} ~~of~~ them. Recommended for all college and university libraries and for larger public libraries.

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CHOICE (Ass'n. College + Research Libraries) June 1982

Sent to Stanford

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Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press
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Publication Date: October 24, 1981

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Morgan devotes the first four chapters to drugs and their uses; laudanum, morphine, coca, chloral hydrate, and cocaine were all commonly used and available throughout the nineteenth century. In chapters 5, 6, and 7 he covers cures, treatments, regulations, and society's withdrawal, concluding in the final chapter with an analysis of the last two decades. He is careful throughout to treat a potentially sensitive issue objectively and rationally.

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Opiate addiction, which some people viewed as more socially acceptable than drinking, increased in the 1870s, peaked in the 1890s, and declined thereafter. As it became more common, stereotypes abounded; blacks did not use opiates, for example, because their nervous systems were too primitive. At the same time a definite hierarchy developed—opium

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Opiate addiction, which some people viewed as more socially acceptable than drinking, increased in the 1870s, peaked in the 1890s, and declined thereafter. As it became more common, stereotypes abounded; blacks did not use opiates, for example, because their nervous systems were too primitive. At the same time a definite hierarchy developed—opium

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is strongly recommended because it is to the point, clearly written, and sufficiently detailed; and after all the topic remains fascinating.

ADRIAN HORRIDGE A.N.U.

Canberra

TARATAI, a Pacific Adventure by James Siers, published Millwood Press, Wellington, N Z 1977, ISBN 0 908582 00 5, has come rather late into my hands. A fascinating account of the building of a 76 ft voyaging canoe and its 1500 mile passage from Tarawa in the Gilberts to Fiji in an attempt to establish how an ancient sea link was accomplished, and to show the capabilities of an outrigger canoe of this size at sea. The book has an added interest because of the inclusion of an assessment of the canoe by the English naval architect Peter Barton, who sailed on TARATAI as navigator, and an account of problems in designing her smaller successor TARATAI II. In addition, there is a valuable account by Professor Roger Green, who holds the Chair of Prehistory at Auckland University, on the origins and dispersal of the populations ancestral to Polynesians and other speakers of Austronesian languages. The book also includes a valuable account by Sir Arthur Grimble and his daughter Rosemary on the traditional building of canoes taken from her book "Migration, Myth and Magic from the Gilbert Islands" published Routledge & Kegan Paul 1972.

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include official maps of many major naval battles. The book is largely concerned with naval exploits in both World Wars. This book, too, was shown to me by my friends at the Henry Lawson Bookshop - a place which specialises in books published in or written about Australia, and which has a singularly good range of maritime titles. The endpapers of George Odgers' book are most attractive, depicting in colour a number of R A N ship's badges.

Five Hundred Years of Nautical Science 1400 - 1900 edited by Derek Howse, Keeper of Navigation and Astronomy at the National Maritime Museum, the proceedings of the Third International Reunion for the History of Nautical Science and Hydrography, held at the N.M.M. in September 1979. There are sections on The Influence of Weapons on Ship Design; Navigation & Hydrography; The Wooden Ship and Sail; and Iron, Steel and Steam. ISBN 0 905555 55 4. 408 pp 96 ill £11.00 We hope to receive a copy of this book for review in due course.

Prior notice from Mrs Anna Kingsley-Curry, Asst PRO, NMM Maritime Books from H.M.S.O. We have just received an excellent brochure of maritime books available from Her Majesty's Stationery Office. Some have been listed in earlier NEWSLETTERS: The Ship Series, general editor Basil Greenhill, each 60 pp, £2.95 - Rafts, Boats & Ships from Prehistoric times to the medieval era, Sean McGrail; Long Ships and Round Ships - warfare and trade in the Mediterranean 3000BC to 500AD, John Morrison; Tiller & Whipstaff - the development of the sailing ship 1700 to 1820, Robin Craig; Channel Packets and Ocean Liners 1850 to 1970, John M Maber; Life and Death of the Merchant Schooner, Basil Greenhill; Steam, Steel and Torpedoes - the warship of the 19th century, David Lyon; Dreadnought to Nuclear Submarine, Anthony Preston; The Revolution in Merchant Shipping 1950 - 1980, Ewan Corlett.

The Recollection Series £ 3.95 each: Last of the Sailing Coasters, Edmond Eglinton, 72 pp; Diary of Joseph Sams, emigrant in the NORTHUMBERLAND 1874 UK to Melbourne, Simon Braydon, 64pp; I saw a ship a'sailing, Mary Hay (Cape Horner LADYE DORIS) 128 pp; Towards Quebec, Ann Giffard (Emigrant passages UK to Canada) 96 pp.

Also Britain's Naval Heritage, Gregory Clark, 156 pp £ 7.95 (pbk £ 3.95); From Viking Ship to VICTORY, Ole Crumlin-Pedersen and Roger Finch (building methods, tools, accommodation, function and life on board the two ships) 48 pp, 75 pence; Royal Yachts, AP McGowan, 34pp, £1.00; Dress of the British Sailor, Adm Sir Gerald Dickens, 24pp, 1.00; James Cook, the Opening of the Pacific, Basil Greenhill, 32pp, £1.25; Voyaging with the Wind, Alan Villiers, 76pp, 75 pence; Historic Instruments in Oceanography, A McConnell, 56pp £ 3.95.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED The Mariner's Mirror, journal of the Society for Nautical Research, UK, Vol 68 No2 includes articles Transportation of Horses by Sea in the era of the Crusades pt 2 by John H Pryor; Mackau & Casey, two Franco-Irish Ministers of Marine and the French Naval Revival after 1815, by J de Courcy Ireland; Historic Architecture of Chatham Dockyard, 1700 - 1850, by Jonathan Coad; Sir George Ayscue, Commonwealth & Restoration Admiral, by Peter le Fevre; Relationship of Sea Travellers & Excommunicated Captains under 13th C Canon Law, by Alfred J Andrea. Also many notes, queries, reviews.

Mededelingen van der Nederlandse Vereniging voor Zeegeschiedenis No 43 This issue includes one paper in English by R W Unger "The Dutch Coal Trade in the 17th & 18th Centuries." The other papers - which I would like to have been able to read - are by B Hijma and S J de Groot. There is also an impressive list of new publications world-wide, books and papers in journals. SA Ports and Shipping Journal ISSN 0156 5065 Mainly matters of current interest to SA ports, but includes the historical feature "Sagas of Sail" by Neil Cormack (Feb issue re the Vinnen Line, and Apr issue re the barque FAVELL, for example) and Ron Parson's extracts from Sir William Creswell's reminiscences of the SA Colonial Navy, originally published in the Adelaide Observer from June 1924.

NEWSLETTER of the Thames Shiplovers Society, London, mainly about their Annual Rally plans. The Bank Line No 9 Dec 1981, an excellently produced house journal, includes several articles of maritime historical interest - A QUEEN MARY Medal; John Harrison's Chronometers; Medicine at Sea in Sailing Ships; Ships on Coins; Bank Line Sailing Ships.

Ports of N.S.W. It is always a delight to receive this journal, produced by the Maritime Services Board of N.S.W. Edited by member Dixie Gauvin, "Ports" always includes at least one article on maritime history, is well written and illustrated, and is eminently readable and informative throughout. As what's-his-name said, History begins where the here and now ends.

NMM News, Newsletter of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich gives news of recent developments there - 1981 winter issue reported that the papers of Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beattie (1871-1936) had been purchased for the Museum, and told of the TULIPBANK 1942 trawler engine display.

World Ship Society Newsletter, various issues, contains details of current ship movements. Maritime Scratchings, Newsletter of the Newcastle Maritime Museum, January 1982 issue was sent with notes on the wreck of the 4m barque ADOLPHE in 1904 on the Oyster Bank, by Terry Callen.

Book Catalogues Received: from Reg and Philip Remington, 6th catalogue of "Voyages & Travels" - over 200 items including many titles of interest on Australia and New Zealand, the Indian and Pacific Oceans, Captain James Cook, Anson, Bligh; also a copy of Falconer's Dictionary; Moore's Practical Navigator and many others - all "first or best editions" - a mouth-watering collection. Also from Frank Smith, 60 Salisbury Avenue, Preston, North Shields, Tyne & Wear, NE29 9PF, England, a list of nearly 500 titles, mainly naval, but with a good sprinkling of sail and general maritime history, at what seem to me to be reasonable prices.

Slavers in Paradise, H.E. MAUDE. *The Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864.* Canberra, Australian National University, 1981. Port. in front., appendix, notes, bibliogr., index, XXII-244 p., 24 cm.

Les premiers raids des péruviens de Callao vers la Polynésie datent des années 1862-63. Ils se portèrent principalement depuis les Kermadec, au sud des îles Gilbert, jusqu'à l'ouest de Rotuma.

Trente deux embarcations, de types divers, allant de 100 à 400 tonneaux, participèrent à ce trafic.

En 1862, les esclavagistes péruviens ruinèrent complètement l'île de Pâques en kidnappant une bonne part de la population, dont le roi, sa famille et beaucoup de gens instruits. Quelques-uns des individus raptés revinrent, mais leur retour fut également catastrophique car ils apportèrent la peste vérole qui décima la population demeurée sur l'île. Au point qu'elle ne perdit le souvenir de son passé. Les Tokelau et l'île de Tuvalu subirent les mêmes sévices.

Le livre dit pourquoi et comment le trafic commença ; le nombre de personnes qui, à chaque passage des Péruviens, étaient emportés hors de leurs îles ; les bateaux qui étaient impliqués dans ces exactions et les méthodes employées par leurs capitaines. On y traite également de l'attitude des grandes puissances envers ces trafics de l'effort tenté pour son abolition et des tentatives faites pour rapatrier les survivants...

L'auteur rapporte les faits qu'il décrit d'après les rapports des ancêtres-parents, grands-parents et arrière-grands-parents, des gens impliqués dans ces événements.

Jusqu'à ce jour, aucune des personnes mêlées à ces faits, pas plus du reste que les gouvernements, les historiens, les missionnaires, n'avaient songé à en recueillir la suite. Tout ce qui a été écrit se résume en documents de seconde main ramassés dans les pages du *Sydney Morning Herald* où l'on trouve des notices épisodiques sur diverses îles. Hormis la trop brève histoire de *Taole*, l'homme de *Niue*, qui échappa de justesse à ces horreurs.

A Papeete, le gouverneur de la Richerie agira efficacement contre des recruteurs, selon ses pouvoirs.

Edmond de Lesseps, chargé d'affaires français à Lima, luttera de son mieux dans le même sens. Mais il agit, selon ses propres idées, trop loin du ministère et de Paris pour pouvoir demander des ordres et des directives à la Capitale. Il viendra cependant à Tahiti assister au procès et au jugement de la *Mercedes*.

Félicitons donc H.E. MAUDE de ce travail. Il avait eu, à travers mille péripéties de voyages assez improvisés, l'occasion de visiter un grand nombre d'îles du Pacifique et sa connaissance des îles ressort dans tout son ouvrage.

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- Ecumenical Institute for the Development of Peoples. **Conscientizing Research: A Methodological Guide.** [Plough Publications, 48 Princess Margaret Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong. 1981] 64 pp. *How to do research to raise the consciousness of grass-roots activists.*
- European Trade Union Institute. **Industrial Policy in Western Europe.** [ETUI, Boulevard de l'Imperatrice, 66, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgium. 1981] 251 pp. BF 700. *Papers on industrial policy and employment, including case studies on European countries and sectors.*
- European Trade Union Institute. **Price Control and the Maintenance of Purchasing Power in Western Europe.** [ETUI, Boulevard de l'Imperatrice 66, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgium. 1981.] 109 pp. *Generally favorable survey of price control mechanisms in 16 Western European countries, with discussion of possible international coordination.*
- Foster, Richard B, James E. Dornan, Jr., and William M. Carpenter, eds. **Strategy and Security in Northeast Asia.** [Crane, Russak, & Company, 3 E. 44th St., New York, NY, 10017. 1979] 350 pp. \$19.50 cloth. *Compilation of papers from SRI International-sponsored symposia, focusing on Korea.*
- Frank, Andre Gunder. **Crisis: The World Economy.** [Holmes & Meier, 30 Irving Place, New York, NY, 10003. 1980] 366 pp. *Political economic analysis of the global crisis in capital accumulation, focusing on the West, but covering the East and South as well.*
- Gaspar, Carlos et al. **Creative Dramatics: Trainers' Manual.** [Plough Publications, 48, Princess Margaret Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong. 1981] 92 pp. *How to use theater in community organizing, based upon experiences in the southern Philippines (Mindanao-Sulu).*
- Gold, David, Christopher Paine, and Gail Shields. **Misguided Expenditure: An Analysis of the Proposed MX Missile System.** [Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, NY, 10011. 1981] 220 pp. *Critique of strategic arguments for a mobile missile system, plus an analysis of the economic impact of the proposed system.*
- Goodman, Grant K., and Felix Moos. **The United States and Japan in the Western Pacific: Micronesia and Papua New Guinea.** [Westview Press, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, CO, 80301. 1981] 289pp. \$20 cloth. *Collaborative study demonstrating the dependence of the U.S. territory of Micronesia and newly independent Papua New Guinea on both the U.S. and Japan.*
- Grilli, Enzo R., Barbara Bennett Agostini, and Maria J.'t Hooft-Welvaars. **The World Rubber Economy: Structure, Changes, and Prospects.** [Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, MD, 21218. 1980] 204 pp. \$6.50. *World Bank monograph on the production and trade of both natural and synthetic rubber, including a chapter on the impact of the "oil crisis."*
- Hadley, Eleanor M. **Japan's Export Competitiveness in Third World Markets.** [Significant Issues Series, Volume III, Number 2, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1800 K St., NW, Washington, DC, 20006] 91 pp. \$5.95 plus \$1.00 shipping. *Describes how government policy and Japan's post-World War II industrial structure led to Japan's export success. Part of the Georgetown center's U.S. Export Competitiveness Project.*
- Hunt, E.K., and Howard J. Sherman. **Economics: An Introduction to Traditional and Radical Views.** [Harper & Row, New York. fourth edition, 1981] 736 pp. *Radical economics textbook, analyzing various theoretical approaches to the U.S. economy, plus comparison of socialist economies.*
- Jain, Rajendra Kumar. **China-South Asian Relations: 1947-1980.** [Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, India, and Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, 07716. 1981] two volumes, 599 pp. & 690 pp. \$56.25 cloth. *Collection of primarily Chinese documents, in English, on China's relations with its South Asian neighbors.*
- James, C.L.R. **Notes on Dialectics: Hegel-Marx-Lenin.** [Lawrence Hill & Co., 520 Riverside Ave., Westport, CT, 06880. 1981] 231 pp. \$6.95. *Revolutionary socialist philosophy, written in 1948.*
- James, C.L.R. **Spheres of Existence: Selected Writings.** [Lawrence Hill & Co., 520 Riverside Ave., Westport, CT, 06880. 1981] 266 pp. \$7.95. *Black revolutionary theorist's essays on political philosophy and the West Indies.*
- Kaiko, Takeshi, translated by Cecilia Segawa Seigle. **Into a Black Sun.** [Kodansha International, 10 E. 53rd St., NY, NY, 10022. 1980] 214 pp. \$12.95 cloth. *Novel on Vietnam in early days of U.S. presence, 1964-65, based on author's own experience as a correspondent. Originally appeared in 1968.*
- Klare, Michael T. **Beyond the "Vietnam Syndrome": U.S. Interventionism in the 1980's.** [Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Que Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20009. 1981] 137 pp. \$4.95. *Critical analysis of strategies of armed interventionism put forward by U.S. policy-makers who have failed to learn the real lessons of the Vietnam War.*
- Kotukapaly, Joseph A. **Blueprint for a Post-Industrial Civilization.** [Jayko, P.O. Box 50, Carlisle, MA, 01741. 1981] 207 pp. \$15.00 cloth plus \$2.00 handling. *Self-published proposal for a new economic system.*
- Lukoff, Herman. **From Dits to Bits: A Personal History of the Electronic Computer.** [Robotics Press, P.O. Box 92, Forest Grove, OR, 97116. 1979] 219 pp. *Autobiographical story of the early years of the electronic computer industry, by one of its pioneers, emphasizing the positive impacts.*
- Lydenberg, Steven D. **Bankrolling Ballots Update 1980: The Role of Business in Financing Ballot Question Campaigns.** [Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, NY, 10011. 1981] 200 pp. *Analysis of corporate spending on 1980 state ballot measures, concluding that it is generally effective, plus a table of corporate contributions.*
- Maupe, H.E. **Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864.** [Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 94305. 1981] 246 pp. \$23.50 cloth. *Account of the enslavement of Pacific islanders by Peruvian slave traders, discussing the impact on Polynesia and the conditions in Peru.*
- Moskowitz, Milton, Michael Katz, and Robert Levering, eds. **Everybody's Business: The Irreverent Guide to Corporate America.** [Harper & Row, San Francisco. 1980] 928 pp. \$9.95. *Almanac on 317 of America's largest corporations, containing both socially significant and little-known information.*
- Patti, Archimedes J. A. **Why Viet Nam? Prelude to America's Albatross.** [University of California Press, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA, 94720. 1981] 632 pp. \$19.50 cloth. *History of U.S. involvement in Vietnam during and immediately after World War II, by a former O.S.S. agent who played an active part.*
- Permanent Peoples' Tribunal Session on the Philippines. **Philippines: Repression & Resistance.** [KSP, available in U.S. from Tribunal Report, Box 24737, Oakland, CA, 94623. 1981] 298 pp. *Legal critique and testimony from the revolutionary opponents of the Marcos regime.*
- Philliber, William W., and Clyde B. McCoy, eds. **The Invisible Minority: Urban Appalachians.** [University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, KY, 40506. 1981] 193 pp. \$15.50 cloth. *Collection of scholarly studies on the 3 million Appalachians who have migrated to America's cities, treating white Appalachians as a distinct ethnic group.*

Maude's *Slavers*: Stunning and well researched work

SALVERS IN PARADISE. The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1984. By H.E. Maude. Stanford U. Press. 244pp. 1981. \$23.50.

Scholars of Latin America tend to look east to Africa and Europe, or north to the United States, but seldom west to the Pacific and Polynesia.

H.E. Maude's *Slavers in Paradise* focuses on Polynesia and the awesome devastation wrought by Peruvians who ransacked the islands for "slave labor" from 1862 to 1864. Professor Maude's work isn't the easiest to read, laden as it is with detail, and certainly not considering the unremitting tragedy of the subject. However, the extensively illustrated book — 50 pictures and 12 maps necessary for most readers unfamiliar with the geography of the South Pacific — is a stunning, valuable study.

Professor Maude fits together all the aspects, starting with the politics in Peru which launched the trade, at first modestly. (During the United States Civil War, Britain sought other sources of cotton to replace those of the Confederacy. Peru became a major supplier.)

Like Tsunami, the wave of recruitment began rolling out from the epicenter, Callao, engulfing a region totally unprepared, which never even conceived of such a visitation.

Quantifying numbers, objectifying events is difficult considering the trickiness of the oral tradition and the secretiveness of the operation. For example, more people were reported removed from Atafu than ever lived there. Ship captains either never kept logs or soon destroyed them.

However, the author faces these difficulties successfully to draw a coherent picture, replacing the "prolific crop of sensational

assertions retailed by the purveyors of South Sea romance," demolishing many time-honored illusions. Despite these obstacles, the author attempts to avoid a narrative "hirsute with caveats." He divides his work, which covers the two years from the granting of the official license on 1 April 1862 to the Franco-Peruvian settlement in June 1864 into two parts: Peruvians in Polynesia, and Polynesians in Peru.

Slavers In Paradise is so rich in detail, horror, questions, personalities and international influence that a review can only hint at the contents and strongly urge a reader to plunge in himself.

HELL'S GATE

There is the Peruvian shortage of hands, a problem endemic to South America's history, the awful trickery of getting laborers aboard the ships, abetted by traditions of short voyages among the islands for work, missionary-bred faith and by outright kidnapping. Callao, the chief Peruvian port of embarkation, became known as a gate of hell; authorities belatedly realized that however cloaked in legal terminology, the labor trade was in fact a pure slave trade.

Recruits began to die in great numbers on the ships, of what appeared to be melancholia, loneliness as well as harsh treatment — exhausting work, inadequate food and beatings when they landed.

Owners threw them on dung heaps in their final sickness; one report found "not a single islander alive who had been more than six months in Peru." Some urged immediate repatriation. Even the longed for going home was a tragedy of small pox, dysentery, and ship fever bred by over crowded, unsanitary, pest house conditions. Some were abandoned, dumped not necessarily on their home island.

LEARNING TO COPE

The starkness is dramatized in one of Professor Maude's concluding sentences: "The real (sic) percentage of Polynesians repatriated is therefore 1.28 percent..." But despite the trauma and the losses, communities began coping, built on generations of coping with tidal waves, losses of ocean-going canoes, interisland warfare and other disasters. Repopulation began. Unlike earlier reactions to disaster, this was marked by conversions to Christianity and lost of the original culture.

For Polynesia, the author concludes, the Peruvian slave trade "consisted of genocide of an order never seen before or since in her history." But the islanders isolated from each other as they were by distance, language and colonial states, never fully understood this. Rather, parents passed down to children the terror and pathos of the man-stealing raids.

Professor Maude has not only gathered material previously ignored or left scattered, but he has painsakingly and poignantly given insight to the pain inflicted by Peru in the perceived paradise of Polynesia. M.K.P.

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PUBLISHING HOUSES

Stanford U Press
Stanford, CA 94305

University of Tennessee Press
293 Communications Building
Knoxville, TN 37915

University of California Press
Berkeley, CA 94720

REVIEWERS IN THIS ISSUE

[A.S.] Aaron Segal, a Senior Reviewer, is Professor of Political Science and Communications at the University of Texas, El Paso.

[J.W.C.] James W. Carty, Jr., a Senior Book Reviewer, is Professor of Communications at Bethany (WN) College.

[M.K.P.] Marion K. Pinsdorf, a Senior Reviewer, is adjunct professor of Brazilian Studies at Brown U, and a corporate executive.

Knife and Fork

Potato - dish of the Incas

By MARY ROBERTS
Food and Wine Editor

Gone is the gold of the Incas and the silver from Potosi, gone with a failing Spain and its vanquished Great Armada, but what may have seemed one of the most insignificant of all the gifts made by the New World to the Old, the humble potato, is still with us and remains the queen of the kitchen in Europe and practically all over the world.

Though by association of ideas Ireland is the name that comes to mind in connection with potatoes. Peru is the *real* potato country, the one that has the greatest number of indigenous varieties, and where they figure prominently in the local cuisine and in that of neighboring countries. Dishes like the following may even have been eaten by the Incas!

Papas a la Huancaína Peru

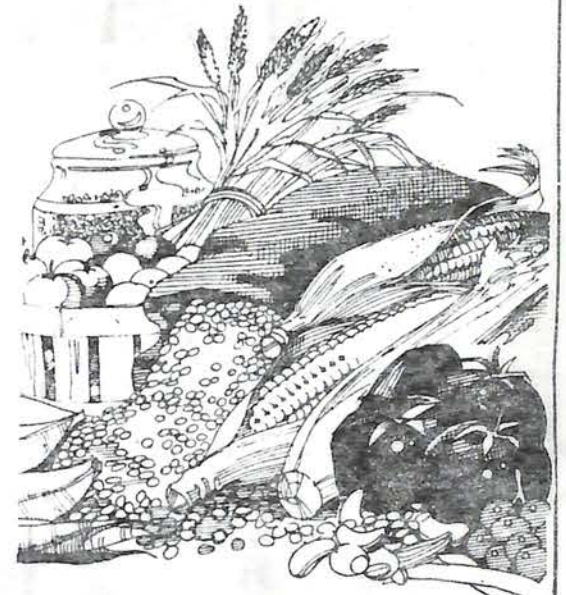
6 medium sized potatoes
16 ounces cottage cheese
¼ teaspoon cayenne pepper
1 teaspoon salt
½ teaspoon pepper
¼ teaspoon tumeric
3 tablespoons evaporated milk
third of a cup of vegetable oil
2 tablespoons of chopped onion
hardboiled eggs and olives for decoration.

