

ISLANDS

From Western Pacific High Commission Archives

and other sources

- (1) Cook Islands (general).
- (2) Northern Cook Islands.
- (3) Palmerston Island.
- (4) Suwarrow Island.
- (5) Tokelau Islands.
- (6) Marshall Islands.
- (7) Caroline Islands.
- (8) Tikopia Island.

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COOK ISLANDS

(General)

Private.

The Rev. Samuel Marsden to the Secretary.

Recd. Sep 5/16 by the Northampton  
Ans. Sep 5/16 Sir Wm. Benstey.

Parramatta, Oct. 26th, 1815.

Dear Sir,

In former letters I informed you a Society was instituted in the colony for the protection of the natives of the South Sea Islands generally and I was in hopes that it would have been attended with some benefit at the time it was instituted; but I had soon cause to alter my opinion. About twelve months ago when the Cumberland returned to Port Jackson, a vessel belonging to this settlement, which had been trading amongst the islands; I was informed that the most dreadful murders had been committed on one of the islands by some of the people belonging to the Cumberland. As Duaterra was here and several more New Zealanders when the Cumberland came in; and as it had touched on her outward bound voyage at the Bay of Islands, where she had received two men from Duaterra, and one of them was now killed by an European, he was anxious to know the cause. I therefore called a general meeting of the Society. Some of the members attended and some did not. At the meeting many objections were started against examining into any of the transactions of the Cumberland while she was amongst the islands. I used