Boil potatoes in their jackets, peel when cool and refrigerate. In blender mix cottage cheese, seasonings, milk, oil and onion until creamy. Place halved cold potatoes on lettuce leaves, pour cheese sauce over them and decorate with chopped hardboiled eggs and olives

Causa Limena Peru

1 finely chopped onion
juice of 2 lemons or limes
2 teaspoons salt
1 teaspoon hot pepper, washed and seeded. (Or use dried)
8 medium sized potatoes boiled in their jackets, peeled and cubed
¼ cup of olive oil

Mix onion and seasonings and allow to marinate for at least an hour. Mash boiled potatoes until



smooth, add marinated onions and oil, mix well and shape into small flat cakes.

Serve with onion sauce made with:

1 finely sliced onion
1 teaspoon hot pepper, washed and seeded
½ cup of oil and vinegar dressing.
Mix onion with other ingredients and pour over potato cakes. Serve with white cheese, corn on the cob and shredded lettuce.

Papas chorreadas Ecuador

2 pounds potatoes
2 large, finely chopped tomatoes
1 tablespoon butter
2 tablespoons of shortening
4 ounces of grated cheese
2 finely chopped cloves of garlic
Salt and pepper to taste.

Cube potatoes and boil. Heat the butter and shortening and fry the onion and garlic until soft, add the tomatoes, grated cheese and a tablespoon of water; simmer until thickened. Serve hot over hot potato cubes.

ESTRATEGIA^{MR}

LA OPINION ECONOMICA, FINANCIERA Y COMERCIAL

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The Easy Chair Three Books On a Shelf

By CLARENCE W. MOORE

Here at The Times of the Americas we are proud of our Book Pages. A prestigious corps of some 50 volunteer reviewers from all parts of the country choose the books they want to review from lists we send out periodically, and we insist that the reviews have appeal for the general reader. They do a fine job. And the books they review span an interesting array of subject matter.

This occurred to me as I took from the "pending" shelf three books recently received from publishers. All will be properly reviewed in the months ahead.

THE FIRST is H.E. Maude's "Slavers in Paradise" (from Stanford U. Press). Did you know that there was an outburst of slave trading from Peru into the Polynesians? It lasted only a short time, but it was violent, striking the islands in 1862-1864 "with the force of one of the region's 'tsunami'—the great seismic waves that from time to time bring death and starvation to the area." Slave raids cut populations by two-thirds. "by outright kidnaping or by disease introduced by the kidnapers."

Maude's book tells it all, with lists of the ships that sailed in the trade, and how many slaves each vessel brought back to Peru.

THE SECOND is Gardiner's "Pawns in a Triangle of Hate" (from the U. of Washington Press). Did you know that some 1,800 Peruvian-Japanese were interned in the United States during World War II? And that over half of them ended up in Japan, traded for American prisoners of war? Fewer than 100 ever got back to Peru. Lima acted to revoke the citizenship of even returning Japanese



"Oh, to be a little boy.."

"Oh, to be a panda.."

(Apuntes de Carreño, Novedades, Mexico City)

Editorial

Faltering Spokesman

Last Sunday was not a good day for Guillermo Ungo, President of FDR—the Revolutionary Democratic Front—the political

Water Fight Looms as Border Region Booms

By Aaron Segal

Rapid population growth along the Mexican and U.S. sides of the nearly 2,000-mile-long is leading towards a new conflict over scarce supplies of water. Through natural fertility and rapid internal migration, population along the Mexican side of the border is growing by five to six percent annually.

Growth is one to two percent on the U.S. side due to the relatively high fertility of young and predominantly Mexican-American populations, and due to an influx of other Americans, including many senior citizens.

There are 14 twin cities and towns along the border, such as Brownsville, Texas, and Matamoros, Mexico, and San Diego, California and Tijuana, Mexico. Several are already using the same underground water supplies which are being depleted more rapidly than they are being recharged. One estimate predicts a border population on both sides of 12 million by the year 2000 with sufficient local water in a semi-arid region for only six million.

Resolving ground water conflicts between Mexico and the United States runs into several difficulties. Mexican border city per capita use of water is several times less than that of U.S. border towns, for both residential and industrial use.

Does this mean that Mexican shares of declining aquifers should be based on present usage or estimated future needs with populations outgrowing those on the U.S. side?

Similarly, underground water is legally a federal monopoly in Mexico. Its legal situation varies from state to state in the United States. For instance, it is a private resource in Texas, a state monopoly in New Mexico,

Hueco Bolsons ground water which is also used in Mexico.

There are alternatives to the underground aquifers but they are more expensive and often involve high initial construction costs. These alternatives include the reclaiming of sewage water, desalination, the recycling of fresh water into partly discharged aquifers, and the pumping of water over several hundred miles, as from the Trans-Pecos Range of Texas to the border cities of El Paso and Juarez.

The search for a legal and political approach to this conflict has begun. The International Boundary and Water Commission has been in existence for more than 50 years as a binational body to regulate the Rio Grande River which Mexico and the United States share for 1,210 miles. It has no jurisdiction, though, over ground water.

Al Utton of the Law School of the University of New Mexico has proposed a new legal-political approach to the emerging ground water conflict. His proposals are based on the interconnectedness of surface and ground water. He would collect detailed records on well drilling, usage, and withdrawals, divide water supplies on an equitable basis, allow the International Boundary and Water Commission to designate threatened ground water basins and to control withdrawals, and have the Commission set water quality standards to prevent pollution and to clean up the contaminated supplies.

Ground water is finding its place on the crowded United State-Mexican agenda. There is still time to anticipate the conflicts and to initiate the appropriate measures. Present ground water supplies will in

THE BOOKSHELF

Home Style Korean Cooking in Pictures. Ok, Cho Joong. New York: Japan Publications/Kodansha, distributed by Harper & Row, New York, 1981, 96 pp., \$10.50. Designed to appeal to universal tastes and calls for ingredients easily obtainable.

At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor. Prange, Gordon W. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981, 912 pp., \$22.95. Based on 37 years of research and interviews, the late Professor Prange describes how Japan planned and executed the 1941 assault on Pearl Harbor.

The Kamikaze Mission of the Battleship Yamato, April 1945. Spurr, Russell. New York: Newmarket Press, 1981, 341 pp., \$14.95. The author studies the kamikaze ethos by examining "Japan's decision to send the Yamato—the largest battleship ever built to Okinawa in April 1945 without air cover and with only enough fuel for a one-way voyage" (Charles Kaiser in *New York Times Book Review*, 10/25/81).

Infamy. Toland, John. New York: Doubleday, 1982. The author asserts "that well before the Japanese attack, Washington knew that Japanese carriers were heading for Pearl Harbor" (*New York Times*, p. 6, 11/15/81).

The Tosa Diary. Tsurayuki, Ki no; translated by William N. Porter. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1981, 148 pp., \$9.75. This translation of the 1912 edition reveals to the reader the life of a traveler in tenth-century Japan. This edition includes an introduction and notes on the text by the translator. The original Japanese is given in romanization on the page facing the English translation.

Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Wichmann, Siegfried. New York: Crown Publishers, 1981, 432 pp., \$75.00. "This erudite, wide-ranging survey by a German art historian is remarkable for the way it displays Western and Japanese art side by side in a startling new comparative perspective. The book is organized around symbols, themes, and

artistic devices" (*Publishers Weekly*, 11/20/81).

Musashi: An Epic Novel of the Samurai Era. Yqshikawa, Eiji. New York: Harper & Row, 1981, 1008 pp., \$17.95. "An authentic *Shogun*" (Jan Morris, *Saturday Review*).

Middle East

Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran. Keddie, Nikki R.; with a section by Yann Richard. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981, 321 pp., cloth, \$30.00; paper, \$5.95. The authors present an account of modern Iranian history from about 1800 to the present.



Pacific Asia

Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. Maude, H. E. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981, 264 pp., \$23.50. This history of the Peruvian slave raids covers not only how and why the trade began and how it was conducted, but details the fate of slaves in Peru, the eventual abolition of the trade, and the effects of repatriation attempts.

South Asia

Mahabharata. Retold by William Buck; illustrated by Shirley Triest. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981, xxiv + 417 pp., paper, \$7.95. This Indian epic, in its original Sanskrit, is probably the largest ever composed. Combined with a second great epic, the *Ramayana*, it embodies the essence of the Indian cultural heritage. William Buck has retold these classics, as many poets have before,

in a language and at a length that make them available to the contemporary reader (adapted from the introduction).

Ramayana: King Rama's Way. Retold by William Buck, illustrated by Shirley Triest. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981, xxxii + 432 pp., paper, \$7.95. The author's aim was "to make it possible for contemporary readers to know the Ramayana in terms meaningful for modern times, as well as in terms of its origins" (from the preface).

Nepali Aama: Portrait of a Nepalese Hill Woman. Coburn, Broughton. Santa Barbara, CA: Ross-Erikson, 1981, 168 pp., \$9.95. A personal account of one woman and the town in which she lives. Coburn is a high school science teacher in a village in Central Nepal who spent one year as the tenant of an elderly widow known to the villagers as Aama (mother). The author concerns himself with the human consequences of such problems as deforestation, soil erosion, overpopulation, and the waning of traditional values and customs.

The Winds of Sinhala. De Silva, Colin. New York: Doubleday, 1981, 528 pp., \$17.95. "An historical novel about Gamini, Ceylon's warrior-king of the second century B.C." (*Publishers Weekly*, 11/27/81).

India: Cultural Patterns and Processes. Dutt, Ashok and Allan G. Noble, eds. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982, ca. 400 pp., \$17.50. In this analysis of India's cultural patterns, 22 U.S., Indian, and British scholars address both the diversity and the unity of India's culture, emphasizing the spatial distribution of cultural forms.

Madhur Jaffrey's World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking. Jaffrey, Madhur. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981, 448 pp., cloth, \$16.95; paper, \$9.95. This book is "for both the beginning cook and the newcomer to vegetarian cooking who wants proof that meatless fare can be interesting, varied, and wholesome. The recipes are straightforward and easy to follow" (*Publishers Weekly*, 10/16/81).

CHOICE JUNE '82

History, Geography &

Travel

Asia & Oceania

MAUDE, H.E. (Henry Evans). Slavers in paradise: the Peruvian slave trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. Stanford, 1981. 244p ill maps bibl index 81-51203. 23.50 ISBN 0-8047-1106-2

Maude writes of the notorious Peruvian slave trade that operated during the middle years of the US Civil War. The slavers kidnapped or otherwise hoodwinked Polynesians, chiefly from the Tokelau Islands and the Tuvalu Group, and brought them by the hundreds to be sold in Peru for agricultural labor. Most died, if not before reaching Peru, then not long afterward, from overwork, improper nourishment, disease, or simply from homesickness. Here Maude, a respected authority on Polynesia, has painstakingly recreated the story, tracing almost every ship involved in the trade. He explains that of a total of 2,846 Polynesians brought to Peru, only 46 eventually saw their homes again. This book is important because it draws a full picture: the capture, enslavement, subsequent ship journey, and life of the Polynesians in Peru. It then goes back to the islands themselves and shows the catastrophic effect of the depopulation on them. Recommended for all college and university libraries and for larger public libraries.

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Pacific Science Association, Information Bulletin

years of age when the Fellowship begins, and will, ordinarily, have had one year of postdoctoral experience. Special consideration will be given to candidates who have done research in their native region. Fellowships will be awarded for one year, with extension for a second year in exceptional circumstances, and will be tenable in any center of scientific excellence in the world.

A follow-up program includes a UNESCO grant to the Fellow for research materials and services to support a research project in the Fellow's region of origin. Another feature is the award of two travel grants in the two to three-year period after completion of the Fellowship to allow one visit by the Fellow to the foreign, host institution, as well as one lectureship for the foreign mentor, tenable in the country or region in which the former Fellow's research project is being conducted.

Application forms are available from National Commissions for Unesco or from the Division of Scientific Research and Higher Education at UNESCO, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France. Completed application forms should be sent to the Division of Scientific Research and Higher Education to arrive not later than 1 August 1982. The first Fellowships will begin between 1 January and 30 June 1983.

PUBLICATIONS NOTED

Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia, 1862-1863, by H. E. Maude. Canberra: Australian National University Press; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. 1982, A\$25.50 plus handling; U.S.\$23.50. A special paperback edition for the Pacific islands by the University of the South Pacific at F\$5.00. The work covers not only how and why the trade began, and how it was conducted, but also the fate of the slaves in Peru, the eventual abolition of the traffic, and the effects of the repatriation attempts. No single event in the history of Polynesia had such overwhelming consequences for many of the 51 islands visited, bringing death and devastation to the scattered communities, reducing the population by as much as two-thirds (whether by outright kidnapping or by disease) and creating not only demographic catastrophe but the destruction of the island societies and the impairment of their cultural heritage.

Papuan Languages of Oceania, by S. A. Wurm. 1982, published by G. Narr, Postfach 2567, Stauffenbergstrasse 42, D-7400, Tübingen 1, Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). x + 309 pp. A summary survey of the present stage of our knowledge of the Papuan language situation, with discussions of the development of the Papuan linguistic picture and the history of Papuan linguistic research with detailed bibliographical information, and descriptions of the nature and salient features of Papuan languages in general and the problems involved in classification and grouping. The book concludes with a short review of possible

CAMPUS REPORT (Stanford)
March 24, 1982

Peruvian slave raids examined

The Peruvian slave raids of 1862-63 hit the Polynesian islands "with the force of one of the region's *tsunami*—the great seismic sea waves" that can ravage its communities.

The deaths of more than 6,000 Polynesian islanders have been attributed either directly or indirectly to the devastating raids. Communities lost as many as two-thirds of their population to the slave traders or to the diseases these traders brought to the unprepared islands.

In fact the slave raids caused more destruction to the cultural history of Polynesia than any other catastrophe.

In his book, *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864*, recently released by the Stanford University Press (244 pp. \$23.50) anthropologist H.E. Maude describes the tragic history of the slave trade and details the reasons behind the raids as well as their lasting effects.

In his study, Maude found many misconceptions concerning the actual occurrences during the slave trade period.

Governmental views on the subject especially differ, but Maude explains that his book is "concerned with what actually took place and only incidentally with what governments may have hoped, or even believed, was happening." Maude taught for many years in the Pacific History Department of the Australian National University and is the author of more than 100 publications on Pacific history, literature, and bibliography.

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- Phillip Pepper, *You Are What You Make Yourself to Be: A Story of a Victorian Aboriginal Family*. Melbourne: Hayland House Publishers Pty. Ltd. 1980. Pp. 142. \$11.95.
- Eric Reade, *History and Heartburn: The Saga of Australia Film, 1896-1978*. East Brunswick, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980. Pp. 353. \$40.00.
- Kenneth L. Rehy and Damian G. Sohl, *Ponapean Reference Grammar*. Honolulu:

NEW PUBLICATIONS SINCE THE ATTACHED BROCHURE WAS PRINTED INCLUDE:

✓ Directory of Pacific Regional Institutions

This Directory, of 206 pages, was prepared by the USP Institute of Pacific Studies and published by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Owing to an ESCAP subsidy, copies are available from this Institute at \$2.00.

Slavers in Paradise

This remarkable story, by historian H.E. Maude, is the only complete historical account of the Peruvian slave trade which resulted in the capture of thousands of islanders from Kiribati, Tuvalu, Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa, Tahiti and Easter Island. 244 pages long, this remarkable book is selling in Australia and USA for \$25.00. Owing to special arrangement with the Author, we are able to sell it in the Pacific Islands for \$5.00 (please note that we cannot accept orders for this book from addresses outside the Pacific Islands).

✓ Cook Islands Cookbook

This book of 122 pages by Cook Islands Nutritionist Taiora Matenga, emphasises the utilisation of Pacific Islands products in the preparation of attractive and nutritious foods. It is available from the Institute of Pacific Studies or from Bookshops for \$2.50.

✓ Te Katake : Gilbertese chants

This fascinating book of chants from Kiribati contains 84 pages of music, illustrations and explanation of the unique Katake chants of the Atoll of Kiribati. Copies are available from the Institute or from Bookshops for \$5.00.

✓ Pacific Youth

This is a book by leaders of youths organisations from various parts of the Pacific Islands which will be of value to persons concerned with youth problems and youth organisation. \$3.00.

73. Vanuatu ethnohistory and autobiography A publication by Grace Mera Molisa on Omba ethnohistory, was edited and prepared for publication by IPS in association with SPSSA. Ms. Molisa is now updating it to cover recent political events.
74. Melanesians in Australia IPS is facilitating, in association with James Cook University of Townsville, the editing and publication of the personal records of the experiences of Melanesian workers in Australia and their descendants.
75. Polynesian missions in Melanesia This book includes studies of Samoans, Tongans, Cook Islanders and Tuvaluans in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and New Caledonia. Now in press.
- * 76. Slavers in Paradise An incredibly definitive piece of research on the Peruvian slave trade, this book by Professor H.E. Maude is of considerable significance in the history of Kiribati, Tuvalu, Niue, Tokelau, Cook Islands, French Polynesia and Easter Island. A Pacific edition was published by IPS in association with Australian National University Press in September 1981. To keep the price accessible to the Pacific public, Professor Maude generously waived royalties on this edition and ANU Press made special concessions in printing.
77. History of Christianity in the Pacific Islands This comprehensive study by John Garrett of the Pacific Theological College is being published by IPS (which will have Pacific rights) and the World Council of Churches (which will market elsewhere). It is being published under the title To Live Among the Stars and is due off the press in 1982.

University of the South Pacific, Institute of Pacific Studies,
Annual Report for 1981

Australian environment under its new management support a population equal to that of the Aborigines in 1829 (de Garis, 1979, p. 14).

The food production technology and land management techniques of the Aborigines were more efficient in the Western Australian environment until the turn of the century. We have now greatly surpassed them at least in food production, but only through fairly recent advances in technology.

In the first chapter, Ian Crawford reminds us that because Western Australia lacked 'a university or other cultural institutions apart from Mechanics Institute', the implications of the great debates of the nineteenth century, such as the debate over Darwinian evolution, passed it by (p. 10). In the last chapter, Geoffrey Bolton claims that Frank Crowley at the University of Western Australia from 1952-64:

gave the study of Western Australian history an impressive stimulus which placed it far in advance of any other state; and which has still to be rivalled (p. 686).

He concluded, in similar self-congratulatory vein that:

in 1980 no other state could boast so many works of historical synthesis or detailed studies as Western Australia; and with one dubious exception no other state had been the subject of a single-volume history since long before the Second World War.

Western Australia's historians reflected the coming of age of their society. The historians who wrote between the 1890s and 1960s had not been deliberately crass or naive in painting the portrait of a Western Australia whose greatest glory was the provision of economic opportunity for its inhabitants. They reflected the optimism of a community which, although homogenous in cultural origins, for most of the first half of the twentieth century drew the majority of its adult members from outside its boundaries — by far the highest proportion of migrants in any of the Australian states. It was important that the migrant dream of access to self-improvement should be validated, and that the history of Western Australia should be seen as a success story fortifying trust in the present and future. By the end of the 1970s the character of Western Australian society had altered. The old homogeneity had gone, and historians were more prepared to look at those elements in the past which spoke of discomf, conflict, and backsliding

from high public aspirations. A readiness to accept controversial or disturbing interpretations of its past would be a test of the maturity of the modern Western Australian community. (p. 691)

The achievement is quite remarkable — 14 scholarly volumes in the sesquicentenary series; Bolton's own new book, *Spoils and spoilers*; the Octagon Lectures, *European Impact on the West*

Australian Environment 1829-1979; Tom Stannage's *The People of Perth*, and now, *A New History of Western Australia*. We are lucky to have them.

Professor George Seddon is Director of the Centre for Environmental Studies, University of Melbourne, and author of *Swan River Landscapes* (1970), and other works on man and environment in Australia.

Rape of the Pacific

*H.E. Maude
Slavers in Paradise: the Peruvian
Labour Trade in Polynesia,
1862-1864.*

*ANU Press, bibliography, index, illus.,
\$25.00, \$10.50 pb.
7081 1607 8,
7081 1608 6 pb.*

By Olaf Ruhen

One hundred and twenty years ago the activities of Peruvian slavers shattered the tranquillity of the Polynesian world, effecting the total disruption of some of the remoter communities and effacing some of their treasured traditions. The brief seven months' campaign is not yet forgotten, nor have some of the islands yet recovered. Thirty-three vessels, mainly trading out of Callao, inflicted the widespread calamity, taking more than 3600 men, women and children from isolated islands and killing an unestimated number in the process. Of the known total nearly 3000 died, and a greater number succumbed to the epidemics of smallpox and dysentery brought back by those repatriated. Survivors numbered only 257; this figure includes 111 Micronesians of the 312 taken there.

The figures fail to convey the enormity of the tragedy; the captives were generally the fit adults of an island community and frequently the guardians of its traditions. Easter Island lost more than a third of its population by the raids and almost as many died in the epidemics that followed repatriation of the few pathetic survivors, Tongareva lost four-fifths of its inhabitants; the desolate remainder consisted of helpless women, children and the aged. Tonga's isolated island 'Ata, raped of two-fifths of its numbers, had the remainder removed by the King for their protection, and is still unpopulated. The Easter Islanders never did recover the moral integration which must have marked their earlier history.

The complete story is told for the first time with sympathy and perception by H.E. Maude in *Slavers in Paradise*. The earlier, fragmentary accounts, usually inserted episodically in works on wider topics, were often colored by hearsay and exaggeration. For example, perhaps a majority cite the destination of the slaves as the Chincha Islands, where thousands upon thousands of imported Chinese had died working the guano deposits; but the Polynesians, despatched instead to households in Callao or the great haciendas in the south, died as inevitably, so that within five years no trace of them remained in Peru.

The islands they came from, as Maude notes

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

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

Through the dedication of a man linked to the islands with love strengthened by association we now have this first complete and detailed analysis of the whole sorry episode. *Slavers in Paradise* is a triumph of resolute research, a fine, perhaps indispensable addition to the Polynesian record.

Olaf Ruhen, author and traveller, writes from a long acquaintance with the Pacific.

Ad. in New York Review of Books
19 Nov. 1981

SLAVERS IN PARADISE

The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1874

H. E. Maude. No event in the history of Polynesia held a more tragic consequence for the islands than the Peruvian slave raids of 1862-63. Striking with the force of a *tsunami*, the raids brought death and devastation to the scattered island communities, reducing the population of many villages by as much as two-thirds (whether by outright kidnapping or by disease) and creating not only demographic catastrophe, but the destruction of island society and the impairment of a cultural heritage. The complete story of this tragic event is told here for the first time. The author covers not only how and why the trade began, and how it was conducted, but details the fate of the slaves in Peru, the eventual abolition of the trade, and the effects of repatriation attempts. Illus. \$23.50



STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



Stanford University Press
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

SLAVERS IN PARADISE
THE PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE IN POLYNESIA, 1862-1864

H. E. Maude

The Peruvian slave raids of 1862-1863 struck the islands of Polynesia with the force of one of the region's tsunami--the great seismic sea waves that from time to time bring death and devastation to her scattered communities. No other event in the history of Polynesia has had such overwhelming consequences for the islanders. Communities that found their population reduced by two-thirds, whether by outright kidnapping or by disease introduced by the kidnapers, experienced not only a demographic catastrophe, but the destruction of their society and the impairment of their cultural heritage.

The complete story of this tragic history is told here for the first time. Part One, "Peruvians in Polynesia," tells how and why the trade began, and details the numbers actually taken from each island, the ships involved, and the recruiting methods employed. Part Two, "Polynesians in Peru," covers the voyage to Peru, the nature and conditions of employment there, the attitude of the major powers toward the slave trade, its eventual abolition, the attempts made to repatriate the survivors, and the fate of those still left on the home islands. The book contains some 50 illustrations and twelve maps.

H. E. Maude taught for many years in the Pacific History Department of the Australian National University, and is the author of over a hundred publications on Pacific history, literature, and bibliography.

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xxiv + 246 pages, illus.
LC: 81-51203

December, 1981

\$23.50x

ISBN 0-8047-1106-2

Telephone (415) 323-9471 Cable STANPRESS
(415) 497-9434

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES--January 1982
HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW--Nov. 1981
JRNL OF SOCIAL HISTORY--December 1981
LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH REVIEW--Spring 1982
PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW--November 1981
SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY--December 1981

Slavers in Paradise

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H. E. Maude. No event in the history of Polynesia has had a more overwhelming consequence for the islands than the devastating Peruvian slave raids of 1862-63. Communities that found their population reduced by two-thirds, whether by outright kidnapping or by disease introduced by the slavers, experienced not only a demographic catastrophe, but the destruction of their society and the impairment of their cultural heritage. This first complete history of the tragic event covers not only how and why the trade began and how it was conducted, but details the fate of slaves in Peru, the eventual abolition of the trade, and the effects of repatriation attempts. Illus. \$23.50



Stanford University Press

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Stanford University Press

PROGRAM: AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSN MEETING, Dec. 1981

Slavers in Paradise

THE PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE IN POLYNESIA, 1862-1864. *H. E. Maude*. The Peruvian slave raids brought demographic catastrophe to Polynesia, impairing forever a cultural heritage. This first complete history of the tragic event covers not only how and why the trade began and how it was conducted, but details the fate of slaves in Peru, the eventual abolition of the trade, and the effects of repatriation attempts. Illus. About \$20.00



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Advance Book Information

Author H.E. Maude

Title Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1863

Biblio xx + 246 pp.

ISBN 0 7081 1607 9 (cloth); 0 7081 1608 6 (paper)

Recommended (cloth) \$25.50 15.30
retail price (paper) \$10.50 6.30

Publication date 4 September 1981

Scope This is the story of the barques and brigs that sailed out of Callao in Peru, calling at every Pacific island group except Hawaii, kidnapping thousands of men, women and children by violence and treachery and transporting them to slavery and death. It is an absorbing narrative of the conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence, set in the romantic isles of the South Seas. It tells of how the unsuspecting islanders were captured, leaving in many cases only the aged and the children to reconstruct their stricken communities; of what befell them as slaves in Peru; of how, through the efforts of a resolute Frenchman and a courageous Lima newspaper, the horrifying truth was revealed and the trade stopped; and finally of how all but a handful of the pitiful remnant died from smallpox and dysentery during mismanaged attempts at repatriation which led also to the deaths of thousands more on the islands where the repatriation ships called.

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Author H.E. Maude's work has taken him over the past fifty years to all the main groups in Polynesia and most of those in Micronesia and Melanesia, and on official assignments to Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa, Fiji, Tonga and the Line, Phoenix, Pitcairn and Cook Islands. This has resulted in nearly 100 publications on Pacific literature, bibliography and history, with specialist studies on such subjects as social organisation and culture change, land classification, community development and the co-operative movement.

He is also author of The Gilbertese Boti and Of Islands and Men.

- (ii) Professor Anthony Hooper is assisting with the general book on Tokelau and good progress is now being made. It will probably be sometime in 1983 before that is published - as planned.
- (iii) Dr Garth Rogers and Mr Andrew Campbell are assisting with the coordination of the Atiu community study. This is also progressing well and with a final workshop later this year should make it ready for the press early in 1983.

9. Radio

A radio programme was prepared at the request of Radio 2 AP in Western Samoa on political trends in the Pacific Islands.

10. Slavers in Paradise

This book, which documents the history of the Peruvian Slave Trade last century and which was published by IES recently, has met a very encouraging response indeed. Arrangements had already been made for the sections on Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Niue and Kiribati to be translated into those languages and published separately for wider distribution within those countries. The opportunity was taken on this trip to make arrangements with the Ministry for Education for translation of the Cook Islands sections into the Cook Islands language.

11. Other matters

Western Samoa was in the process of a political transition during our visit - there was a change of government during our seminar, and for that reason it was decided not to have any meetings with ministers. In the Cook Islands, on the other hand, discussions were held on various topics with the Prime Minister Sir Thomas Davis, and several other ministers.

R.G. Crocombe

R.G. Crocombe
Director
Institute of Pacific Studies

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LIMA, MIÉRCOLES 7 DE OCTUBRE DE 1931

El Comercio

"El Comercio" y los polinesios en el Perú

Hugo GUERRA A.

"El periodismo, según como se ejerza, puede ser la más noble de las profesiones o el más vil de los oficios", decía nuestro recordado patricio, doctor Luis Miró Quesada de la Guerra. Y, precisamente, a continuación presentamos un caso de la nobleza histórica de nuestro diario.

El doctor Henry Evans Maude, de la Universidad de Canberra, Australia, acaba de publicar un libro titulado "Esclavistas en el Paraíso" (Slavers in Paradise), que trata sobre el "tráfico peruano de trabajo en Polinesia entre 1862 y 1864".

En él denuncia cómo es que se "importaba" isleños de los exóticos Mares del Sur, para convertirlos en esclavos en el Perú, pese a que en nuestro país la esclavitud ya había sido abolida años antes por el Mariscal Ramón Castilla.

El engaño, practicado por traficantes inmorales ingleses (como el iniciador Joseph Charles Byrne), franceses y luego peruanos, consistía en "enganchar" con falsos aunque prometedores contratos a indígenas de las islas —entre otras— Easter, Nine, Nukulaele, Atafu, Tokelauans, Rarotonga, Naniniki y Nukuhiva, para trabajar como peones o empleados domésticos en las haciendas azucareras y arroceras de la costa peruana. Y, también como trabajadores en las islas guaneras.

Maude explica en su obra que la decisión de traer a los polinesios, se adoptó en razón del fracaso de la venida de los chinos coolies para desempeñar las mismas funciones. La autorización para la inmigración polinesia al Perú apareció en "El Peruano", el 12 de abril de 1862.

Aunque la obra del escritor australiano abarca un periodo de sólo 36 meses del tráfico camufladamente esclavista, da una idea de la impresionante devastación que produjo este fenómeno: por ejemplo, la población de la isla Tuvatu se redujo de 20 mil a 3 mil personas.

Pero, bien, ¿qué tiene que ver todo esto con nuestro periódico? Dejemos que el propio Maude —en una carta fechada el 7 de setiembre de este año, dirigida al Dr. Alejandro Miró Quesada G.— lo explique: "La razón por la que le envío mi libro es para transmitirle mi admiración por la resuelta y consistente posición adoptada por "El Comercio" sobre la inmigración de polinesios que pronto se convirtió en un encubierto tráfico de esclavos (...) gracias al coraje de este periódico de Lima, la horrible verdad fue revelada y el tráfico de esclavos"

Surge otra pregunta: ¿qué se hizo para merecer este reconocimiento? El profesor australiano lo resume en la página 154 de su libro: "Al principio, "El Comercio" —con su línea seria e investigadora— se mantuvo en la posición de observador neutral, comentando, por ejemplo, la superioridad física y moral de los polinesios respecto de los coolies. Pero, ya a finales de 1862, cuando el fenómeno se intensificó y se reveló la gravedad de los hechos, el diario condenó el tráfico esclavista y la degradación humana inherente a él. Para mayor credibilidad, "El Comercio" nunca se desvió de su línea, deplorando siempre la mala manera en que el incidente polinesio había sido tratado material y moralmente por la nación. En esta actitud, el matutino limeño mantuvo un mejor nivel que el de la "Revista Americana" y que "El Peruano", el cual, naturalmente reflejaba el punto de vista del Gobierno".

Para ser más específicos, recordemos algunas notas —para no abundar obviemos la cronología—, publicadas por nuestro periódico:

(1) Se dio una descripción cabal de la etnia polinesia, fijando la bondad de su carácter y se les comparó con los "chinos-cholos" de nuestra costa.

(2) Se dijo que eran dóciles e inocentes y que, a pesar de la prepotencia de los traficantes, en las travesías no era necesaria la presencia de guardias armados como con los coolies.

(3) Posteriormente se denunció que cuando los nativos no deseaban "engancharse" con los traficantes, se les capturaba como a animales. Como lo hicieron los tripulantes del "Carolina" y el "Hermosa Dolores" con 282 isleños en diciembre de 1862.

(4) Se motivó la reacción del gobierno francés para proteger a los isleños bajo su protectorado.

(5) A principios del 63 se llegó a la conclusión que los "contratos" eran una farsa. Y se preguntó públicamente: ¿es

que nadie puede proteger a los polinesios?

(6) Se denunció que no había una Corte competente para atender las reclamaciones de estos esclavos fugitivos.

(7) Se deploró la mortalidad y el abandono físico y moral de los polinesios en el Perú.

(8) Se aclaró que era inhumano e irracional tratar a los isleños del mismo modo que a los peones peruanos, sin un previo periodo de aclimatación y adaptación alimentaria.

(9) En marzo de 1863, se reclamó en alta voz que se cambiara la legislación sobre inmigrantes orientales "para salvar el honor del Perú y poner fin al tráfico de esclavos".

Las cifras podrían seguir, pero no es nuestro ánimo agotar al lector. Sólo basta resumir en que la voz de "El Comercio" —como lo reconoce Maude— fue oída por la opinión pública peruana y poco tiempo después se terminó con la esclavitud disfrazada de los polinesios.

Ante todo esto, y después de tantos años, cabe señalar el reconocimiento internacional a la trayectoria independiente, nacionalista y valiente de "El Comercio" (salvo bajo el periodo de incautación).

Finalmente, es pertinente plantear un reto a los sociólogos y antropólogos para seguir los rastros de los miles de polinesios que tan humildemente contribuyeron al desarrollo del Perú.

"Están en cuatro cámaras de descompresión separadas" a bordo del barco taller de sumergibles Tringa, dijo Disney. "Están siendo tratados por los mejores médicos navales dispo-

CAYO HUESO (FLORIDA), Junio 18.—Este es el mini-submarino que ha sido rescatado luego de permanecer apresado en el fondo del Océano Atlántico con cuatro personas a bordo. La foto fue tomada en 1971. (Radiofoto UPI).

Verán si aún ha y descendientes de polinesios traídos al Perú

"El Comercio" combatió tráfico de esclavos bajo apariencia legal. — Llegó antropólogo australiano

Para estudiar la presencia de los polinesios en el Perú en el siglo pasado (año 1862 y siguiente) y seguir la suerte que esos trabajadores corrieron en las ciudades, haciendas de la costa e islas guaneras, se halla en Lima, gozando de una beca de investigación, el antropólogo social Grant E. McCall, norteamericano pero al servicio de la Universidad Nacional de Australia, con sede en Canberra. Perteneció al equipo de investigadores del Departamento de Antropología del Instituto de Estudios del Pacífico, y trabajaba a las órdenes del prestigioso historiador H. E. Maude, profesor de Historia del Pacífico de la misma universidad.

COMERCIO HUMANO CON APARIENCIA LEGAL

—Hace exactamente ciento once años— explica nuestro entrevistado—, buques en su mayoría capitaneados por extranjeros y con tripulaciones de diversas nacionalidades, partieron de Callao con destino a las islas del Pacífico (Polinesia) para recoger inmigrantes y entregarlos al trabajo en las haciendas de la costa e islas del guano, como las de Chincha. Aparentemente, todo era legal y se sujetaba a las disposiciones de la Ley de Inmigración, que se había dictado poco antes, el 15 de enero de 1861. Pero la realidad era muy otra. Revestida de un manto de legalidad, aquella operación constituía una nueva forma de comercio humano, nueva trata de esclavos, que iba a motivar la inmediata intervención del gobierno y la protesta vigorosa del principal periódico de la época, este mismo al que ahora hago declaraciones, "El Comercio".

250 POLINESIOS EN EL PRIMER VIAJE

Una primera expedición para el negocio estuvo dirigida por un irlandés, quien partió del Callao en el buque "Adelante", de 150 toneladas. Tocó en la isla Tongareva, del archipiélago Cook, y atrapó a cerca de doscientos cincuenta nativos, entre hombres, mujeres y niños. Esa infeliz gente fue vendida y des-

tinada, en su mayoría, a las islas Chincha para la extracción del guano. Ese primer lote de polinesios llegó en octubre del año 1862.

Ante ciertas versiones y fundadas sospechas, el Gobierno peruano, aún antes de la llegada de ese lote de isleños, comunicó, con fecha 20 de setiembre del mismo año 1862, una advertencia terminante, en el sentido de que las autoridades permitirían la inmigración "dentro de los cauces de la ley" pero no la trata de hombres para el trabajo esclavizado.

CUNDIO EL MAL EJEMPLO

Posteriormente, el mal ejemplo cundió, y entre los meses de octubre y diciembre de 1862 zarparon del Callao, so pretexto de contratación de "inmigrantes", cerca de treinta buques, en su mayoría a cargo de capitanes extranjeros y tripulaciones "piratas" que iban, en realidad, a atrapar hombres en las islas para venderlos luego, en la condición de esclavos.

"EL COMERCIO" DENUNCIA LA VIL TRATA

—Entonces— prosigue nuestro entrevistado—, al tiempo que tiende sobre la mesa una copiosa documentación, fruto de varios años de trabajo—, este diario, "El Comercio", se

lanza a la palestra, pone sobre aviso a las autoridades, que habían sido engañadas por los tratantes, e inicia una tenaz y valiente campaña para exponer la realidad del tráfico, impedirlo y sancionar a los piratas. Ya en diciembre "El Comercio" publica en forma destacada una información procedente de Hawái sobre el nefasto negocio de los tratantes, y después, durante varios meses, entre enero y junio de 1863, no cesa de librar batalla desde sus columnas, con denuncias, protestas de tono encendido y exigencias terminantes. Destaca el hecho de que no son peruanos los que intervienen en la trata de polinesios sino todos, extranjeros. Considera que hay que dar libertad a los polinesios ya traídos y, en todo caso, permitirles que escojan, por su propia voluntad, el destino que quieran: o quedarse como hombres libres o volver a sus islas. Si escogen este segundo camino, deben ser conducidos a costa del gobierno.

La campaña fue tenaz y, al final triunfó (como antes había triunfado la campaña general de este mismo diario contra la esclavitud). Desgraciadamente, hubo mucha desventura en el regreso de los grupos que habían sobrevivido a las durezas inhumanas del trabajo esclavizado.

INVESTIGACION ACTUAL

Grant E. McCall se interesa por saber si hay descendientes de esos polinesios actualmente en el Perú porque su programa de investigación lo lleva también a recurrir a la fuente oral, es decir, a la tradición. El acaba de pasar más de un año en la isla de Pascua (o Rapa Nui, famosa en el mundo por sus grandes ídolos de piedra), que pertenece desde 1888 a Chile.

El triste episodio—insiste nuestro entrevistado— fue protagonizado por gente desalmada extranjera, que engañó al gobierno con falsos programas y aparentó sujetarse a la ley. Verdaderos piratas, fueron después desenmascarados y el tráfico prohibido. El papel que desempeñó "El Comercio" en esta campaña, fue decisivo,

De La Haya al Perú zarpó el crucero "Almirante Grau"

La Haya, Jun. 18 (AFP). El Crucero Peruano "Almirante Grau"—ex "De Ruyter" de la Marina holandesa— zarpó hoy de aquí rumbo a su país.

El "De Ruyter" fue durante varios años la nave más importante de la Marina de Guerra holandesa, antes de ser comprada por el Perú.

El actual "Almirante Grau" fue botado en los astilleros de Rotterdam poco antes del estallido de la segunda guerra mundial. Su terminación fue muy posterior.

LIMA, MIERCOLES 7 DE OCTUBRE DE 1931

El Comercio

"El Comercio" y los polinesios en el Perú

Hugo GUERRA A.

"El periodismo, según como se ejerza, puede ser la más noble de las profesiones o el más vil de los oficios", decía nuestro recordado patricio, doctor Luis Miró Quesada de la Guerra. Y, precisamente, a continuación presentamos un caso de la nobleza histórica de nuestro diario.

El doctor Henry Evans Maude, de la Universidad de Canberra, Australia, acaba de publicar un libro titulado "Esclavistas en el Paraíso" (Slavers in Paradise), que trata sobre el "tráfico peruano de trabajo en Polinesia entre 1862 y 1864".

En él denuncia cómo es que se "importaba" isleños de los exóticos Mares del Sur, para convertirlos en esclavos en el Perú, pese a que en nuestro país la esclavitud ya había sido abolida años antes por el Mariscal Ramón Castilla.

El engaño, practicado por traficantes inmorales ingleses (como el iniciador Joseph Charles Byrne), franceses y luego peruanos, consistía en "enganchar" con falsos aunque prometedores contratos a indígenas de las islas —entre otras— Easter, Nine, Nukulaele, Atafu, Tokelauans, Rarotonga, Naniniki y Nukuhiya, para trabajar como peones o empleados domésticos en las haciendas azucareras y arroceras de la costa peruana. Y, también como trabajadores en las islas guaneras.

Maude explica en su obra que la decisión de traer a los polinesios, se adoptó en razón del fracaso de la venida de los chinos coolies para desempeñar las mismas funciones. La autorización para la inmigración polinesia al Perú apareció en "El Peruano", el 12 de abril de 1862.

Aunque la obra del escritor australiano abarca un período de sólo 36 meses del tráfico camufladamente esclavista, da una idea de la impresionante devastación que produjo este fenómeno: por ejemplo, la población de la isla Tvalu se redujo de 20 mil a 3 mil personas.

Pero, bien, ¿qué tiene que ver todo esto con nuestro periódico? Dejemos que el propio Maude —en una carta fechada el 7 de setiembre de este año, dirigida al Dr. Alejandro Miró Quesada G.— lo explique: "La razón por la que le envío mi libro es para transmitirle mi admiración por la resuelta y consistente posición adoptada por "El Comercio" sobre la inmigración de polinesios que pronto se convirtió en un encubierto tráfico de esclavos (...) gracias al coraje de este periódico de Lima, la horrible verdad fue revelada y el tráfico destruido".

Surge otra pregunta: ¿qué se hizo para merecer este reconocimiento? El profesor australiano lo resume en la página 154 de su libro: "Al principio, "El Comercio" —con su línea seria e investigadora— se mantuvo en la posición de observador neutral, comentando, por ejemplo, la superioridad física y moral de los polinesios respecto de los coolies. Pero, ya a finales de 1862, cuando el fenómeno se intensificó y se reveló la gravedad de los hechos, el diario condenó el tráfico esclavista y la degradación humana inherente a él. Para mayor credibilidad, "El Comercio" nunca se desvió de su línea, deplorando siempre la mala manera en que el incidente polinesio había sido tratado material y moralmente por la nación. En esta actitud, el matutino limeño mantuvo un mejor nivel que el de la "Revista Americana" y que "El Peruano", el cual, naturalmente reflejaba el punto de vista del Gobierno".

Para ser más específicos, recordemos algunas notas —para no abundar obviamos la cronología—, publicadas por nuestro periódico:

(1) Se dio una descripción cabal de la etnia polinesia, fijando la bondad de su carácter y se les comparó con los "chinos-cholos" de nuestra costa.

(2) Se dijo que eran dóciles e inocentes y que, a pesar de la prepotencia de los traficantes, en las travesías no era necesaria la presencia de guardias armados como con los coolies.

(3) Posteriormente se denunció que cuando los nativos no deseaban "engancharse" con los traficantes, se les capturaba como a animales. Como lo hicieron los tripulantes del "Carolina" y el "Hermosa Dolores" con 282 isleños en diciembre de 1862.

(4) Se motivó la reacción del gobierno francés para proteger a los isleños bajo su protectorado.

(5) A principios del 63 se llegó a la conclusión que los "contratos" eran una farsa. Y se preguntó públicamente: ¿es que nadie puede proteger a los polinesios?

(6) Se denunció que no había una Corte competente para atender las reclamaciones de estos esclavos fugitivos.

(7) Se deploró la mortalidad y el abandono físico y moral de los polinesios en el Perú.

(8) Se aclaró que era inhumano e irracional tratar a los isleños del mismo modo que a los peones peruanos, sin un previo período de aclimatación y adaptación alimentaria.

(9) En marzo de 1863, se reclamó en alta voz que se cambiara la legislación sobre inmigrantes orientales "para salvar el honor del Perú y poner fin al tráfico de esclavos".

Las cifras podrían seguir, pero no es nuestro ánimo agotar al lector. Sólo basta resumir en que la voz de "El Comercio" —como lo reconoce Maude— fue oída por la opinión pública peruana y poco tiempo después se terminó con la esclavitud disfrazada de los polinesios.

Ante todo esto, y después de tantos años, cabe señalar el reconocimiento internacional a la trayectoria independiente, nacionalista y valiente de "El Comercio" (salvo bajo el período de incautación).

Finalmente, es pertinente plantear un reto a los sociólogos y antropólogos para seguir los rastros de los miles de polinesios que tan humildemente contribuyeron al desarrollo del Perú.

Reviews of 'Slaves in Paradise'

- (1) Australian Book Review, March 1982. Olof Ruden. ✓
- (2) Campus Report (Stanford), March 24, 1982.
- (3) Pacific Science Association, Information Bulletin 34:2, April 1982.
- (4) Choice (Middleton, Conn.), June 1982.
- (5) Focus on Asian Studies, Winter 1982.
- (6) The Times of the Americas, July 20, 1983. Marion K. Pirodoff. ✓
- (7) Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques, March 1982. Patrick O'Reilly. ✓
- (8) Newsletter of the Australian Association for Maritime History, July 1982.
- (9) History, July 1982. W. Patrick Strauss. ✓
- (10) South Eastern Latin Americanist, Sept. 1982. Paul E. Kuhl. ✓
- (11) Canadian Journal of History, Aug. 1982. Mary Turner
- (12) American Historical Review, April 1983. Colin Newbury. ✓
- x (13) The Miner's Mirror, May 1983. Robin Craig. ✓
- (14) International History Review, February 1983. James A. Boutlier. ✓
- x (15) Journal of the Polynesian Society, Sept 1982. Hugh Lacey. ✓
- (16) The Annals of the American Academy, Sept. 1983. Frederick J. Stefon. ✓
- x (17) The Journal of Pacific History, Bibliography and Comment, 1983. Greg Dring. ✓
- (18) Pacific Islands Monthly, Jan. 1982. Caroline Ralston. ✓
- (19) El Comercio (Lima), Oct. 7, 1981. Hugo Guerra A.
- (20) The American Neptune, July 1983. S.W. Jackman.
- (21) L'Histoire, January 1983.
- (22) L'Homme, vol 23(2):151-3. Michel Paroff.
- (23) Pacific Affairs, Summer 1983. James A. Boutlier.
- (24) Hispanic Journal (?). J.B.S.
- (25) Pacific Studies, Spring 1983. Review Forum: Grant McCall, Bryj Lal, Harold Davis.
- (26) Latin American Research Review, Spring 1986. D.R. Munnary.

BOOKS

'Blackbirding', Peruvian style

Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. By H.E. Maude. Published by Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1981. xxii and 244 (pp.) ISBN 0 7081 1607 8. Price \$A25.

Despite the dustjacket picture and the title, *Slavers in Paradise* is a serious academic study and a most welcome addition to the history of many islands in Polynesia and Kiribati. The offending picture is a crude, garish representation of brown people being herded into boats by armed white villains, while the title across this background suggests little but Hollywood sensationalism.

The 'slavers' part of the title is not inaccurate. The Peruvian Government attempted to regulate the trade, to insist on properly interpreted contracts,

voluntarily signed, and to ensure that the islanders were adequately treated once they reached Peru. But in practice none of the regulations was adhered to. The means of acquiring Pacific islanders and their conditions in Peru were little short of slavery.

The equation of the island world with 'paradise' is more questionable. In contrast to the conditions the islanders endured on the ships and in Peru, undoubtedly home was paradise. But the stereotype of Polynesia as paradise is one most modern Polynesian historians shun as inaccurate and unhelpful, and Maude himself claims that some islanders went on board the slavers' vessels hoping to find food or access to food, which was, at the time of the slavers' visit, so scarce ashore. To my mind *The Peruvian Labour Trade in*

Polynesia 1862-1864 would have been a more appropriate and illuminating title.

But these criticisms are not fundamental. Discard the dustjacket, ignore the title and one has a book impeccably presented, and meticulously and exhaustively researched — qualities for which H.E. Maude is justifiably renowned.

Not surprisingly, over the intervening century, many aspects of the Peruvian labour trade have been exaggerated, as Maude makes clear. For example, there is no evidence to suggest that islanders were 'recruited' for the guano mines on the Chincha Islands off mainland Peru, and very little good evidence that any islander worked there after landing at Callao. Similarly, the claim that 200 men (more than the estimated total population of the island at the time) were taken from Atafu, a Tokelau atoll, is reduced most convincingly by Maude to 37. These and many other legends are carefully explored, the sources of falsification and exaggeration

documented, and the record straightened. This does not, however, mean that the story which is revealed is not grueling and inhumane; it is, as a brief resumé of the facts will establish.

The whole tragedy, from the first islander taken to the last death on the islands due to diseases introduced by the very few islanders who were repatriated, occurred between 1862 and 1864. Approximately 3500 islanders were rounded up, mostly from Easter Island, Niue, the Cook Islands, Tuvalu, Kiribati and the Marquesas. Atoll dwellers were more vulnerable than high-island inhabitants because the former had no means of retreat from the armed slavers, and their isolation left them unprotected and unwarned by missionaries, white officials or other islanders.

Of those 'recruited', 345 died on the voyage to Peru — dysentery being a major killer on the grossly overcrowded ships. Men, women and children to the number of 2116

were landed in Peru and assigned to work on the rural haciendas, or as domestic servants in the cities. Many of these died of disease, particularly smallpox, malnutrition, overwork and homesickness.

Those who survived proved incapable of the work demanded of them and the Peruvian government finally moved to stop the trade. Newly arrived recruiting vessels were not permitted to land their 'recruits' who were held on board until their repatriation, and that of some of their fellow islanders ashore, could be organised. Of 3125 islanders who reached Peru, 1840 died, while a further 1030 of the 1216 who were to have been repatriated died from smallpox and dysentery before reaching the islands.

The final tragedy of all was that the few islanders who lived long enough to be repatriated, usually not to their island of origin, infected their hosts with the diseases which had been rampant on the repatriation ships and an estimated 2950 further deaths occurred.



Part of Phil Belbin's jacket illustration for *Slavers in Paradise*. Not quite appropriate, suggests Caroline Ralston.

Stripped of all exaggeration, it is still a story of extraordinary brutality and indifference. Not even economic self-interest seems to have tempered the callous inhumanity of the Peruvian captains and landholders.

Maude briefly investigates the measures atoll dwellers took once they had lost substantial

numbers of their community — usually the able-bodied males. Land rights were reallocated, women often performed jobs previously done only by men, laws prohibiting adultery were lifted and techniques of population control such as abortion and infanticide, which were frequently used in atolls, were for a time suspended. In several

islands newly introduced Christianity gained a firm footing and appears to have provided an emotional solace.

The organisation of the first half of the book, which sets out the progress of the trade, ship by ship and island by island, is not easy to follow. But much of the detail is essential for anyone studying particular island histories.

The impact of the second half, which reveals what happened after the initial recruitment and the aftermath on the islands, is profound. Maude has reconstructed this episode in history with extraordinary patience and great compassion. The Polynesian islanders who first asked him about the trade will, I believe, feel their questions have been answered fully and carefully. For anyone, island or foreign, interested in an island or island group hit by the Peruvian slavers, this book is essential reading. — Caroline Ralston.*

*Dr Ralston is a senior lecturer in Pacific history at Macquarie University, Sydney.

Thank you very much for the book review of Solange Petit Skinner's book, received today (5 January). Please find attached a review of 'Slavers in Paradise', Caroline Rabotan said she thoroughly enjoyed reviewing it.

Best wishes for the new year.

PIM

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EPIGLASS

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vision sets which can receive transmissions only from Pago.

As a bonus, the 'bold experiment' has left permanent assets in the new schools, the spectacular tourist attraction of the aerial tramway to the summit of Mount Alava, and mains electricity supply throughout the territory.

One cannot read this book without appreciating the frankness with which the authors have presented the detailed history and consequences of the introduction of television to American Samoa. One admires too the intensive study and labour that must evidently have gone into their research. Well printed and bound in hard covers, with an extensive appendix of supplementary statistical data and a good bibliography, the book is essential reading for all enlightened planners working in developing countries, whatever their discipline.

Recently the governments of Fiji and Papua New Guinea once again considered proposals to introduce television to their countries, and once again decided that the time was not yet ripe for it (PIM Oct '81 p6). If any member of these governments harbours any doubts as to the wisdom of these decisions, then this book will bring reassurance. — *Leonard Goodman.*

Micronesia: The ships that called, 1521-1885

Foreign Ships in Micronesia: A Compendium of Ship Contacts with the Caroline and Marshall Islands, 1521-1885. By *Fr Francis X. Hezel, SJ.* Published with the assistance of the *Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office and the US Heritage and Recreation Service.* Copies may be obtained by writing to the *Micronesian Seminar, Box 220, Truk, Federated States of Micronesia.*

Professor Harry Maude and Dr Saul Riesenberg are the two Pacific scholars to whom Father Francis Hezel, SJ, has dedicated his *Foreign Ships in Micronesia: A Compendium of Ship Contacts with the*

The Marshall Islands were named after Captain John Marshall whose ship Scarborough was in Micronesia in 1788. But the first detailed account of the Marshalls came from the Russian ship Rurik in 1816, followed 10 years later by a detailed account of the Caroline Islands from the Russian ship Seniavin. The British Museum print below shows Rurik's commander, Captain Otto von Kitzebue, being carried ashore by Marshall Islanders. Above right is Seniavin's commander Admiral Fyodor Lutke.

Caroline and Marshall Islands, 1521-1885 (Saipan, 1979). Fr Hezel hails the care with which both men have accumulated Pacific Islands primary source materials and the assistance they have given him with this project. Fr Hezel himself is to be commended for the thoroughness with which he



has gone about this, the first nautical reference work on the Caroline and Marshall Islands.

Foreign Ships is a listing of ships that called at each of the six districts in the Carolines and Marshalls before the founding of colonial rule in 1885. This work is as complete as any solitary researcher could make it in its list of British and American ships which came to this area in the 18th century, and its list of similar naval vessels and whalerships that called in the 19th century. In addition to these, visits by ships from European continental nations are to be found if they are mentioned in English sources, or described in the available foreign language sources. Undoubtedly, many more Spanish ships took part in the flourishing bêche-de-mer trade in the western Carolines in the first half of the 19th century, but they are not listed here because no one has written about or otherwise identified them; where no one has gathered, it is impossible to reap.

Foreign Ships sets out in 1521 with Magellan's entry into Micronesia; the earliest visit recorded in the book is the 1522 visit of Magellan's crew to an island in southern Palau while they were on their way home from the Philippines after

Magellan's death. The last district to be 'discovered' by Europeans is Kosrae (formerly Kusaie), which was not visited until 1793 by Captain Musgrave of the *Sugar Cane* whose name identified the island (Musgrave's Island) until well into the 19th century.

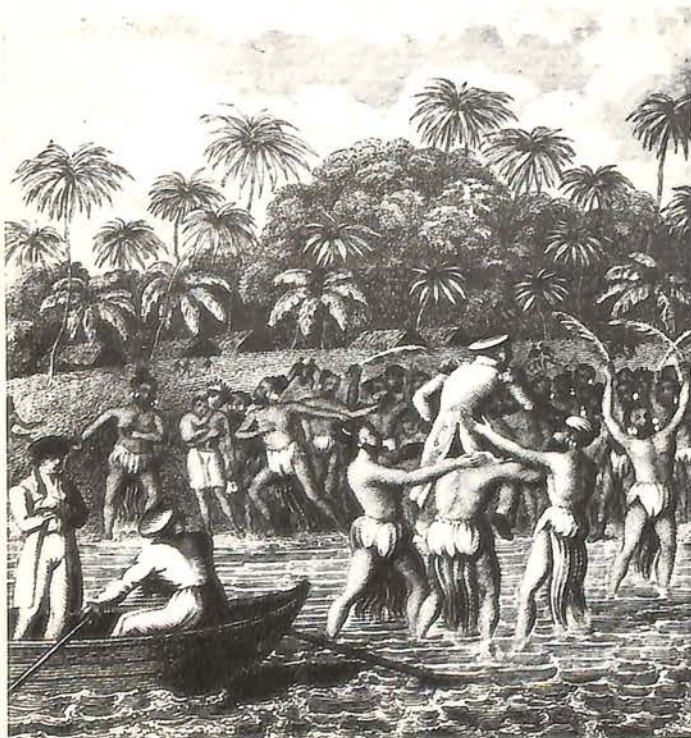
The six districts are listed from west to east, beginning with Palau in the western Carolines, then moving east to Yap, Truk, Ponape, Kosrae and ending with the Marshalls. Two visits to unspecified Caroline islands conclude the list of ships.

Entries furnish information on 'the name of the vessel, its captain, its hailing port, and the purpose of its voyage . . . along with occasional comments on the people or the place'. Sources for each entry are helpfully keyed to the impressive bibliography (pp 143-68). The index is composed of the names of captains, ships, individual islands, atolls and island groups; mention is also made there of any mutinies, shipwrecks, and descriptions of islands and Micronesians. One map accompanies the listings for each district.

Australian scholars stand to benefit most from this work as they slowly unload the cargo of documents now in Australia relating to the German colonial effort in the Marshalls and Carolines from 1885 to 1914. *Foreign Ships* will be, for them, an indispensable guide to pre-colonial activities in Micronesian islands north of the equator.

All readers and users of this work will find it helpful in establishing generally accurate ideas of the main commercial and missionary activities going on in the islands before 1885. The bibliography identifies the works that should be required reading for anyone wanting to learn more about Micronesian history (including the history of Nauru and Kiribati).

Foreign Ships is bound in an attractive soft-cover edition with brown print on white paper. — *M. L. Berg.*



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The final tragedy of all was that the few islanders who lived long enough to be repatriated, usually not to their island of origin, infected their hosts with the diseases which had been rampant on the repatriation ships and an estimated 2950 further deaths occurred.



Part of Phil Belbin's jacket illustration for *Slavers in Paradise*. Not quite appropriate, suggests Caroline Ralston.

Stripped of all exaggeration, it is still a story of extraordinary brutality and indifference. Not even economic self-interest seems to have tempered the callous inhumanity of the Peruvian captains and landholders.

Maude briefly investigates the measures atoll dwellers took once they had lost substantial

numbers of their community — usually the able-bodied males. Land rights were reallocated, women often performed jobs previously done only by men, laws prohibiting adultery were lifted and techniques of population control such as abortion and infanticide, which were frequently used in atolls, were for a time suspended. In several

islands newly introduced Christianity gained a firm footing and appears to have provided an emotional solace.

The organisation of the first half of the book, which sets out the progress of the trade, ship by ship and island by island, is not easy to follow. But much of the detail is essential for anyone studying particular island histories.

The impact of the second half, which reveals what happened after the initial recruitment and the aftermath on the islands, is profound. Maude has reconstructed this episode in history with extraordinary patience and great compassion. The Polynesian islanders who first asked him about the trade will, I believe, feel their questions have been answered fully and carefully. For anyone, island or foreign, interested in an island or island group hit by the Peruvian slavers, this book is essential reading. — *Caroline Ralston**

*Dr Ralston is a senior lecturer in Pacific history at Macquarie University, Sydney.



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PAGO PAGO: Max Haleck Inc., Burns Philp (SS) Ltd.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA: LAE: Faulkner-Tait (NG) Pty Ltd.

MADANG: Burns Philp (NG) Co. Ltd.

PORT MORESBY: Steamships Honda Centre.

RABAUL: Elvee Trading Pty Ltd.

WEWAK: Burns Philp (P.N.G.).

SOLOMON ISLANDS: P.K.R. Pacific Sales Co.

TAHITI: Marine Corail, Tahiti Sport, Comptoir Polynésien.

TONGA: Burns Philp (SS) Co. Ltd.

WESTERN SAMOA: Burns Philp (SS) Co. Ltd, E.A. Coxon Ltd, Gold Star Transport Co. Ltd, Morris Hedstrom Ltd.

NORFOLK ISLAND: Irvines Building Supplies.

The Sydney Morning Herald last year celebrated 150 years of publication. As the oldest newspaper in the Pacific, and one of the oldest in the world, the Herald's columns have reflected major developments in the Pacific Islands over a century and a half. In this article STUART INDER researches the Herald and other contemporary Australian reports and writings for an overview of what Australia's public attitudes to the Pacific Islands have been during this period.

150 years of Australia and its 'islands adjacent'



The report on South Pacific affairs in the first issue of the *Herald*, April 18, 1831, contained most of the ingredients that were to provoke interest by Australians in the South Seas for the best part of the next 150 years.

It said: 'SHIPWRECK. On Tuesday the 28th March arrived here the schooner *Samuel*, from New Zealand, with 500 skins and 10 tons of flax; and on the day following, the *Prince of Denmark*, with 25 tons of flax which at the rate of from £30 to £35 a ton will form a clear Colonial export of £1,200 drawn from the industry of the natives of that island. These vessels bring the distressing account of the loss of the *Industry*, a Colonial-built vessel which was wrecked at Easy Harbour in a dreadful gale of wind on the 28th February last. Ten men and six native women were drowned. W. Wiseman, the Master, also met a watery grave. Two men escaped and are expected in the next ship. We refrain from stating the distressing particulars now in circulation until the arrival of the next ship. Wiseman was a remarkably active, good-looking young man, son of Mr Wiseman, of the Hawkesbury, and most respectably connected, both in the Mother Country and in the Colony. He has left a very young widow, daughter of Mr John Grono, principal owner of the *Industry*, and one child to lament the loss. He arrived in the Colony a youth many years ago and has for long periods been connected with our Colonial shipping. He had for some time been in New Zealand in prosecution of the objects of his voyage, where he was well known, and had frequently been engaged in the trade to that Island, South Shetland, South America and other places in the South Seas.'

Although the *Herald* wasn't

to know, the *Prince of Denmark*, which was also mentioned in that item, was carrying not only 25 tons of flax but also 14 heads of New Zealand Maoris, as much a part of the ship's trading operations as the flax.

It happened that the Rev Samuel Marsden had with him at Parramatta at the time two Maoris, one a chief, who had been brought over to support a case to Governor Darling against various 'infamous acts of Europeans' in New Zealand. The other man had virtually been kidnapped by a visiting vessel and was awaiting return. The chief had gone aboard the *Prince of Denmark* and had seen the heads on the cabin table, brought to Port Jackson for sale.

Marsden promptly waited

these were not the first complaints in the colony about the developing trade in dried human heads, usually those of men killed in wars. But there were allegations that some traders from the colony were selecting those heads that would fetch good prices, usually those with intricate facial tattoos, while they were still on the shoulders of living men, and trading for the 'prepared specimens' on their next voyage.

Wars, traders, missionaries, murders, blackbirders, shipwrecks, government reactions, were the stuff of South Seas news in the *Herald* and the rest of the colonial press for the rest of the century, for Australia's concern with policy on foreign affairs was spasmodic for most of the 1800s, and not until the last quarter of the century was



upon the governor, and, as he wrote to a fellow missionary a few days later, requested His Excellency to use every means to recover them, in order that they might be sent back to their friends. The chief knew the heads; they were his friends; and when he retired he said, "Farewell my people."

Governor Darling issued a general order prohibiting the import of New Zealand heads into New South Wales, for

The establishment of trading stations was one of the earliest developments in outside contacts with the island countries. This one was photographed in the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) 90 years ago. — From *Fragments of Empire* by Deryck Scarr.

there any sustained interest in developments in the Pacific Islands.

That is not to say that the Australian colonies did not consider it their natural right to lead in this part of the world.

When the settlement began in 1788, Governor Phillip's commission gave him territorial jurisdiction not only of the mainland but of 'all the islands adjacent in the Pacific ocean within the latitudes aforesaid of 10 deg. 37 min. south and 43 deg. 36 min. south', which wasn't too clear and which, more than 100 years later, on the establishment of the Commonwealth, prompted some legal argument. Meanwhile early governors acted as though 'adjacent islands' included Tonga and Tahiti.

It was one thing to mark out a sphere of influence, which was, presumably, what the commission meant; it was another thing to exercise jurisdiction.

The Australian colonies were never backward in voicing opposition to interference in 'their' South Seas, but they were powerless to do much other than agitate to Whitehall as the French annexed New Caledonia, and began moving into the New Hebrides; and as the Germans, and the Americans, took a covetous interest.

Australia's concern with the South Seas was motivated by concerns of security and trade, and considering that it had a small population which had hardly come to grips with its own massive undeveloped continent, its viewpoint was often irrational.

Among the more successful of its efforts in getting Britain to acquire bits and pieces of the Pacific, and thus keep other powers out, involved New Guinea. The Australian colonies agitated for years against what they saw as German designs on the big island, but Britain considered she already had black subjects enough. She was unmoved by the actions of Yule in annexing the country in



Australian National University Press

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Review List

For: H.E. Maude: Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian slave trade in Polynesia
1862-1864

Australian Book Review
Canberra Times
National Times
Australian
Sydney Morning Herald
Age

Pacific Islands Monthly
Pacific Viewpoint, NZ

NZ: MR A. GILLES
JACARANDA PRESS
4 KIRK ST,
GREY LYNN. AUCKLAND 2.
N.Z.

Publication Date: 4 September 1981

Australian Retail Price: \$25.50 (Cloth)
\$10.50 (Paper)

Rights:

(The Co-publisher or distributor mentioned will place review copies in the area concerned)

Published in North America by Stanford University Press (Cloth only)
Published in the Pacific Area by the Institute of Pacific Studies (Paperback only)
and by Gordon & Gotch (PNG) in Papua New Guinea (Paperback only) only
Australia has rest of world

Signature:

Date:

27 October 1981

Mr Peter Geelan
Eurospan Ltd
3 Henrietta Street
London WC2E 8LU
ENGLAND

Dear Mr Geelan

Maude: SLAVERS IN PARADISE

I refer to the abovementioned publication and should be pleased if you could provide review copies to organisations mentioned below.

The Editor, Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes,
Musee de l'Homme, 75116 Paris, France.

Review Editors, History; the Journal of the
Historical Association, Birbeck College, University
of London, London WC1E.

Editors, Journal of Latin American Studies, Bentley
House, PO Box 92, 200 Euston Road, London NW1 2DB

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Yours sincerely

Chris Makepeace
Manager

26 October 1981

Mr J G Bell
Editor
Stanford University Press
Stanford California 94305
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dear Mr Bell

Maude: SLAVERS IN PARADISE.

I refer to the abovenamed publication and should be pleased if you could send copies for review to the following.

American Anthropologist, Penfield Library, Room 4, State
University of New York College, Oswego, New York 13126.
Honolulu Advertiser,
Honolulu Star-Bulletin
New Pacific Magazine, Box 25488, Honolulu, Hawaii 96825

Thankyou for your assistance in this matter.

Yours sincerely

Chris Makepeace
Manager

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
27th September, 1981.

Mr Chris Makepeace,
Manager, A.N.U. Press,
Box 4, P.O., CANBERRA,
A.C.T.2600.

Dear Chris,

As promised on Friday, I enclose a list of periodicals which I suggest might be sent review copies of Slavers in Paradise. This is based on my submission in reply to the standard questionnaire sent to me, which I surmise has been temporarily mislaid as a result of the change-over in personnel.

The following comments cover the other periodicals mentioned in my reply, a copy of which can be provided if the original is not forthcoming:

- (1) The Pacific Islands Monthly has been already dealt with by the Press.
- (2) Perhaps you would prompt Stanford to send review copies to the following -
 - American Anthropologist.
 - Honolulu Advertiser.
 - ✓ Honolulu Star-Bulletin.
 - ✓ New Pacific Magazine (in this case you had better send their address, which is contained in my original submission).
- (3) I shall remind Ron Crocombe to ensure a review in Pacific Perspective, of which he is a Joint Editor, and also the Journal of Pacific Studies at the USP.
- (4) I am sending copies to Martha Ward and Brenda Bishop with a view to notices being inserted in the Newsletter of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania and the Pacific Science Association Information Bulletin (which do not have reviews).
- (5) I have sent a copy to Marie-Hélène Sachet, Editor of the Atoll Research Bulletin, who like the others is a personal friend and will have a suitable notice prepared.

The remaining periodicals listed in my original submission but not in the enclosure to this letter can be deleted, for reasons which will be detailed if desired.

It is recommended that if, as suggested in the enclosure, review copies are sent to:

- ✓ History;
- ✓ The Journal of Latin American Studies;
- Historical Studies;
- New Zealand Journal of History;
- Mariners' Mirror; and
- History Today;

the coloured cover should be taken off first. Otherwise an unfavourable review, or no review at all, can be confidently expected.

Yours,

Harry Maude

H.E. Maude.

Enclosure

Suggested List of Periodicals for Review Copies

- (1) Editor, South Pacific Bulletin, P.O. Box N324, Grosvenor Street, NSW 2000.

✓
This is the Quarterly Journal of the South Pacific Commission and is important because it has a readership which does not necessarily read any other regional periodical, including metropolitan and island administrative personnel with control over library acquisitions.

ANUP
It might be helpful if any covering letter mentioned that the book is by a former SPC Deputy Secretary-General and Officer in Charge of Social Development.

- (2) Review Editor, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand.

✓
ANUP
This quarterly is the oldest regional scholarly journal, founded in 1892. My wife and I have submitted a joint research paper on 'The Tioba Cult and the Tabiteuean Religious Wars or 1879-80' hopefully for publication in the issue for December 1981 to celebrate half a century of writing for the Journal, in which our first paper appeared in December 1931.

- (3) Editor, Journal de la Société des Océanistes, Musée de l'Homme, 75116 Paris, France.

This is the most important French journal on the Pacific and its reviews are of high quality. I have sent the President of the Société des Océanistes, Professor Jean Guiart, a personal copy to keep him on side.

European
A covering letter might with advantage mention that the book covers in detail the important and very creditable part taken by the French Government, and in particular Governor Gaultier de la Richerie in Tahiti and Chargé d'Affaires Edmond de Lesseps in Peru, in opposing and eventually securing the abolition of the trade.

- (4) The Editor, Pacific Studies, Brigham Young University - Hawaii Campus, Laie, Hawaii 96762.

This quarterly is of particular importance for the book as it is published by the Institute of Polynesian Studies and sponsored by the Polynesian Cultural Center and its readership is rather different from that of other regional journals.

ANUP ✓
A covering letter could mention that the book is of importance to all interested in Polynesia as the first detailed study of a regional episode which had important repercussions on all the inhabited Polynesian Groups with the exception of Hawaii.

- (5) Editor, Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniques, B.P. 110, Papeete, Tahiti.

✓ This old-established journal is important as its readers are particularly interested in Tahiti and the French Territories in Polynesia, where much of the action in the book takes place.

ANUP
It might be advantageous if a covering note stresses that the book is of particular importance to those interested in the history of French Polynesia as it details the activities of the Peruvian slavers in the Marquesas and Tuamotu Groups, as well as Mangareva and Rapa, and the efforts of Governor Gaultier de la Richerie and the officials at Tahiti to combat them.

- (6) Review Editors, History: the Journal of the Historical Association, Birkbeck College, University of London, London WC1E 7HX, England.

European
This is the leading historical journal, with a world coverage, the review sections being divided into regions.

- (7) Editors, Journal of Latin American Studies, Bentley House, P.O. Box 92, 200 Euston Road, London NW1 2DB, England.

Eurostan
4
This is the leading British specialist journal on Latin American Studies, and would almost certainly review the book for specialists who would not otherwise learn of its existence.

- (8) The Fiji Times and Herald. 20 Gordon St. Suva.
ANUP This newspaper had two editorials on my last book and might be expected to mention this one.
- (9) Historical Studies. School of History, Uni of Melbourne, Parkville.
This leading Australian Journal of History might review the book, though it is rather outside its usual scope.
- (10) New Zealand Journal of History. History Dept. V.M.C. of Auckland, P.O. Box 2175 Auckland.
This journal is interested in Polynesian studies.
- (11) The Mariners' Mirror and History Today would probably review the book, as being of special interest to their readers, provided it can be readily obtained in England.
- (12) Apart from reviews, good results have been obtained by small advertisements of particular books in the South Pacific Bulletin and, to a lesser extent, in the Fiji Times and Herald.

Phil Belbin
(Artist)

History Today - Bradern House,
Cannon St. London EC4.

Mariners Mirror: Cambridge Uni Press.
200 Euston Road, London.
NW1 England

Slavers in Paradise

GENERAL IMPRESSION

Unquestionably this incredibly well-researched book will be a major event in Pacific historiography and more than a footnote to the history of Peru. Maude has chosen a subject which, because of its difficulty, no one else has even probed except for Easter Island (Grant McCall, duly cited). With characteristic modesty Maude strips away a century of bizarre 'traditions', half-truths and grossly erroneous guesses, though not many of his readers will be aware of them - indeed the introduction could have brought them in more clearly for the general reader to heighten the force of many scholarly allusions throughout the text. I would also suggest that the introduction give greater weight to contemporary island myths of which the author seems fully aware but rather too reluctant to use to dramatic advantage.

RELEVANCE

The importance of the topic is clear: the Peruvian episode constitutes the major event in the whole history of European contact for the many small communities involved, such as the new nation of Tuvalu. In the larger framework of Pacific studies - which, for the sake of a general audience, the author chooses not to address - the book

will kindle a major debate about the validity of the 'fatal impact' thesis - the idea that European contact set in motion a process of irreversible decomposition in island societies.

SCHOLARSHIP

Rest assured that the book will be widely acclaimed for its extraordinary, near-obsessive research in quite the most obscure sources - it is a tour de force of classic detective work and will forever be the definitive work - in the same way as his earlier essays. Educated islanders will receive it with amazement and gratitude - every man, woman and child, it seems, is at last accounted for.

March 31, 1980.

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American Reader's Report

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ORGANIZATION

You directed me to pay close attention to the appendices, and indeed they presented the most difficulty. I think that on the whole they spoil the organization of the book. My guess is that the longer appendices were in fact draft chapters of an earlier attempt - see the erased matter on p.261 - and the author couldn't quite bear to discard them. Appendices 1 and 2 are more than 80 per cent repetitious and convey the impression that the author is now beating his material to death, given his exhaustive analysis in the text (itself occasionally repetitious, e.g., the incident on p.142 last citation seems to be the same as on p.103). Table 7 and Table 8 should be salvaged for the main text - I'd prefer to see all the tables appear at the end: they recapitulate the story beautifully.

Appendix 3 seems to me a rather pointless exercise in perfectionism, research for the sake of it. The paragraph on p.257 'To sum up ...' is all that is needed within the text; other shipping and crew details could, if still desired, become

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incidental description in the main narrative, ship by ship.

Appendix 4 must at all costs be saved, but preferably as an integral part of the narrative. It would be a perfect epilogue. The total cultural impact of the trade becomes clear for the first time, while the remarkable recuperation of the survivors is one of the most interesting and unexpected outcomes in the story. (This has wider scholarly significance.) As the theoretical dimensions of disaster (p.262) are not fully opened up, they might be trimmed off in the process. It is a false start.

Appendix 5 seems to me optional, the kind of material better published as 'a note on the population ...' in a scholarly journal such as the Journal Polynesian Society.

The contracts in Appendix 6 are bits of paper that bound no one. There are shorter examples in the text, so they are not needed here. The words of the declaration on p.286 should definitely be worked into the relevant part of the text on p.194, expanding the last paragraphs.

The total effect of the appendices, then save Appendix 4, is to diminish the impact of an already detailed and moving story. It would be a mistake, I feel, to publish them as is, quite apart from the cost considerations.

His dictis, I hasten to add that the general organization of the main chapters seems to me the best possible one to manage a complex series of movements of men and ships, even if the reader has to adjust to ships dropping in and out of the narrative.

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATION

This admirable, important book deserves the attention of a top-class editor who should work in Appendix 4 to the final part of the book and present the leaner version, stripped of Appendices 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 but not of the tables therein, to the author for final checking.

March 31, 1980.

PHONE: 27-5393



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SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA 2000

6th October 1981

Dear Mr Maude

Thank you very much for your letter dated 3rd October regarding the paperback edition of *Slavers in Paradise*. I have just ordered 24 copies from the A.N.U. Press. Thank you for telling me of the paperback edition, as my young student-buyers will be very pleased to have the opportunity of buying your book in this format.

Yes I often hear of authors saying they are expected to give complimentary books away, not only to friends, but pseudo-friends, and enemies. I hope you are not being too generous in this regard, as authors make so little money on their books anyway.

Thank you for your encouraging words on the Index. It is a peaceful and happy occupation, but very sad reading of the wartime destruction of especially New Guinea, and interesting to read of its gradual building-up again, and all of the editorial criticism of Mr. Ward. My favourite quotation at the moment is "War-d Damage."

I have had pleasure of seeing that you were Res. Commissioner, Tarawa, Jan 46-30, Absence from GEIC, May 46-27, and Bid for Kioa Island, July 46-5, so it is interesting to meet a friend during this period.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Woodhouse (Mo.)

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
3rd October, 1981.

Dear Mrs Woodhouse,

I remember mentioning this book when I was in Sydney for the PIM anniversary binge.

It has now been out a few weeks and seems to be selling well. What I am writing about, however, is to say that the ANU Press has a hundred or so left-overs from the Pacific Islands paperback edition being sold in the islands.

These paperbacks are being retailed here at \$10.50 and are probably a better buy for the average person who merely wants the book to read.

I thought that I'd mention this as the Press is not advertising the paperbacks but will sell any to you wholesale if you are thinking of stocking a few.

They come in cases of 24, unlike the hard covers which are in 20s. I have already got rid of two cases to friends and relatives. Why is it that if one writes a book people expect to be given a copy; whereas if one makes pottery

or creates anything else, they either buy it
or else.

I hope that the PIM Index proceeds smoothly
under your expert care,

Yours sincerely,

serm

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
26th July, 1982.

Dear Brenda,

Many thanks for putting that elegant notice on the Slavers effusion in your April Information Bulletin: it looks good and I'm sure will sell copies for the Stanford University Press. America is where the big money for books is; at least its not here, where Philip Snow's Men from over the Horizon published at \$110 has now been remaindered for \$10.

The island edition has sold out and is being reprinted, while the relevant sections have now been translated into Tokelau, Tongan, Tuvaluan, Niuean, Kiribatese and Cook Islands Maori for local publication. I'm glad, for I wrote the book for the islanders.

Yours sincerely,

John



PACIFIC SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

~~Brenda Bishop, Museum, P.O. Box 6837, Honolulu, Hawaii 96818 U.S.A.~~
P.O. Box 17801, Honolulu, Hawaii 96817 U.S.A.

March 9, 1982

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

Dear Mr. Maude:

So good to hear from you and I am delighted to have "Slavers in Paradise" to read. I shall certainly include a notice in the *Information Bulletin*, probably the April 1982 issue. From reading the Preface I see that you have still your accustomed magic of creating a South Sea island ambience.

I am not aware that the Congresses have made a conscious decision to cut ethnohistory from the programs. You would not expect ethnohistory in the XIV Congress in the Soviet Union, but the XV in Dunedin lists a symposium convened by Denig on "Intercultural history: the ecology of culture contact in the Pacific." I haven't see the *Second Circular* yet so do not know if they got enough interest expressed in order to go ahead with it.

We all look forward to more writing from you during the "maximum productivity" period.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Brenda Bishop

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,
1st March, 1982.

Brenda Bishop,
Pacific Science Association,
P.O. Box 17801,
HONOLULU, Hawaii 96817-0801.

Dear Brenda Bishop,

I should be most grateful if you could include in your Publications Noted section a mention of Slavers in Paradise, which tells for the first time the complete story of the Peruvian slave trade in Polynesia during the 1860s.

The work covers not only how and why the trade began, and how it was conducted, but also the fate of the slaves in Peru, the eventual abolition of the traffic and the effects of the repatriation attempts.

No single event in the history of Polynesia had such overwhelming consequences for many of the 51 islands visited, bringing death and devastation to the scattered communities, reducing the population by as much as two-thirds (whether by putright kidnapping or by disease) and creating not only demographic catastrophe but the destruction of the island societies and the impairment of their cultural heritage.

The book is published in hardcover editions by the Stanford University Press for America at \$US23.50 and the Australian National University Press for Australasia at \$A25.50; and in a special paperback edition for the Pacific Islands by the University of the South Pacific at \$F5.00.

I enclose a copy of the A.N.U. edition in case you would like to dip into it, knowing the island world as you do. It is a story that had to be told, if only for the Polynesian people who have never ceased to ask what had happened to their forbears who were taken away in the holds of the brigs and barques that came sailing from the east; and were never heard of again.

It seems a long time since we last met for I have no longer any excuse for going to the P.S.C. meetings now that they have cut ethnohistory out of the programme. I have now reached the age of maximum productivity at 75; and if I am aging at least I don't as yet feel it.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.



THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

30-7-82

PRIVATE BAG

AUCKLAND

NEW ZEALAND

TELEPHONE 792-300

History Dept

Dear Harry, I am writing i. to congratulate you on Slavers in Paradise and ii. to thank you for sending me a copy of it.

It is a book of which you are entitled to feel extremely proud. It not only deals with an important subject decisively & comprehensively; but is methodologically interesting, in that it provides a model of thorough, careful, detailed workmanship.

I have said much the same thing in a review of the book for the J.P.S.

The publication of the book was very timely for me in that I was able to draw on it for the history of Taranaki, which is currently in the press. So additional thanks.

I was hoping to be in Canberra shortly (after the Soc. History conference) and would have

come to see you - but, unfortunately, indigence will be
keeping me at home

I trust all is going well for you.

With kindest wishes,

Myself

P.S. My book on Masina Kule is also in the press.

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Profess H. F. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forest
Candlera
A.C.T. 2603
AUSTRALIA

10/8



77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.E.T.2603,
31st October, 1981.

Dear Caroline,

Thanks for your very kind letter of the 9th ultimo (I was taught that word at school and have always wanted to use it). Also for the copy of your review which should do fine.

I agree that the cover should never have been used for the Australasian hard cover edition, which I suppose is intended for sale to a corps d'élite; but my bet is that it is right for the island paperbacks, which are aimed at a very different genre of purchaser. Stanford, which has the largest edition, has a different jacket, but I have not seen it.

You do not state why the Polynesians, for whom the book was written and to whom it is dedicated, would not like the cover. I find that the average Australian emphatically does, while the academics here at least take the line that a book is written to sell and that if the cover and title sells one extra copy it is justified.

As regards the title evidently I failed to communicate as I did not mean to convey that you or I or the islanders or anyone else considered Polynesia as paradise (few people would agree on such a purely subjective evaluation) but merely that the slavers were operating in a region which was customarily termed in popular parlance as paradise. Honor suggests that I should have put the word in inverted commas, as I may have done in my study on 'the literature of paradise'.

The title was chosen for its antithetical shock effect; hopefully eye-catching to those passing through airport bookshops, hotel foyers and the like, where the island editions will be sold (if indeed any are sold). 'South Sea Slavers', with its alliterative draw, was No.2 choice but purely descriptive titles would not have served my purpose, though I did suggest a very similar one to Y&MFS for the hard covers, but cost factors precluded changes during print runs. The very staid Stanford University Press desired no change for the American edition except to one word in the descriptive sub-title.

But covers and titles are after all merely sales gimmicks and cannot be judged until we know their effect on the box-office returns. I wrote the work for the Polynesians of today and tomorrow to fulfil a promise and to pay a debt. My original idea was to publish it privately

through the Polynesian Publishing Company of Auckland but Ron thought it best if done through the USP, even though it is not written as, or intended to be, an academic exercise. I thought all along that the ANU and Stanford could be foolish to publish editions as who would want to buy it outside the islands; but presumably they know their own business best. We shall see.

From my point of view whether the book is a success or a failure depends entirely on the reaction to the paperbacks from the islands; and here the initial response is encouraging, though I keep my fingers crossed. A letter just received says the edition has arrived in Fiji, was judged to be 'absolutely magnificent', and the USP now wants to double the original order. At \$5 retail the price seems reasonable enough and copies are being sent free to all island national libraries, Ministries of Education, members of Council, other regional tertiary institutions, etc., so perhaps the story of the trade may get around as I was hoping when I wrote it.

How garrulous one gets in old age, for I sat down not to pour out my hopes and fears but to express my gratitude to you for your excellent, though in parts surely an over-kind, review; and this I do most sincerely. It is good to feel that I shall have one favourable notice - to be precise two, for I heard that the Lima daily El Comercio had come out with an encomium, on the strength of which the Peruvian ambassador has invited me to lunch. A bit of a relief, for kind friends had assured me that I was destined to be extradited and imprisoned for life for libelling the great democracy.

I must send you a copy of The Gilbertese Maneaba, which was written after the slavers, because it has a lovely cover made from a photo by Tony Whincop; and we heard last week that our joint paper on 'The Tioba Cult and the Tabiteuean Religious Wars of 1879-1880' has been accepted by the JPS to celebrate exactly half a century of writing for that journal. Now we are working on the Grimble Papers which will, with luck, provide a baseline ethnography so that the islanders can see how their ancestors lived as well as providing a reference point for studies on cultural change. After that we shut up the shop and call it a day.

With love and thanks from us both,

Yours ever,



Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864.
By H.E. Maude. Published by Australian National University Press,
Canberra, 1981. xxii and 244 pages. \$25. ISBN 0 7081 1607 8.

Despite the dustjacket picture and the title, Slavers in Paradise is a serious academic study and a most welcome addition to the history of many islands in Polynesia and Kiribati. The offending picture is a crude, garish representation of brown people being herded into boats by armed white villains, while the title across this background suggests little but Hollywood sensationalism. The "slavers" part of the title is not inaccurate. The Peruvian government attempted to regulate the trade, to insist on properly interpreted contracts, voluntarily signed, and to ensure that the islanders were adequately treated once they reached Peru, but in practice none of the regulations was adhered to. The means of acquiring Pacific islanders and their conditions in Peru were little short of slavery. The equation of the island world with "paradise" is more questionable. In contrast to the conditions the islanders endured on the ships and in Peru, undoubtedly home was paradise. But the stereotype of Polynesia as paradise is one most modern Polynesian historians shun as inaccurate and unhelpful, and Maude himself claims that some islanders went on board the slavers' vessels hoping to find food or access to food, which was, at the time of the slavers' visit, so scarce ashore. To my mind The Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia 1862-1864 would have been a more appropriate and illuminating title. But these criticisms are not fundamental. Discard the dustjacket, ignore the title and one has a book impeccably presented, meticulously and exhaustively researched, qualities for which H.E. Maude is justifiably renowned.

Not surprisingly, over a century many aspects of the Peruvian labour trade have been exaggerated, as Maude makes clear. For example, there is no evidence to suggest that islanders were "recruited" for the guano mines

on the Chincha Islands off mainland Peru, and very little good evidence that any islander worked there after landing at Callao. Similarly the claim that 200 men (more than the estimated total population of the island at the time) were taken from Atafu, a Tokelau atoll, is reduced most convincingly by Maude to 37. These and many other legends are carefully explored, the sources of falsification and exaggeration documented and the record straightened. This does not, however, mean that the story which is revealed is not gruelling and inhumane; it is, as a brief resumé of the facts will establish.

The whole tragedy, from the first islander taken to the last death on the islands due to diseases introduced by the very few islanders who were repatriated, occurred between 1862 and 1864. Approximately 3,500 islanders were rounded up, mostly from Easter Island, Nuie, the Cook Islands, Tuvalu, Kiribati and the Marquesas. Atoll dwellers were more vulnerable than high island inhabitants because the former had no means of retreat from the armed slavers, and their isolation left them unprotected and unwarned by missionaries, white officials or other islanders. 345 of those "recruited" died on the voyage to Peru - dysentery being a major killer on the grossly overcrowded ships. 2,116 men, women and children were landed in Peru and were assigned to work on the rural haciendas or as domestic servants in the cities. Many of these died of disease, particularly smallpox, malnutrition, overwork and homesickness. Those who survived proved incapable of the work demanded of them and the Peruvian government finally moved to stop the trade. Newly arrived recruiting vessels were not permitted to land their "recruits" who were held on board until their repatriation, and that of some of their fellow islanders ashore, could be organised. Of 3,125 islanders who reached Peru, 1,840 died, while a further 1,030 of the 1,216 who were to have been repatriated died from smallpox and dysentery before reaching the islands. And the final tragedy of all was

that the few islanders who lived long enough to be repatriated, usually not to their island of origin, infected their hosts with the diseases which had been rampant on the repatriation ships and an estimated 2,950 further deaths occurred. Stripped of all exaggeration, it is still a story of extraordinary brutality and indifference. Not even economic self-interest seems to have tempered the callous inhumanity of the Peruvian captains and landholders.

Maude briefly investigates the measures atoll dwellers took once they had lost substantial numbers of their community - usually the able-bodied males. Land rights were reallocated, women often performed jobs previously done only by men, laws prohibiting adultery were ~~often~~ lifted and techniques of population control such as abortion and infanticide, which were frequently used in atolls, were for a time suspended. In several islands newly introduced Christianity gained a firm footing and appears to have provided an emotional solace.

The organization of the first half of the book, which sets out the progress of the trade, ship by ship and island by island, is not easy to follow but much of the detail is essential for anyone studying particular island histories. The impact of the second half, which reveals what happened after the initial recruitment and the aftermath on the islands, is profound. Maude has reconstructed this episode in history with extraordinary patience and great compassion. The Polynesian islanders who first asked him about the trade will, I believe, feel their questions have been answered fully and carefully. For anyone, island or foreign, interested in an island or island group hit by the Peruvian slavers, this book is essential reading.

Caroline Ralston

Slavery in the South Seas

It's belaboring a point to recall that it took the white man only 73 years to exterminate the full-blooded Tasmanian Aborigine.

What is much less known is that while this was going on another race, the Polynesians, were threatened with extinction too.

In their case it was not by displacement by aliens who took their land, but by slave raiders from, of all places, Peru.

Their labor was wanted for cotton and rice estates along the Peruvian coast.

So ships' captains seized thousands of men, women and children among the Pacific islands.

The story is told by H. E. Maude in **SLAVES IN PARADISE** (Australian National University Press, \$10.50 paperback).

In Callao the "recruits" were sold for \$200 for men, \$150 for women and \$100 for boys. What these prices mean today we don't know.

A native of the island of Niue in later years told this story:

"The people of Tokelau were captured in great numbers, more than those that were taken from Niue, and there were some women among them.

"Many of the unsuspecting islan-

NEW BOOKS



by NOEL SHAW

ders were made captives on board, when they came expecting to trade.

"Some of them broke loose in the struggle and leaped overboard, but most of these were recaptured by the ship's boats.

"The armed boat crews pursued them, and they were seized and hauled inboard; those that resisted were shot or were killed with cutlasses.

"The boats chased the canoe crews and caught many, and armed men went on shore and brought off those they could secure.

"As the men and women were brought on board they were thrust down the ladder into the hold to join the Niue people, and then the ships sailed away eastward with the hundreds of captives".

But the gentle Polynesians who were sold on the docks of Peruvian seaports were no good as laborers.

They were ill at ease in clothes and had no immunity from the many diseases around them.

They died off from these and from melancholia.

Mr Maude's book is scholarly. He has sought the facts and hasn't wasted time on lending colour to the telling.

We know that some of these people were sexually abused, but we don't read about it here.

We get to know little of the anguish of families torn apart.

Mercifully this slave trade was short-lived. It lasted for less than a year, in 1862/63.

There were authorities who were prepared to stop it.

It is interesting to wonder what would have happened to the Tasmanian Aborigine if the same vision had applied in Van Diemen's Land.



Australian National University Press

Telephone: 49 2812

Review List

For: H.E. Maude: Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian slave trade in Polynesia
1862-1864

Australian Book Review
Canberra Times
National Times
Australian
Sydney Morning Herald
Age

Pacific Islands Monthly
Pacific Viewpoint, NZ

Publication Date: 4 September 1981

Australian Retail Price: \$25.50 (Cloth)
\$10.50 (Paper)

Rights: Published in North America by Stanford University Press (Cloth only)
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distributor mentioned and by Gordon & Gotch(PNG) in Papua New Guinea (Paperback only) only)
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Date:

THE JOURNAL OF PACIFIC HISTORY

THE RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES
The Australian National University
Box 4, PO, Canberra, ACT, Australia 2600
Cables: "Natuniv" Canberra. Telephone 49 5111

Dear Harry,

I was absolutely thrilled to receive a copy of Slavers, signed too, which to me makes it doubly precious. You are wrong in part - I do have some Pacific history books on my bedside table (the only place I read much is in bed). I read them for the intelligence, honesty and humanity of the writing, and a bit for the subject matter though as you have guessed, never having really been to the islands, I haven't come under their spell. Though when I was investigating Kabris I lived in a state of rapt fascination, and in fact forgot to go home on several occasions.

I like the Stanford edition much better and think it was worth the \$700. But if the other cover attracts island readers so much the better.

I enclosed the slips about Cross of Lorraine and Girmitiyas not as a nudge to you to buy them but out of vanity because I quite liked they way they had turned out. Nevertheless the editions of both these books are so small they will I am sure become collectors' items. There's a typo in a prominent place in C of L which totally wiped out any satisfaction I might have had in the rest of it. ^{There} ~~There~~ may well be in G. but if so I don't want to know. I like page 86 - the face on the flier was derived from the one in the top left corner; I cheered him up a bit for promotional purposes.

I have been thinking about chroniclers and narrative historians, and my philistine view is that these are the only true historians. The other sorts come closer to being philosophers and constructors of systems according to the fashionable fantasies of the times. Fortunately I'm not required to air my opinions but to pursue practical matters.

Receiving Slavers was the nicest thing that has happened for a long time, and totally unexpected.

With love to you both,

Yours,



Dr Tim Macnaught,
Vice-Principal,
St Francis Xavier College,
Beaconsfield,
Victoria 3807

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
21st November, 1983.

Dear Tim Macnaught,

I have been meaning to write to you for some time to thank you for putting me on the right road with Slavers in Paradise by producing such a superb reader's report that not only did the Stanford University Press accept it for publication without further ado but I was able, stimulated by your enthusiasm, to alter the structure of the book and turn the text into a connected and coherent narrative.

As a matter of fact I did not know who had written the report until recently and by then I had thanked both Cyril Belshaw and Tony Hooper, who were in California at that time. And when I did find out that it was you I could not ascertain where you were now living.

Anyway the book has been quite a success, particularly in the islands, where it has sold 1,000 copies and had appropriate chapters translated and published (or about to be published) in Tokelau, Niuean, French (for Tahiti), Tongan, Tuvaluan, Cook Islands Maori and Gilbertese.

There have been some twenty reviews to date, all favourable, and the latest by Greg Denning in the JPH was a beaut and made the effusion seem a deal better than it really is, being after all only a narrative without any great theoretical content.

I hope that you have now settled down in your new sphere of activity, but it must have been a devil of a wrench, as we found when we finally settled in Australia after decades in the island world.

I am sending a copy of the book, though the publishers in America should have given you one already, as a token of my gratitude for your material help at a time when I needed it most.

Sincerely,

Lee M.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
6th December, 1983.

Dear Hugh,

The September 1982 JPS has arrived at last and I must say that you have done me proud. It was indeed a delightfully-phrased and well thought-out review.

Your strictures on the title and cover were apposite, though these were chosen not as a humorous sally but for the island trade where the book is on sale on airport news-stands, in hotel foyers and the like where it competes with even more lurid paperbacks on sex and sadism.

It was never intended for the hardback academic edition but the ANU Press insisted despite my dire warnings, and to be truthful after I had sent copies to all my friends (usually with the cover removed) I did not anticipate more than a dozen being sold to the scholarly world.

For the U.S. I had another cover designed in impeccable taste, for which they charged me \$700 - and it was worth every penny. The book has sold well there; indeed I believe there are less than 300 left anywhere out of a print run of 3,000.

I hear that the ANU Press are likely to cease business early in the New Year. I am not altogether surprised, though very sorry, for they were good editors and publishers but pretty hopeless on the sales side.

I loved that quote from Blake and it is true as an expression of what one strives for, even if it is never achieved; and the Slavers is certainly an exercise in empiricism - presumably anathema to Bronwen Douglas for to her it must be a chronicle rather than a history, being devoid of profound theoretical generalizations.

I thought it would not be pleasing to Greg Denning either, as the theoretician of our sub-discipline, but he was all too kind in his review in the JPH, which almost reduced me to tears of relief.

Anyway this is just a thank you, and to wish you a happy and successful 1984. It will be rather a traumatic one for us as we move into a home, or rather village for the aged; hopefully it will give us leisure to complete what is still undone,

Yours,

Harry Zande

TELEPHONE
345 1844
TELEGRAMS
UNIMELB PARKVILLE



University of Melbourne

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Parkville, Victoria 3052

W-22 83

Dear Harry,

Thank you for your kind note. The review was nothing more than the book deserved and I hope we will see something more from your pen in the near future.

We are in the dog days of the year with nothing more productive to do than to sit in judgement on our poor students and waste untold hours in committee. I take long service leave next year and will shake my feet clear of the awful mess with joy. I'm just completing a small monograph called History's Anthropology, Native and Stranger, Past and Present Bound together - for ASAO as their second monograph in the series begun by Sahlins. And I have a Book of Voyages to write while I am on leave. I can't wait for the peace to do something constructive.

You don't say you will be visiting us at the PHA meeting in Sorrento, so I suspect we won't see you. If we don't, my love to Honor and exhortations to you to keep well, happy and busy.

With fondest regards,

Greg Dennis

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
17th November, 1983.

Dear Greg,

Checking through my holdings of the JPH I was surprised to find that I hadn't received any for this year, the reason being presumably that I have forgotten to send in my subscription.

But acting on a tip from Stewart Firth I looked at a set in the Library and to my delight I found that lovely review of the Slavers in the third issue.

I can say in all sincerity that I have never read such a kind review in my life, nor one more replete with felicitous phrases calculated to warm the aged heart and be remembered with pleasure while consciousness lasts.

Yet you know as I do that my essay was but empirical: a chronicle of an episode in which I tried to start at the beginning and finish at the end, hoping all the time that I had not left out too much in the middle. Admittedly the drama I was endeavouring to reconstruct captured my imagination so completely that I became lost in it and my doctor, finding that I hadn't spoken to a soul bar Honor in seven weeks, wanted me to see a psychiatrist.

However, you liked it and that is enough for me, coming as it does from the acknowledged mentor of our sub-discipline. I suppose that, written from the heart and merely transcribed by me, the text has a certain integrity but that you found it intellectually satisfying was quite unanticipated. Ron Crocombe rang me yesterday and I asked him if he thought the remark credible; he replied, 'Coming from Greg definitely, for he is strictly honest and no kidding'. So I can but express my relief and gratitude.

The Grimble Papers are nearly finished so I showed them to the A.N.U. Press, who were enthusiastic. And then a blow fell, for the Press, we hear, is to be abolished in order to save money. So rather regretfully I am changing horses and tackling the pre-contact history of the Gilbertese people, which Ron rang to say that he would accept for publication unseen. It is, I suppose, strictly King Alfred and the cakes stuff written for the islanders, but I hope that it may be of value to them in their rather difficult task of establishing a national identity.

I feel a perhaps romanticised affection for the Gilbertese, as you must for the Marquesans; possibly more so for they did so much to make our youthful years so happy and satisfying. So I should like to be of help before real old age makes us ineffective.

Again my heartfelt thanks for your kind boost to my morale; timely too for we move shortly to a retirement village on the outskirts of Canberra and such uprootings are apt to rather traumatic.

Yours,

John

9 Cross street,
Mosman, NSW 2088.

June 17, 1982.

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

Dear Harry:

You refer to my 'kind' review of ~~Saxxxx~~ Slavers in Paradise. Though I like to be kind where kindness doesn't imperil integrity, I assure you that in my judgment Slavers didn't need any such consideration and didn't get it in my review. The opinio of the Press reader you quoted---'Much ado about a number of completely unimportant islands.... quite unpublishable in any country'---horrified me. Thank Heaven someone like that wasn't in Mrs Thatcher's skirts.

His assessment wasn't altogether a surprise, though. You might remember I've had a long-term project of writing a Bully Hayes novel---a pupil or protegee of yours whose name I forget (he had a girl-friend named Tusi whom he later married to become a trader in, I think, Rabi) spent an afternoon here with Robbie's collection of references. I wrote it in an experimental style which, probably rightly, didn't get approval from publishers, and two years ago I finished a complete revision which I think is pretty good. It's been to a handful of publishers who all liked it personally, but on advice from 'readers' adopting the standpoint of your critic above, rejected it. The last six months I've been holding it---by request---for a house of which the Australian director is at present overseas trying to get approval for publishing any novel.

Surely the importance of the arts is based largely upon the circumstance that their practitioners believe no person in this world unimportant, no place influenced by any sort of human experience which does not contribute significantly to appreciation of the world we live in and the value of our stay therein. When I first decided my stories might break into a world market I sent three of them with a New Guinea background to Paul Reynolds, a leading American agent. He returned them with a note to ~~a~~ say that the American public would never be interested in 'little brown men with arrows'. The next agent to handle them sold all three to the Saturday Evening Post, and after these and others had appeared there an American publisher wrote to ask if I would consider doing a book for them---that was my first. So often, self-appointed experts constitute a barrier.

I'm delighted to learn that Slavers in Paradise is appearing in Island languages. I would dearly love to have a copy of the Tongan text, and perhaps you can tell me how and where I can purchase a copy.

I'm largely guided by my subconscious as to where on my shelves I find a permanent home for my books, and peculiarly enough, Slavers seemed appropriately located between Of Islands and Men and Nicolson's The Pitcairners, a relationship now cemented by your letter and the copy concerning the Bounty Ring. Thank you for this additional news.

Madeleine and I are living in a state of mild excitement this week. My first novel, Naked Under Capricorn, though unobtainable in Australia since about the end of 1958, has been under film option each of the intervening years--- ~~probably~~ except for two or three, which is probably a record, and infinitely frustrating. Most of these options were held in Hollywood, but for the last of the period in Australia. The current holder rang ~~xxxxxx~~ from Melbourne at the end of last week to say he had Australian Film Board approval and would be going ahead with the ~~pxi~~ project----it has an awesome budget. Angus & Robertson reissued it in April in their Australian Classics series, a handsome book for which I'm grateful. All but one of its eleven publishers are located overseas, and I've always felt a little sad that its Australian currency was so slight, although the S.M.Herald and four others newspapers here ran it as a serial. It completely escaped notice in a listing of novels dealing with the aboriginal problem a couple of years ago, and is so lightly distributed it has not yet qualified for P.L.R. payments.

Thank you again, Harry, for your letter. I wasn't kind to Slavers---it didn't need it. My regards to Honor.

Sincerely,

Clay

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
14th June, 1982.

Mr Olaf Ruhen,
9 Cross Street,
MOSMAN, N.S.W. 2058.

Dear Mr Ruhen,

Many thanks for your kind review of Slavers in Paradise which appeared in the Australian Book Review for March. When I was writing it I remember thinking to myself that you would be one of perhaps half a dozen persons in Australia who could visualize the islands visited by the slavers, and I'm glad that you liked the book.

I'm told that the historian who read the MS for one of the university Presses said that it appeared to be much ado about a number of completely unimportant islands, and would be quite unpublishable in any country.

However I did not write it for the academic world but for the Polynesians, who seem to have appreciated it for the island edition has sold out and is being reprinted. More to the point the relevant sections have been translated into Tokelau, Tongan, Huvaluan, Niuean, Cook Islands Maori and Kiribatese for the benefit of those who don't read English.

We have just come back from Norfolk Island where Honor presented the historic Bounty wedding-ring for safe-keeping by the ex-Pitcairn lineages there. We had it mounted on velvet in a frame setting out brief particulars of its history and significance, as on the attached copy.

I think that it has helped to keep the old Bounty folk together, for they are rather swamped these days by the commercial excrement at Burnt Pine.

Again many thanks for the morale lifter,

Yours sincerely,

John

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
4th September, 1982.

Dr Michel Panoff,
14, Boulevard Anatole-France,
92190 MEUDON, France.

Dear Dr Panoff,

I was delighted to hear that you were proposing to review Slavers in Paradise for L'Homme. They could not have made a better choice, for you know the islands where the action took place as well as the background of the renegade anthropologist who wrote the book.

Actually I produced it for the islanders and found myself visualising my atoll friends as readers while I worked. No one had seemed to be willing to tell them what had happened to their forbears who were carried away in the holds of the Peruvian ships which came sailing from the west; I think now not so much because the story was unflattering to the European ego but rather because the facts were scattered all over the world and hard to assemble. It took me more than twenty years and became almost an obsession in the end.

I am glad to hear, therefore, that the special island edition published by the University of the South Pacific has sold out and a further supply sent from Australia; while the relevant island sections have been, or are being, translated into Tokelau, Tongan, Niuean, Tuvaluan, Cook Islands Maori and Kiribatese for local publication and school use.

I should like to get it published in French, if I knew how, as the French, and in particular Edmond de Lesseps and the Governor Gaultier de la Richerie, were the only Europeans to emerge with credit from the whole sorry story; and so much of the narrative is concerned with the French islands.

As regards oral tradition my views have not in general changed from those stated in my Presidential Address to the History Section of ANZAAS, as set out in 'Pacific History - Past, Present and Future' (JPH 1971) of which I enclose a copy (see particularly pp.8-11).

In my Foreword to The Book of Luelen (Pacific History Series No.8. Canberra, ANU Press, 1977, p.x) I wrote to much the same effect:-

How far we can credit oral tradition as evidence of fact must largely depend on the historical sense and interest of the particular community concerned, but among the historically minded Polynesians and Micronesians, where the accurate memorising of traditional narratives was a highly prized accomplishment, it can often provide acceptable evidence of the nature and approximate date (usually based on genealogies) of the more important events affecting a community over a period of several centuries, with an occasional shaft of light concerning crucial migrations that must have taken place in the prehistoric age and are remembered merely as chronologically isolated incidents.

I do not think that these later recapitulations and expansions of my views on oral tradition differ from those set out briefly in The Evolution of the Gilbertese Boti. As you surmise from remarks in Slavers in Paradise, however, I am indeed distrustful of oral traditions obtained after a community has been in substantial contact with European thought and literature; and on pp.viii and ix of the Foreward to Luelin's narrative I warned that collections of oral traditions must necessarily be scarce 'since they must normally be transcribed after the advent of literacy but before the authentic memorising of tradition has withered or become distorted by acculturation'.

Throughout most of Polynesia and Micronesia today the elite and intelligentsia have forgotten almost all their traditions and are dependent for any knowledge which they may possess concerning their cultural heritage on what they read or hear from others who have read. That is why I say on p.xx of Slavers in Paradise that any oral tradition being collected today must be most carefully checked lest it prove a version of something derived from expatriate sources; and even if it is not so derived the cultural sanctions and other considerations which once helped to ensure accuracy no longer obtain.

There are several examples of erroneous traditions mentioned in the book, and two of them (collected by Catherine Cowie and Cloughogue) are cited by me in the Bibliography as achieving the distinction of being published in the Pacific Islands Monthly, and are therefore probably regarded today by the islanders concerned as reliable history. But for a good example of how a deliberately concocted tradition based on European sources has gained general credence see Peter France's 'The Kaunitoni Migration' in Vol.I of the Journal of Pacific History.

In brief my view is that oral tradition collected today should be regarded with suspicion and its provenance, authenticity and value as evidence of historical fact should be examined with double care.

This is partly why I am engaged at present in compiling for the Gilbertese the cultural notes made by Grimble and myself some 50-60 years ago, when informants were more knowledgeable and accurate than they are today. I enclose a small recent work, The Gilbertese Maneaba, as an example of what I mean: produced cheaply to retail at \$4 it has sold, I believe, over 1,000 copies in the Republic of Kiribati.

With my best wishes and hoping to see you out here again some day, I am long retired but keep in touch with the University through being a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Anthropology.

Yours sincerely,



Many thanks for sending me a copy of your paper on the Melanesian labour trade, which I shall read with interest when it arrives. Thank goodness that I have time to read these days.

Michel Panoff

13 August, 1982

14, Boulevard Anatole-France

92190 MEUDON, France

Dear Professor Maude,

The Editors of L'Homme, the French journal of anthropology, recently asked me to write up a review of your fascinating Slavers in Paradise which I have just read thoroughly. I am delighted to be given this assignment and I hasten to let you know.

In your book there is a point about which I am anxious to avoid any misunderstanding: am I correct in feeling that, as time passes, you are getting more and more distrustful of native oral tradition, especially in contrast with what you wrote in "the Gilbertese boti" ? I would be most grateful if you could drop me a line on this question.

Under separate cover I am sending you a paper of mine on the labour trade theme which may be of interest to you although it bears on Melanesia, not Polynesia.

With my very best regards,

Yours sincerely



P.S./ Perhaps you would kindly make a note of my new address as above? Thanks.



March 8, 1983

Professor Maude
77 Arthur Circle, Forrest
A.C.T. 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude;

I received your essay. Thank you very much. It was full of the wit, wisdom, and substance for which you are so well known. Thank you for your efforts. It will be an excellent way to launch our "Review Forum". Now I am trying to get together a team to do Derek Freeman's book. I heard him speak last week. He has so much emotional involvement with the book that he is unable to consider any criticism!

Thank you again for your interest in Pacific Studies.

Sincerely, yours,

Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
Pacific Studies

DBR/kk

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
11th June, 1984.

Dr Dale B. Robertson,
Book Review Editor, 'Pacific Studies',
The Institute for Polynesian Studies,
Brigham Young University - Hawaii Campus,
LAIE, Hawaii 96762.

Dear Dale,

I am sorry to have delayed so unconsionably in thanking you for sending me those five copies of the Pacific Studies issue containing the Forum critiques of the Slavers effusion.

We have been immersed in one of the Rites de Passage now becoming an obligatory feature in modern life: moving to one's final domicile in a Retirement Village.

Our removal is rather a prolonged one, involving the cataloguing and forwarding of the last of some 10,000 items on the islands to the Pacific Islands Collection at the University of Adelaide, the despatch of the final pieces of three collections of island material culture to the Auckland Museum, and the sorting and removal to the archives of over half a century of correspondence and manuscript records on the island world.

We hope to finish everything, including the reduction of our personal possessions to bare necessities, by November, when we shall send out a note giving our new address. All very traumatic.

The Book Review Forum item was a success, or so say all who have mentioned it to me. Olaf Ruhen wrote me a couple of pages on the theme that, despite the sophistries of Harold Davis, a man became a slave when he lost his personal freedom and whether he was under indenture at the time or living in a country where slavery had been legally abolished was quite irrelevant.

Your proposed books for forthcoming treatment is a good one. I have read them all except Shore, which does not seem to have come my way as yet. I'll certainly take advantage of your offer and suggest any likely candidates, though they are unlikely to miss your omniscient eye.

This is just to thank you for all the trouble you took over my book, now virtually out of print and about to be translated for publication in French. It was not an easy one to criticise owing to its narrative character and I anticipate more fireworks from Derek Freeman and his critics.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,





The Institute for Polynesian Studies

FUNDED BY THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

Serial No. 077-84

March 5, 1984

Dr. H. E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
ACT 2603 Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

Volume VI No. 2 of Pacific Studies is finally out. I will not bore you with the stories about our difficulties with our printer, but I am pleased with the end result.

I have enclosed five copies of the issue. Please feel free to make as many copies as you need for your personal use. Thank you again for your efforts on this project. Our next issue (which will come out in about six weeks) contains a treatment of Shore's Sala'ilua: A Samoan Mystery. In the next issues we will feature Freeman's Margaret Mead, Oliver's Two Tahitian Villages and Howe's Where the Waves Fall. If you hear of other books that deserve the "Forum" treatment let me know.

Sincerely,

Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
Pacific Studies

DBR:rpr

enclosures

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
27th February, 1983.

Dr Dale B. Robertson,
Book Review Editor, 'Pacific Studies',
The Institute for Polynesian Studies,
Brigham Young University - Hawaii Campus,
LAIE, Hawaii 96762.

Dear Dr Robertson,

Just a brief note to say that I posted my reply to the three commentators to you last week, but on checking the postage when I got home I found that the post office clerk had told me the wrong amount.

In cases when the sorters notice that the postage is too little on an airmail letter the practice here is to send the item by surface, in which event you should receive the letter via San Francisco in three or four months time.

So if you don't get it by airmail in a week or so let me know and I'll send you a photocopy pronto.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

Robert Langdon tells me that he met you at the Pacific Science Congress in Dunedin, so you may not have got back yet.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
21st February, 1983.

Dr Dale B. Robertson,
Book Review Editor, 'Pacific Studies',
The Institute for Polynesian Studies,
Brigham Young University - Hawaii Campus,
LAIE, Hawaii 96762.

Dear Dr Robertson,

Thank you for your reassuring letter 0044-83 of 17 January which has given me confidence to submit a reply to the three critiques of Slavers in Paradise. I was a bit doubtful how best to frame it as I only entered the academic Elysium at 50, after 30 years in the islands, and (like Bligh) up the hawse hole, so I have had some leeway to make up to overtake my more experienced colleagues, who are all born in the purple.

I waited for a few days in case Tim Macnaught was going to produce the amended review which you suggested; but I surmise that he found it a bit beyond his powers, and in truth I do not think that the thesis advanced by Alan Moorehead can be held to apply except to Tahiti, possibly the Marquesas and Easter Island, and conceivably, with a number of provisos, to Hawaii. The atoll environment, in particular, engenders a tougher type with little time for the ennui Moorehead speaks of. This seems to be the view of Judith Huntsman after working among the Tokelau.

As to Macnaught's original review I feel, rather reluctantly, that it should be left out and I have not referred to it. My reluctance is purely due to conceit as it was the most eulogistic of the lot, but as it contains nothing to answer or comment on its inclusion is hard to justify.

My reply comes to almost exactly 2,000 words so is within the limits mentioned in your letter of 22 February. If it is not quite what you want please feel free to amend it, curtail it or send it back for redrafting. I certainly shall not mind a scrap for normally it would have been vetted by two or three friends who are ruthlessly candid in their criticisms, but one has died and the others are at the Pacific Science Congress or for various reasons out of Australia.

In particular Derek Freeman, who as you will see from the Dedication and the text on p.xvii provided me with much of the material for the book and had promised to help deal with the commentators, has got caught up with defending his own book on Margaret Mead and Samoa which, thanks to an

article in the New York Times, has been taken up in a big way by the American Press. As a result his publishers have whisked him away to Boston to launch the book and commence a lecture tour defending his thesis. I'm glad that it wasn't me but Derek fortunately revels in controversy and I'm sorry for anyone who tries to cross swords with him in debate.

My sincere congratulations on producing twins. It must be a bit of a shock at first but in a very short time they become irresistibly fascinating. And of course they th themselves are lucky, provided as they are with an alter ego from birth. We have just had twin cousins from South Africa to stay and they seemed so mutually supportive that I'm sure they escape most of the psychological kinks that bedevil us singletons.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "J. M.", with a horizontal line underneath the name.

Reply

I am relieved at the temperate tenor of these critiques and I find myself in agreement with many of the points made, though to have provided all the information apparently considered desirable would have necessitated the production of a book which few could have afforded to buy.

All contributors comment on my use of the term slavery. I wish that I could have found a less emotive and opprobrious word that expressed the real, as against the theoretical, position of the recruits, for though Davis implies, if I understand him rightly, that because slavery had been abolished in Peru the treatment of the Polynesians did not constitute slavery, but 'a different kind of social and economic abuse', this is not the view I have taken.

Slavery is abolished in the United States and yet as recently as 1947 the Supreme Court held a person to be enslaved, using a definition of de facto slavery which would be as applicable to the Polynesian recruits as the one I have given on p.xx, and cases of slavery are reported as existing in countries where it has been legally abolished for decades. In fact I used the term advisedly and not in a broad popular sense; but perhaps it would have been less invidious to have adopted McCall's more precise term: indenture slavery.

It is true, as Brij Lal points out, that many contemporary observers considered the Polynesian labour trade to be a disguised slave trade but I should have been loth to have based my judgement on their view alone, for missionaries in particular were apt to call all forms of the indentured labour trade slavery. Some 50 years ago I was a labour recruiting officer myself on ships working the Gilbert and Tuvalu Groups and since then I have read most of the documentation on the seven other major labour trades in Oceania - to New South Wales, Queensland, New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti and Hawaii - as

well as on a number of minor recruiting ventures to such places as Nauru and Ocean Island, Makatea, Fanning Island and Guatemala; but in general character none of them were slave trades and it was to accentuate my view that the Peruvian traffic was unique that I chose an unequivocal title for the book.

Davis reproves me for giving too little attention to Peru's contemporary problems and to the work of Peruvian liberals. In extenuation I can but plead that the book was written for, and at the request of, a Polynesian readership and much of interest to Peruvian scholars had perforce to be omitted unless it bore directly on my main theme: the fate of the Polynesians in Peru. Credit was given, for instance, to the help afforded by the newspaper El Comercio and employers such as Cipriano Elguera and John Montero; but there were no doubt others and it is to be hoped that someone may be stimulated by such omissions to write an account of the labour trade as seen from the receiving end. I suspect, however, that what constituted a major tempest in Oceania caused only a ripple on the shores of Peru.

For my disparaging remark on ethnic attitudes towards manual labour I must do penance: it was not well phrased and should in any case have referred specifically to plantation labour. On the other hand Davis has misread me in concluding that the coconut palm disease affected atolls other than Tongareva; and as regards missionary activity I think that apart from the efforts of the Catholic Bishop in Tahiti to alert Catholics on the mainland these were of little avail. The Protestant missions, having no contacts in Peru, concentrated on inducing the British Government to do something, but without success, while endeavouring at the same time to mitigate the traumatic effects of the trade on those left on the islands.

Brij Lal is right, I have been engaged in a love affair with the South Sea islands all my life and view the atoll world in particular in somewhat roseate hues. I was actually engaged

in producing the 'long chapter' he speaks of when the sheer drama of the episode coming to light for the first time captured my imagination and I felt compelled to tell it in full as it happened. History, to me at least, must be literature if it is to hold the interest of the reader, while transcending other literary forms by its scrupulous fidelity to fact.

I am sorry if I have evinced moral outrage, as Lal considers, for this is generally an impermissible indulgence in writing about people of another age and cultural background. One may report indignation felt by others at the time, for this is often an important fact, but it is hazardous for us to pronounce judgement when past community ethical standards are hard to ascertain and may well vary within the group; and it would be anachronistic to judge those who lived in the past by our standards today.

Other points raised by Lal are dealt with ^{later} ~~elsewhere~~ but it should perhaps be emphasized here that the chronological island-by-island accounts in Part I, admittedly in places confusing and repetitive, are what the islanders themselves wanted and invariably turn to first; their justification lies in the fact that they have been translated into Tokelau, Tongan, Niuean, French (for Tahiti), and I believe Kiribatese, Tuvaluan and Cook Islands Maori, with at ~~the~~ best a summary of what happened before and after the events at a particular island group.

I am flattered by McCall's description of me as a typical historian of the British school though I fear that a renegade anthropologist with an interest in cultural dynamics would be rejected by that august fraternity. Nor should I care to consort with historians who, we are told, ignore context.

Surely questions of context are the very essence of any diachronic study and they were my main interest and concern when writing on the Peruvian trade. It is for others to judge whether I have succeeded or failed but the ~~only~~ two examples

of omission adduced by McCall do not prove his contention since the first was in fact dealt with, including the special licences which permitted the continuance of the coolie trade at a reduced level. As it was peripheral to my main theme, however, I referred those who required more information to the detailed account in Watt Stewart's Chinese Bondage in Peru.

The second, after investigation, was dismissed as a hypothesis without documentary support which in any case had no effect on de Lesseps, whose motivations are clear from his official and private correspondence. I suggest that a conclusive objection is the fact that when Peru sought France's support early in 1864 over Spain's seizure of the Chincha Islands the Polynesian labour trade was found to be the only issue of any importance between the two countries, and on this being settled by a reimbursement and indemnity their relations immediately became cordial, and remained so: yet France's participation in the Mexican adventure continued until 1867.

Apart from this minor variance I am in agreement with all McCall's comments, including his inference that I am a narrative rather than a theoretical historian. I should be churlish, furthermore, if I did not acknowledge here the assistance obtained in completing the study from his own pioneering work on the Easter Island trade and his researches in Peru, which I was able to pursue in more detail 'from a quiet Canberra garden', as he happily phrases it, where I was not burdened with a teaching load.

Some passages in the critiques call not so much for comment here as for further research on subjects connected with, but ancillary to, the theme of the book. I have already expressed the hope that to amplify, and correct any imbalance in, the account given in Part II a South American specialist might care to research the trade from the Peruvian perspective, after examining documentation which I was unable to obtain such as the minutes of the Executive Council, the Naval correspondence, hacienda records and the books of the commercial

firms engaged in recruiting operations.

Such a survey could include the information asked for by Lal on the Peruvian social and economic environment into which the recruits were precipitated but his analogous survey of the situation in Polynesia would require a detailed enquiry into the early political, economic and social development of Polynesia from the beginnings of European contact to the middle of the 19th century. There are studies on particular aspects, notably J.M. Davidson's 1942 doctoral thesis, and on particular areas, such as Colin Newbury's recent book Tahiti Nui, but much information has come to hand of recent years and what is now wanted is a synoptic survey of the whole Polynesian region; it would, I believe, establish that trading and missionary inter-island communications had integrated Polynesia as never before.

In reply to a query by Lal I have affirmed that the Polynesian trade was unique in bearing the general character of a slave trade but there is now sufficient material available to enable a comparative study to be made of the Pacific labour trades as a significant element in the overall picture of culture contact in Oceania. It should elicit some surprising data on such matters as the number of recruits involved; the locale and methods of recruitment; the nature and efficiency of government controls; the location and nature of employment; the legal and actual status of the labourers; conditions of employment; repatriation arrangements and their efficacy; mortality statistics and causes; and the effect of the trade on the island societies.

Another study of, I submit, even greater importance to our understanding of island, and especially atoll, societies concerns their reaction to disaster conditions, for it became clear when writing the chapter on 'Crisis in the Atolls' that the many specialized works on disasters in other regions were mainly concerned with modern urbanized communities. Practically no work has been done on the effects of, and response to,

calamities in Oceania and yet, with its unique multiplicity of small and culturally variant societies known to have been subject to natural disasters, the region is ideally suited to research on this theme. We do not really know, for example, the precise mechanisms by which the island communities coped with disaster conditions and whether, as I strongly suspect, the more rigorous conditions of atoll life enabled the inhabitants to adapt to catastrophe with greater success than those on the volcanic islands.

That two out of the three topics suggested in the commentaries or this reply represent comparative studies of regional or sub-regional scope is not surprising for, as Kerry Howe has indicated in Pacific Studies for Fall 1979, the great number of detailed papers on particular themes now published makes the synoptic approach a feasible and profitable one.

Nevertheless a perusal of the book will show that there are still many topics of mainly local importance concerning which we know next to nothing and which might well interest someone seeking a subject for research: for example an investigation into the land tenure system on Tongareva as affected by the labour trades; the history of the pearlshell industry in the Tuamotus during the early 19th century; the significance of the oral traditions relating to the cannon preserved at 'Uiha in Tonga; and the recovery and reproduction of the missing diary of the Jennings settlement on Olosenga from 1856 to 1866, last seen during 1919 in the possession of a Miss Nellie Skeen of Nuku'alofa.

A final point which has been raised by readers, though not by the commentators, is whether the sudden depopulation and associated cultural shock experienced by the eight island communities who lost more than half their population bear out the views advanced by Alan Moorehead in The Fatal Impact. Moorehead's thesis, however, was based on an examination of

induced change on a single Pacific island, and it would seem that, with the exception of Easter Island, the marked demographic resurgence and community regeneration following the Peruvian raids suggest on the contrary the remarkable resilience of island, and in particular atoll, communities.

See Maude.

Reply

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Slavery

INGALLS

United States v Ingalls

1947 Supreme Court of US

a maid held to be enslaved as being 'a person wholly subject to the defendant : : one who had no freedom of action and whose person and services were wholly under the control of defendant and who was in a state of enforced compulsory service to the defendant'

a similar concept was adopted by the United Nations in 1956

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Empire Maximilian and the French in Mexico - dates

what else besides chattel slavery and what is it

Bring back one Coast Anthropology

domestic slavery chattel slavery

The Maximilian affair in Mexico beginning in April 1862 lasted (as far as French participation was concerned) until ~~April~~ ~~1865~~ January 1867. In 67 Maximilian accepted.

N X
M 3832

at the end of 1861 the a joint British, French and Spanish expedition landed in Mexico to force a debt settlement of 80 million \$.

May 5 1862 the French were defeated but early in 1863 they resumed their advance

B. Lat Lecturer in History | Politics School of Social & Economic Development

U.F. Newman BA Junior Research Fellow Institute of Pacific Studies

~~It remains for me to take up~~

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Lal rightly points out that only through a comparative can we establish whether or not the Polynesian labor trade was unique.

(3)

In reply to a query by Lal I have offered that the Polynesian trade was unique among Pacific recruiting schemes in bearing the general character of a slave trade but that there is now sufficient material available to enable a comparative study to be made of the Pacific labor trades as a significant element in the overall picture of cultural contact in Oceania. It should elicit some surprising data on such matters as the number of recruits involved; the locale and methods of recruitment; the nature and efficiency of government controls; the location and nature of employment; the legal and actual status of the laborers; conditions of employment; repatriation arrangements and their efficiency; mortality statistics and causes; and the effect of the trade on the island societies.

(2) Such a survey could include the information asked for by Lal on the Polynesian social and economic environment into which the recruits were precipitated but his analogous survey of the situation in Polynesia would require a detailed enquiry into the early political, economic and social development of Polynesia from the beginnings of European contact to the middle of the 19th century. There are studies of particular aspects, notably J. M. Davidson's 1942 doctoral thesis, and areas, such as Colin Newberry's recent book Tahiti Nui, but much information has come to hand of recent years and what is now wanted is a synoptic survey of the whole Polynesian region; it would, I believe, establish that trading and missionary inter-island communications had integrated Polynesia as never before.

(3) is on back of (1)

(4)

Another study of, I submit, greater importance to our understanding of island, and especially atoll, societies concerns their reaction to disaster conditions for it became clear when writing the chapter on 'Crises in the Atolls' that the many specialized works on disasters in other regions were mainly concerned with modern urbanized communities. Practically no work has been done ... volcanic islands

That two out of the three topics resulting from the circumstances of this reply compare comparative studies of regional or sub-regional scope ^{is not imposing} for, as Kerry Hume has indicated, the multiplicity of detailed papers on particular issues ^{now} makes the synthetic approach a feasible one.

Nevertheless a perusal of my book will show that there are still many subjects of nearly local importance concerning which we still know next to nothing which might interest several readers a theme subject or material for a research article: for example an investigation into the land tenure system of Tuvalu as modified by the

though one may report indignation felt by others at the time.

One may report indignation felt by others at the time, for this is often an important fact, but by what standards are we to judge them? Presumably by those generally accepted in practice by the particular community at the time, but they are often hard to ascertain and may well vary within the group.

but it is hazardous for us to pronounce judgement when past ^{ethical} community standards are hard to ascertain and may well vary within the group.

Alaskan trade; the history of the sealstall industry in the
 Transarctic during the early 19th century, not brought to light
 by the islanders' familiarity with recruiting procedures; the
 significance of the oral traditions relating to the woman
 preserved at 'Uka in Tuga; and the recovery and reproduction
 of the missing diary of the Semmings settlers ^{from 1856 to 1866,} on Olostraga &
 last seen during 1919 in the possession of Miss
 Nellie Skeem of Nuka'alepa.

(4) although to meet all the requests for additional information
~~one would have~~

though to meet them all would have necessitated the
 production of a book which few could have afforded
 to buy

xx 11
 xx xx

254	248
256	238
241	217
260	122
<hr/>	<hr/>
1011	112
937	937
<hr/>	<hr/>
1948	

Other commentators have queried whether the the sudden depopulation and associated cultural shock experienced by the eight island communities who lost not less than half their population tend to prove the thesis advanced by Alan Morehead in The Fatal Impact. Morehead's views, however, were based on an examination of volcanic change on a single Pacific island with the exception of Easter Island, - Tahiti - and it would seem that, the ranked demographic falling the Peruvian side opposite: resurgence and community regeneration (more rather the domestic resilience of island, and in particular atoll, communities).

14	137	77
12	4	4
28	548	308
14		
168		
	2,700	

though to have provided all the information considered desirable

by what standards are we to judge them?

presumably they must be judged by the standards generally accepted (in practice) by the particular community at the time, but these are often hard to ascertain and might well vary within the group.

Harold E. Davis

see what Pele
said?

(1) Peruvian historians may well query why so little attention is given to Peru's overwhelming problems at the time. And resist the demagogic reference on p. 1 to a disinclination to engage in manual labor and more credit should have been given to the work of the Peruvian liberals. And finally see of genocide (p. 3)

(2) Use of term slaves and slave trade invariable as slavery had been abolished. It was now 'a different kind of social and economic abuse'. My intention was to distinguish Peruvian trade from other Pacific labor trades.

(3) The impact of the virulent missionary efforts might have received more careful evaluation.

(4) But his idea that disease of the coconut palm was the main motive for recruiting is not correct except for Tahiti. And there is no reason to consider that mission groups helped to arouse public opinion in Peru to end traffic. Yes, this was so through Catholic Bishop in Tahiti.

Brij Lal

- (1) Romantic fascination with the South Seas. I do see it essentially as a drama. Romantic as opposed to analytical vision.
- (2) One wishes the author had told more of the social and economic realities of the world from which the islanders had been recruited and the realities of the new environment into which they were introduced. But these have been detailed where they are relevant to the story.
- (3) The author's moral outrage at the recruiters' activities is apparent, and is clear from the title of the book.
- (4) Indentured migration has been viewed as slavery by some; but slavery is a 'problematic concept' and the use of the term can as easily confuse and obscure as illuminate. But I was not intent to assent to the opinion of contemporaries, but rather cite them as supporting of independent conclusions.
- (5) If the Polynesian labour trade was unique it would need a more careful study to make it clear.
- (6) Chronological, island-by-island account hinders the emergence of a coherent picture and is at times repetitive.
- (7) General students would be satisfied with a long essay rather than a detailed book.

Grant McCall

(1) Slavery proper turned into indentured slavery as capitalism evolved methods for securing the labour required to continue 19th century expansion. The main effect now that the contract holder obtained his labour without being responsible in the long term for the labourer.

(2) as a typical British historian I do no more than interpret basic facts and being atheoretical in orientation I do not provide context (i.e. reasons). I do not tell why such a series of events might have taken place when they did (p. 4)

Two examples given: (i) Chinese coolie trade continued;

(ii) Reason for French wish to colonise Peru the Mexican Revolution affair.

As regards (i) I did state that throughout the period of suspension of the laws prohibiting the Chinese trade, i.e. 1856-1861, 'official licences were still permitted' (p. 1).

(ii) I was aware that at least we initially considered this suggestion to be valid; but after consideration of the evidence I concluded that it had no effect on the conduct of de Lesseps and an indirect effect on the French Government.

(Fidout authority - in Stewart?)

(3) The trade was not grounded in intention but the term is justified because the effect of the trade was grounded.

Slavers in Paradise is clearly a pioneering work. Its greatest importance, obviously, is for Polynesian history. But it also has value for the student of Peruvian social history, bringing out some relatively unknown factual aspects of the contract labor arrangements under which Asian workers were brought to Peru to replace the emancipated negro slaves in the mid-nineteenth century.

The importation of Chinese "coolies" under Peruvian contract labor law has been studied by scholars, but the record of the short-lived arrangement for importing workers from Polynesia for the sugar plantations and guano mining has been little studied, because of the difficulty of finding the documentation; it is a sorry record, indeed, as the author shows. Fortunately, as he brings out in Chapter 18, Peruvian humanitarians, prodded especially by the French Charge d'Affaires, Edmond de Lesseps, brought an end quickly to the traffic, once the abuses became known, though not before thousands of Polynesians had lost their lives because of inhumane treatment and disease. The small population of Polynesia had been reduced to a catastrophic degree, particularly in Easter Island.

The United States, engaged in the Civil War, paid little attention to the abuses in the trade reported from Peru. Hawaiian officials were largely ineffective. Britain, which had important interests in Polynesia, procrastinated, not deciding until the traffic was virtually over, whether or not the islanders were entitled to British protection. Chile, although later claiming the Easter Islands, had no officials there. But some of the worst abuses occurred there, partly on this account. The author appropriately lauds the French representatives and the French government for their active role in protesting and thus helping to secure the abolition of the traffic. Edmond de Lesseps receives special praise.

Some Peruvian aspects of the study may be open to criticism, even though the author's appropriate emphasis is upon Polynesia. The opening chapter, "The Peruvian Background," for example, will raise questions by Peruvian historians. They may rightly ask why so little attention is given in this chapter to the almost overwhelming domestic and international problems, social, economic, and political, faced by Peru at this time. They will doubtless, also, resent the derogatory reference to the population of Peru (p.1) as consisting of "disparate ethnic groups between which there are little in common other than a disinclination to engage in manual labour if it could be avoided." They might also have wished to see more credit given to Peruvian Liberals for their abolition of negro slavery and for their struggles against Chinese contract labor, before it was reallocated in 1861.

A reviewer should not quibble over words, but in the interest of accuracy it may be appropriate to raise a question about the use of the terms slavers and slave trade in the title of the book. No one questions the right of an author to use these terms in their broad popular sense on occasion. But their use in this sense in a careful and precise historical study such as this one is seems to mar rather than add to its effectiveness for the historian. The historical institution of slavery had been abolished in Peru and the slaves had left the plantations and guano islands. While some of the aspects of the recruitment and transportation of the Polynesians may have been as bad or worse than the worst of the African slave shipments, it was a different kind of social and economic abuse.

Although the author does not seem to have used computerized statistical techniques, he rates high in terms of quantification. Meager and scattered figures have been gathered from the documents and carefully collated to give a reliable idea of the number of recruits involved, the number of ships employed,

the numbers landed and refused landing, and the numbers repatriated. The greatest gap in statistical information seems to be in respect to the workers who stayed on in Peru. Data here is largely lacking. But the author's ingenious calculation of the number of workers from Easter Island is worthy of special mention. Lacking any official records from Easter Island itself, he identified shipments from there by carefully calculating the sailing times of the various vessels arriving in Callao, thus deducing the origin of the shipments.

The author identified 32-33 vessels engaged in the trade, of which 27 were Peruvian, 4 Chilean, 1 Spanish, and (possibly) 1 Tasmanian. The total number of laborers recruited is calculated as 3634, including 1407 from Easter Island, 1915 from other Polynesian islands and 312 from Micronesia.

The saddest aspect of the Polynesian labor recruitment is the record of repatriation, inspired though it was by the humane efforts of French and British officials and by missionaries. "Of the total of 3125 brought to Peru," writes Professor Maude (p. 164), "1216 or 39 percent, were thus retained or put on board four repatriation vessels, but only 157 or 5 percent, landed once again on a Polynesian island alive." The author uses the term "genocide" to describe this wholesale loss of life. Sensitive Peruvians may resent the implied comparison with the Nazi holocaust, since their objective was not wipe out a race but to provide workers. Yet the term certainly imparts a vivid sense of the tragedy in Polynesia.

The impact of the incipient Christian missionary efforts in the islands, both Catholic and Protestant, might have received more careful evaluation. While disease of the coconut palm, the islanders major food source, was a prime factor in favoring the recruitment, missionaries, somewhat naively, sometimes collaborated with the labor recruiters under the mistaken idea that they were helping to ward

off starvation. (pp. 76-77, 174-175). However, the London Missionary Society and other missionary groups helped to arouse the public opinion in Peru that brought an end to the traffic. Missionaries also helped to clam the fears and resentment of the islanders, and to reconcile them to the tragedy they had suffered.

While this is a book that may well invite controversy, it is a notable contribution, not only to Polynesian history, but also to the more complex field of comparative history.

Harold Eugene Davis
School of International Service
The American University
Washington, D.C.

BOOK REVIEW

H.E. Maude, Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Labour trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864 (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1981), pp. 1-xxii + 244.

This book is Professor Maude's 'intermittant labour of love' researched amidst a busy life first as a British administrator and subsequently as a scholar of Pacific history at the Australian National University. Like everything else Maude has written, this work, too, bears all the hallmarks of his scholarship which is characterised by meticulous research and elegant, evocative prose. Professor Maude clearly has a romantic fascination with the South Seas, born no doubt out of his long and deep association with it. This book as a result is replete with words and phrases that conjure in the mind the image of tranquility, peace and abandon in which the island people lived before the intrusion of the Europeans. Indeed, Maude sees the general reader viewing his account 'as the story of the most dramatic region-wide conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence ever to occur in the romantic setting of the South Seas' (p. viii).

This romantic, as opposed to 'analytical', vision informs and indeed pervades the whole book which deals with the seven month period between September 1862 and April 1863 when hundreds of Polynesians were taken away by Peruvian recruiters for employment in Peru. All facets of this episode are described and documented. We are told of the numbers of people who were recruited, the islands from which they came, the mortality rate among the labourers, their repatriation, the brutalising ordeal of shipment, and so on. The discussion of the dynamics of recruitment and shipment of the Polynesian ^{labourers} forms the core of the story. One wishes the author had told us more about the social and economic realities ^{of the world} from which the islanders had been recruited and the realities of the new environment into which they were introduced. We would then have had a more composite and full picture of the episode. As it stands, the reader is left with a romanticized picture of the Polynesian world and impressionistic, and at times derogatory picture, of Peruvian society.

Professor Maude's moral outrage at the activities of the rapacious Peruvian recruiters is apparent, as it is also in the title of the book. To him, the elaborate process of labour recruitment, 'the inspection of ships'

Polynesian labourers 'had been tricked or forced into leaving their islands and had little or no knowledge of the purport of the document, written in Spanish and occasionally also in English, which they had been told to put a mark on long after they came on board' (p. 124). In short, Polynesian labour recruitment was slave trade.

(2) The contemporary officials and observers, Maude tells us, were all agreed that the labour traffic indeed resembled slavery; and he is content to go by their opinion. It may be worth noting that the Melanesian labour migration was also viewed in this light by many contemporary observers, especially self-interested missionaries, until critical investigations of scholars such as Peter Corris and Deryck Scarr showed it to be a more complex and two-sided affair. Indian indentured migration has also been viewed as slavery by many people, though detailed investigation of aspects of it have raised serious questions about the validity of the description. Slavery is a problematic concept as the intense debate about it in the United States clearly shows; and its use can just as easily confuse and obscure as it can illuminate. But perhaps Polynesian episode was unique, something which does not emerge clearly from the narrative, but may have in a more comparative perspective.

A chronological, island-by-island account of recruitment adds colour and variety to the book, and it is bound to increase its appeal in those islands from where the labourers were taken.

However, such treatment unfortunately detracts from the emergence of a more complete picture of the process of recruitment and shipping of the labourers, besides being repetitive at times. It also leads to the banishment of important statistical information, central to the purpose of the book, to the end, something which atleast one numerate reader found disappointing.

Professor Maude's study of a little known episode in Polynesian history will be welcomed by scholars of Pacific history and especially by afficiandos of Polynesian studies. A general student of Pacific history, however, would probably have been satisfied with a less detailed treatment in the form of a long chapter included in the author's masterly collection of Essays Of Islands and Men.

Dr. Brij Lal

H.E. Maude. Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific, and, Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1981. Pp. xxiii + 246, 49 black and white illustrations, 12 maps, index, 9 tables. ISBN 0-7081-1607-8 (cloth), ISBN 0-7081-1608-6 (paper bound)

To call someone a slaver is a powerful accusation, drawing up images of bestial brutality, coffin cargos, and rapacious (often in history) Europeans exploiting technologically simple populations for the growth of home industry or agriculture.

Slavery does seem to be as old as recorded history and were it not for the institution, most of the world's great monuments to human ingenuity would not have been built; the Golden Age of Greece might have not eventuated, and European colonialism not secured its headstart for two centuries of domination.

Harry Maude, doyen of Pacific historians, does not tell of a grand slavery enterprise, but of a small nation succumbing to temptation. His study of the Peruvian labour trade shows us how an otherwise humanistic government, that in Peru, could permit itself to be duped and to be entrapped in a situation that whilst they did not make it, they did nothing to prevent.

Hidden behind the tale, though, is a chapter in colonialism only now beginning to be finely drawn by the modern historian: what capitalism did to secure the labour it required to continue the expansion of the late 19th century, to produce the world's (first, second, third and fourth) we now know.

Through the work of Guttman and other American historians we know that slavery, the purchase and transport of human beings as chattels, did not cease entirely because of humanitarian pressure, but because it

became too expensive. As slavery from Africa faded out, indenture became the slave system transformed. And, it was cheaper.

Indenture work^{ed} by drawing up a contract, in the body of which specified duties for specified compensation (in wages or kind) were apparently agreed upon by the hiring agent and the labourer. Typically, indenture ^{was} handled by middlemen, who ^{sought} out the prospective labourers. Such contracts usually involved a set period of labour, transport to and from the labourer's place of residence, provision of food and clothing, and sometimes a small wage. These contracts ^{were} then sold to individuals and companies requiring the labour.

In principal, it seem^{ed}s a straightforward business arrangement. In practice, of course, these contracts often ^{were} composed in such a fashion that their implications ^{were} unclear to the (often illiterate) labourer. Cash wage ^{was} kept so low that there ^{was} little chance of a labourer buying his (or her) own contract, and work conditions ^{were} left very unclear. ^{have been} ^{have differentiated}

It would ^{be} difficult to ^{open} an auction of labour contracts (indenture) from an auction of labourers (slavery), ^{was} and the one difference ^{was} that while slavery ^{was} for the life of the commodity-labourer, indenture had a specified duration. The effect of this ^{was} that the holder of the contract ^{got} the labour without having to become responsible over the long term for the labourer.

Whilst Peru will always carry the shame of its short-lived trade, many other countries have prospered through indenture, including the United States, Britain (in its colonies, such as Fiji) and Australia. Both Britain and Australia, along with Peru, had their indenture slavery using South Pacific bodies in the nineteenth century.

There is no need to recapitulate the details of the Peruvian episode, as Maude can tell the interested reader in fine prose that story. I would like to consider what has been left out.

To say that there are omissions is not to criticise negatively Maude, for he writes with the British historian's fine eye for detail and integrity for documentation. What he does not do, and this is typical of the tradition, is to do more than to interpret the basic facts. Being atheoretical in orientation, the British historian conventionally does not provide context. We know a great deal about the few months of the trade itself, which began in October 1962 and terminated, as far as Island raids ^{were} ~~are~~ concerned, within six months.

Context can tell us why the actors in the drama we read might have performed as they did. Why, for example, did Peru not continue to use the more plentiful supply of Chinese "coolies"? Documents from the times ~~researched~~ ^{researched} ~~published~~ by me in Peru show that even while Peruvian and other vessels headed for Polynesia, the much larger China clippers still moved to and from Cathay, bringing 600 to 700 labourers on a voyage. This trade was slowed down only slightly by British protests about Peruvian operations in their colony.

Why, to take another example, did France so strenuously oppose the trade? France has a long tradition of Liberté, Égalité, and Fraternité. But there was an additional reason why France, through its Chargé d'Affaires, de Lesseps, should wish to embarrass the Peruvian government in 1862-3. At that time, the French were seeking to impose their self-styled Emperor Maximilian on the throne of republican Mexico and the Peruvians, along with other American republics, sided with their neighbour to the north.

Perhaps, however, my quibbles about the larger context, including the colonial one, seem unfair to such a work as Maude has produced for us. What he has provided, that the theoretical historians sometimes do not, are all the details about the incidents. From Maude's Slavers, future generations will be able to re-interpret, for the hard ground work has been laid, and expertly too.

In addition to thorough research, extending over many years, there is a detailed index, a scholarly bibliography of 15 archives and 85 sources, with maps showing ship's routes and twenty-seven pages of careful footnotes. All of this material has been digested for us into 9 central tables, placed in an Appendix.

Maude's work, in short, is the definitive study of this particular episode, even if it does not tell us much about why such a series of events might have taken place, at the time that they did.

There is some strong language from Maude and it is directed mainly against the Peruvians who did allow it to take place. Lima was not some barbarian capital, but the (former) jewel of the Spanish empire, rich in art work and history. High culture flourished and Limeños (the people of Lima) maintained close and appreciative contacts with European events and trends. Their main newspaper, El Comercio carried features on philosophy, as well as the news of the day. The paper itself was cautious when the trade began and became, within Peruvian society, one of the strongest opponents of the Polynesian importations.

Maude calls part of the trade's effect genocidal and the word was not lightly chosen. It is true that genocide, when we think of massacres of Jews, Armenians, and others in this century, is a deliberate campaign to eradicate a particular racial group. In that sense, the Peruvians

were not genocidal in intention though ethnocide was one of its justifications. Part of the argument for the trade was to bring the fruits of European civilisation, including Christianity, to the Polynesia, to the detriment of the ~~the~~ ^{Islanders'} own beliefs. Genocide, however, was the effect or near effect of the trade and for that reason the use of this powerful word is justified.

Peruvian reaction to Maude's study will no doubt be varied: few of its citizens today would be aware that it did take place. Even the term "Canaca", being ~~the~~ Hawaiian ~~name~~ ^{Kanaka} for human being, now exists in modern Peruvian only in association with brothels. "To Canaca (canaquear)" means to frequent Chinese brothels or to behave in a similar dissolute manner.

Just as Australians are generally ignorant of their Queensland trade, involving Melanesians in the sugar fields of the far north, so many Peruvians today will be surprised to hear of the limits of their ancestor's actions to promulgate agriculture and other industries.

The book will be of particular interest to Pacific specialists, but, also, to the general reader. It is vintage Maude, with that fine prose style that not only informs, but is a pleasure to read. *It is a fine product from a quiet Canberra garden*

*Grant McCall
School of Sociology,
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Kensington NSW
Australia*

...
Tim McNaught
H.E. MAUDE. Slavers in Paradise: the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862 - 1864. Pp. xxii, 244. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981. \$

This incredibly well researched and handsomely produced book is a major event in Pacific Islands historiography, and a dreadful footnote to the history of Peru. It reconstructs the story of private expeditions sent out in 1862 and 1863 to recruit island laborers from the small islands in the vast Polynesian triangle (excluding Hawaii and New Zealand). Of over three and a half thousand recruited or kidnapped, only 257 survived, and a mere handful returned home. For the small-scale island world, this brief Latin American incursion into their history was a catastrophe. Some communities were left with only a few aged men to care for a remnant of women and orphans. Social systems in the Tokelaus and on Easter Island were shattered, to be remembered only in vaguest outline by later inhabitants. The "man-stealing ships" themselves passed rapidly into confused folklore.

Apart from Grant McCall's Easter island research, no scholar before Maude has tried to unravel even the outline of these events from the archives in Lima, Paris, London, Honolulu and Papeete. One had to make do with "a prolific crop of sensational assertions retailed by the purveyors of South Sea romance" (p.xx) such as the persistent but untrue story of manacled islanders working for the Peruvians on the guano mines of the Chincha Islands. Similarly the figures for the depopulation of the Tokelaus, which was real enough, had put the islands' losses as high as 17,000 people (several times beyond the carrying capacity of this tiny group north of Samoa). After a century of such confusions, both historians and educated Pacific Islanders will surely receive this definitive work with admiration and gratitude: every man, woman and child lost to the Peruvians is at last partly accounted for.

The first load of 253 recruits from Tongareva had been glad to go: their coconuts were devastated by disease, and in times of stress Polynesians had never been reluctant to seek better lands beyond the horizon. In Callao they were sold off as domestic servants and farm laborers: \$200 a man, \$150 a woman, \$100 for boys. The whole expedition realized for the sponsors a profit of around 400 percent on an investment of three and a half months. Others put to sea in haste.

Maude's book is packed with detail, told with no particular narrative flair or literary grace, but with a sustained judicious sifting of the facts that leaves the reader to generate his own emotional reactions. The pleasure to be derived from this book, then, is the austere, solid satisfaction of a sleuth for truth from fastidious scholarship. The organization of a narrative to contain events occurring more or less simultaneously in Peru and 51 vastly scattered islands, involving 38 uncoordinated expeditions, presented problems that could not be neatly resolved. Maude chooses to anchor his account in twelve successive island locations and is able to provide thereby a careful estimate of the differential impacts on the people themselves. Inevitably as particular ships and expeditions reappear randomly in these chapters there has to be an uncomfortable degree of cross-referencing and repetition. Part 2 of the book, the Polynesians in Peru, is more satisfying on this score with a straightforward thematic treatment of the Polynesians' passage, sale, decimation by disease and neglect, leading to international political protests and tragically bungled repatriation attempts (which took back smallpox and dysentery to further ravage several of the islands).

An admirable series of nine tables in the appendix summarize the ships, the routes, estimates of islanders embarked, numbers actually landed in Peru and later repatriated, an analysis of methods employed in recruiting and, most importantly, the population decrease attributable to the trade for 13 islands (ranging from 24.00 per cent for Pukapuka to 79.37 per cent for Nukulaelau). The calculation to two decimal places may be a trifle absurd, given their basis in estimates. Yet it is characteristic of the author's obsessive concern not to lose a factual crumb from the twenty years' "intermittent labour of love" that went into this reconstruction of the least romantic story the South Sea Islands have every yielded.

Timothy J. Macnaught

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Brigham Young University
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Serial No.: 0044-83

January 17, 1983

Dr. H. E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle, Forrest
ACT 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

Thank you for your letter of December 25. I spent a delightful evening devouring both the wit and the substance. You suggested that the lack of "trenchant criticism" in the reviews was due to the narrative, non-controversial nature of Slavers in Paradise. An alternative hypothesis might be that they lacked the "intestinal fortitude" to challenge one of your intellectual stature.

I am sure that if you follow the outline you presented to me it will make an important contribution to Pacific Studies.

Do you think the Macnaught review makes any independent contribution? I have written to him indicating that we might not use it because of the overlap. I will accept your judgment on this.

I hope by now you are feeling better. My most recent cataclysm was of a different nature. My wife had twins on Christmas day. My recovery may take longer than yours.

Sincerely yours,

Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
PACIFIC STUDIES

DBR/ltf

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
24th December, 1982.

Dr Dale B. Robertson,
Book Review Editor, 'Pacific Studies',
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LAIE, Hawaii 96762.

Dear Dr Robertson,

I owe you my sincere apologies for not having replied before to your letter of 9 November. For once, however, the matter was beyond my control for when it arrived, together with the four commentaries, I was laid up in bed after an accident in the garden.

I know that it sounds a bit silly but I broke my collarbone and sustained a variety of other injuries, internal and external, plus delayed shock. At 76 these mishaps take longer to recover from, and I am only now allowed to work again for a few hours in the morning. However, as friends wonder that I am still alive, I can only feel grateful for the fact; and in a few days I shall be able to proceed full-speed ahead.

I have duly read through the papers sent in by Harold Davis, Brij Lal, Grant McCall and Tim Macnaught and, like you, I felt that these writers had, in effect, produced four reviews. I must admit, however, to being relieved that they were, on the whole, favourable reviews and not the rigorous strictures that I envisaged in my more despondent moments.

My only model for the detailed criticism of a work by a number of specialists is the procedure practised in Current Anthropology, where articles selected for publication are sent to a number of commentators 'selected internationally and for their potential contribution to scholarly debate' and the author is invited to respond to their comments.

This is the well-known and sometimes devastating 'CA treatment' and is perhaps dependent for its success on the fact that most of the articles criticised have a theoretical content, embrace several sub-disciplines of the widely defined 'sciences of man', and may well involve problems of methodology. The 'comments', for so they are termed, are more often directed at the author's theoretical assumptions or conclusions, or his interpretive hypotheses, than at the factual data on which his arguments may be based.

As co-founder of The Journal of Pacific History I was doubtful whether a similar in-depth treatment would prove to be equally successful in the case of historical works which essay to narrate the causes, progress and end of a particular episode without raising points of a theoretical or methodological character. I agree, however, that it is probably worth while making the experiment, especially as even purely narrative histories can be criticised for factual errors; for not using all the sources available; for errors in translation; and for misinterpreting the evidence.

I was steeled for trenchant criticism on all these grounds and attribute my escape more to the fact that it would have necessitated detailed and time-consuming archival research to discover such errors rather than to any illusion that, in handling more than a thousand documents in several languages, I never made a slip.

But in your letter of 9 November you suggest that: 'Perhaps in your response you would suggest an agenda for future research on the topic. This would be a polite way of saying "this is the way the reviews should have been written".'

On reflection, I think that it may be possible to suggest a few suitable subjects for future research, possibly after I had dealt with the various points of criticism which the four reviewers have made. It may be helpful, in this connexion, to record first some of the criticisms which I know, or at least suspect, have been made by colleagues in Australia or New Zealand, in the hope that some of them may prove useful in drafting my own suggestions:-

- (1) Theoretical perspectives. There are at least two Pacific historians who I suspect would hardly call what I have written history at all, in that it is not based on any explicit theoretical perspective. It deals with an episode in inter-cultural contact, using such terms as culture, society and kinship but without any analytic definition of their meaning or the aid of suitable dynamic models. Furthermore while the Peruvian labour trade ~~resulted~~ resulted in drastic social and institutional change on the islands affected we are given no base-line picture of the island societies so cannot evaluate its nature and extent. In brief the book is a mere narrative or chronicle of a particular event without any attempt to assess its significance in the context of Pacific history, still less whether it has any general or even universal relevance.

~~the~~ (2) Methodology. A colleague writes from New Zealand that the work represents a break-through in methodology in that for the first time it treats of a labour trade in its totality, from its conception by the originator to the death of the last recruit. To do this the study has been divided into two parts, which give the picture at the islands of recruitment and in the country of labour respectively. This dichotomy inevitably invites controversy: the devotees of Pacific history feeling that much of the political detail in the Peruvian section could be admitted with advantage, while those interested mainly in South American affairs will argue that the island section could well be reduced to a few introductory chapters. In addition the method of organizing the narrative within each part, the first being structured geographically and the second thematically, causes some *confusion* ~~confusion~~ in the mind of the reader. The same ships often reappear in chapters concerned with islands hundreds of miles away, and not necessarily in any chronological sequence, leading one to suspect that it might have been better to deal with each voyage, or group of parallel voyages, separately before taking up the next to set off. This would have the advantage of consistency in that each part would be arranged thematically within a chronological sequence.

(3) Ideological. This is an interesting work marred by the author's ideological bias, stemming no doubt from the fact that he is himself a typically bourgeois intellectual and the last representative of the imperialist Establishment that oppressed the island peoples until dismissed by emergent nationalism. His bias is evident from his scarcely veiled apologia for colonialism in pointing out that only 26 out of 3634 recruits were taken from islands under the colonial yoke though these were, with one exception, nearer to Peru, and attributing the fact to the devoted humanitarian efforts of two representatives of the colonial overlords. This is a specious argument which, however, fails to go on to show that the islanders were prevented from recruiting for Peru, and brought back when they got away, not from concern for their welfare but because capitalist countries invariably protect their *monopoly* ~~monopoly~~ of cheap labour resources to maximise colonial contributions towards metropolitan profits. Maude would be well advised to abandon his outmoded romantic approach to Pacific studies in favour of some rigorous analyses along tried and accepted Marxist lines. If he thought the islands a paradise, as the title of his book implies, it was because he lived the overpaid and underworked life

of a typical colonialist exploiter there at the expense of his 'native subjects', who would certainly not have agreed with him.

(4) Ethical. This is a book which made my blood boil when I read it and for days afterwards I was troubled by sadness mixed with hatred at the terrible cruelties which foreigners, for the most part of European extraction, had inflicted on my ancestors, men, women and even children. In my view this work should never have been published because it can only serve to rekindle fires best left to burn out through the passage of time. Too many nations harbour enmities based on wrongs done to them in the past and the Polynesian people stand out in contrast for their remarkable freedom from a sense of grievance over historical injustices. Why then should this European write a book, stated to be for the Polynesians, which can serve no purpose except to inflame them once again with fury and hatred against people of other races with whom they at present live in harmony.

(5) The Island Background. The author has rightly commenced his book with a chapter giving a concise summary of the background in Peru leading up to the Polynesian labour trade; but unfortunately there is no corresponding chapter on Polynesia summarizing its political, economic and social development since European contact and outlining the situation in the islands, particularly in relation to European contact, at the time of the Peruvian raids. In its absence all but a handful of Polynesian specialists are left in the dark as to the extent of Great Power intervention in island affairs, the nature of trading and missionary activities, the consequential development of inter-island communications, and other regional information without which they cannot be expected to understand how the Peruvians were able to conduct their operations with little or no interference except at the island groups claimed by France. The omission of such a conspectus is all the more surprising since the repercussions of the Peruvian labour trade in the Polynesian islands is given in some detail.

Peruvian labour trade /

Peruvian labour trade

(6) Comparisons with other labour trades. Though there have been seven other labour trades in Oceania - to New South Wales, Queensland, New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti and Hawaii - and a number of minor recruiting ventures to such places as Fanning Island and Guatemals, one might conjecture after reading this book that the Peruvian trade was an isolated phenomenon. Surely there should have

been at least one chapter in which it is discussed in relation to the Pacific labour trades as a whole. One could then judge whether it is in fact so unique as to justify the author's description of it as a slave trade, in contrast to the others which have always been termed labour trades? Again, the labour trades have been described as one of the major agents of culture change in the Pacific world: would this be true of the Peruvian venture? And how does it compare with the other labour trades in terms of the numbers recruited, the mortality rate and the percentage repatriated: it may well be that the answers to these and similar questions on the comparative characteristics of the Peruvian trade would establish it as a striking anomaly by almost any criterion one applied.

It is, I'm afraid, not a very promising list and most of the points made were considered by me over months of agonizing before the lay-out of the book was finalized. To plan the narrative in a chronological sequence of ships was suggested by one editor and the reader of the manuscript but proved to be impracticable; and in any case the Polynesian is interested in what happened on his own island rather than on particular vessels.

The theoretical objection seems analogous to the lower status accorded in my undergraduate days to works on ethnography as opposed to ethnology. The ideological and ethical objections came, in shorter and less provocative phraseology, from Marxist-Leninist and Christian commentators at an address which I gave at the University of the South Pacific: they do not appear to indicate any promising lines for future research.

In ~~my reply~~^{my reply} to the four commentaries I would propose, therefore, to deal with each point raised by the writers seriatim and then proceed to say ~~about~~ words on my sources, explaining that as these were mostly primary documents in three languages and difficult to obtain it was not possible for the commentators to criticize their adequacy, translation and interpretation but that any errors, and there must have been some, would hopefully come to light through more detailed research by later workers on questions raised but not adequately dealt with/what is essentially a pioneering work on a hitherto untouched subject. In illustration it might be pointed out that my similarly pioneering paper on 'Beachcombers and Castaways', published in 1964, has resulted in quite a crop of detailed studies on specific aspects of the theme.

I could then list the following general suggestions for future research as examples of what is meant, since they had particularly concerned me when I was writing the Slavers study:-

- (1) A survey of the early political, economic and social development of Polynesia from the beginning of European contact to the middle of the 19th century would seem to be overdue. There are studies covering the main island groups but what is wanted is a synoptic survey which would, I think, establish that trading and missionary inter-island communications had integrated the region as never before.
- (2) Although only the labour trades to Queensland and Peru have been described in any detail by historians there is now sufficient material available to enable a comparative study to be made of the Pacific labour trades as a significant element in the overall picture of culture contact in Oceania. It should elicit some surprising data on such matters as the numbers of recruits involved; the locale and methods of recruitment; the nature and efficacy of government controls; the location and nature of employment; the legal and actual status of the labourers; conditions of employment; repatriation arrangements and their efficacy; mortality statistics and causes; and the effect of the trade on the island societies.
- (3) Some of the main consequences of disaster conditions on island societies are mentioned in my chapter on 'Crisis in the Atolls', but it became clear when writing it that while there were many excellent specialized studies on disasters (calamities or catastrophes) in other regions they are mainly concerned with modern urbanized communities. Practically no work has been done on the effects of, and response to, disasters in Oceania and yet, with its unique multiplicity of small and culturally variant societies known to have been subject to natural disasters, the region is ideally suited to research on this theme. We do not really know, for example, the precise mechanisms by which the island communities coped with disaster conditions and whether, as I strongly suspect, the more rigorous conditions of atoll life enabled the inhabitants to adapt to catastrophe with greater success than those on the volcanic islands.
- (4) It seems from several points made in the commentaries that it is felt that I may have given an account of the Peruvian labour trade not altogether fair to the Peruvians. This would not be surprising since I am a Pacific islands, and not a South American, historian. To restore any imbalance in interpretation it is suggested that a South American scholar might research the trade from the Peruvian perspective, after examining the documentation which I was unable to obtain, such as the minutes of the

efficacy;

effect of the trade

rigorous

Executive Council, the Naval correspondence, hacienda records and the books of the commercial firms engaged in recruiting operations.

To these I would propose to add any desirable topics for future research suggested in Tim Macnaught's comments, should they materialize, and also any proposed by an anthropological colleague well-known for his critical talents. All these would be of a general nature though if more are thought to be desirable I could add several of importance to a single island or group of islands, such as an investigation into the land tenure system of Tongareva as modified by Gilbertese immigration; the history of the pearlshell industry in the Tuamotus during the early 19th century, as brought to light by the islanders' familiarity with recruiting procedures; the extent of oral tradition relating to the cannon preserved at 'Uiha in Tonga; a search for the missing diary of the settlement of Jennings on Olosenga, last seen at Nuku'alofa; and other projects which occurred to me as I turned the pages of the book.

I hope that this letter may be of some use and I shall be glad to hear your views on my suggestions as I should naturally like to make my reply as suitable as possible for publication in Pacific Studies. It may be, however, that a more controversial book, such as Greg Denning's Islands and Beaches, is better suited to your purpose (it seems to have got a number of people over here hot and bothered), in which case you may wish to publish one of the four papers as an ordinary review and consign the others to your waste paper basket; probably Grant McCall's is the most knowledgeable.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

Institute for Polynesian Studies



Brigham Young University
Hawaii Campus

Serial No. 3 04-82

November 30, 1982

Dr. H. E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest ACT 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

I hope you have received the set of reviews of Slavers in Paradise. After examining them, I have decided to eliminate the one from Macnaught. Although the essay is well written, it add no new ideas to the set. I have written to him asking that he write a short piece focussing on the "fatal impact" thesis. I have asked him to send any further contribution directly to you.

Let me know if you have any suggestions. This idea of a "Book Review Forum" is new and the logistics of coordinating the efforts of several people from all over the world is proving to be a real challenge.

Sincerely yours,

Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
Pacific Studies

DBR/ltf

Institute for Polynesian Studies



Brigham Young University
Hawaii Campus
Serial No. 287-82

November 9, 1982

Dr. H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest ACT 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

Here, at last, are the reviews of Slavers in Paradise. I am sending you the unedited manuscript in hopes of saving time. In general, they are disappointing to me. While I am in agreement with the reviewers that it is a very fine book, I had hoped for a more substantive debate on issues such as the "fatal impact" thesis. Instead, much time is spent on minor issues such as the appropriateness of the term "slavery".

Perhaps in your response you could suggest an agenda for future research on the topic. This would be a polite way of saying "this is the way the reviews should have been written."

If I can have your response by the middle of January, we can include the set in our "Book Review Forum" in the Spring issue.

Sincerely yours,

Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
Pacific Studies

Include: 4 reviews

Institute for Polynesian Studies



Brigham Young University
Hawaii Campus
Serial No. 287-82

November 5, 1982

Dr. H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest ACT 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

Here, at last, are the reviews of Slavers in Paradise. I am sending you the unedited manuscript in hopes of saving time. In general, they are disappointing to me. While I am in agreement with the reviewers that it is a very fine book, I had hoped for a more substantive debate on issues such as the "fatal impact" thesis. Instead, much time is spent on minor issues such as the appropriateness of the term "slavery".

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Sincerely yours,

Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
Pacific Studies

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

BRONXVILLE, NEW YORK 10708

May 24, 1982

TELEPHONE
914 337-0700

Prof. H. E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, ACT 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

I almost have our "review team" together for the symposium on Slavers in Paradise. I am still waiting for an answer from a Pacific Islander, but the rest of the group has responded enthusiastically to the idea. I have an historian, an anthropologist, and a Latin American diplomatic historian. As soon as the group is complete I will send you their names.

I have asked them to send me the reviews by October 15. I will then send you the set by the first of November. You can then have a month to respond.

I will keep in contact with you as the project progresses. Thank you for your helpful suggestions.

Sincerely,



Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
Pacific Studies

DBR/11r

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
9th March, 1982.

Dr Dale B. Robertson,
Book Review Editor, Pacific Studies,
Sarah Lawrence College,
BRONXVILLE, New York 10708,
U. S. A.

Dear Dr Robertson,

Thank you for your letter of 22 February. I delayed answering it over the week-end in order to consult colleagues in anthropology and history on your suggestion to give Slavers in Paradise an in-depth treatment.

The general consensus was to the effect that this was a book which could well be reviewed as you propose, since I had written it for, and at the request of, the Pacific islanders and therefore rightly as a narrative history. As such it is complete in itself, but since it opens up a virgin field in Pacific studies it throws new light on a number of problems which are not dealt with, or even stated.

I should therefore be glad to accept your kind offer. Should you have any difficulty in finding your expert commentators I may perhaps mention, without being considered unethical, that the reader of my MS for the Stanford University Press seemed to have an unusual knowledge of the subject. Who he was I have no idea but the publishers might tell you when they would not tell me at the time. It was he who wrote that: 'In the larger framework of Pacific studies the book will kindle a major debate about the validity of the "fatal impact" thesis'. I hope that it does.

An historian has expressed the opinion that, as the book is unusual in being written for the islanders and yet in a form acceptable to the academic world, it might be appropriate if one of your reviewers was a Polynesian from one of the island groups most affected by the raids. Ron Crocombe, Director of the Institute of Pacific Studies in Fiji, might know of someone, as the Cook Islands, Tuvalu and the Tokelaus are his stamping grounds.

These random thoughts are merely penned in case they may be of help. I hear that the book has been well received in the islands, where it sells for \$5 as a paperback; and I am content

that I have done something for the Polynesians and Micronesians
who over the past fifty years have done so much for me.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
9th March, 1982.

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Book Review Editor, Pacific Studies,
Sarah Laurence College,
BRONXVILLE, New York 10708,
U. S. A.

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Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE

BRONXVILLE, NEW YORK 10708

February 22, 1982

TELEPHONE
914 337-0700

Dr. H. E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, ACT 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

I have just received your book, Slavers in Paradise. Because it is obviously an important contribution to the understanding of the Pacific I would like to give it more attention than we normally do in our Review section.

Starting with the Fall issue of Pacific Studies, we are devoting a portion of the Book Review section to an in-depth treatment of selected books. We plan to invite several scholars to review each book and then publish a response from the author. I believe that your book would be excellent for this purpose. If you are willing, I will invite about three people to write substantial reviews of about 2000 to 2500 words each. I will then send you the essays and give you about a month to respond. I should have the reviews to you the first part of July. If this proposition appeals to you, I will contact the publisher and request additional books.

Sincerely yours,



Dale B. Robertson
Book Review Editor
Pacific Studies

DBR/11r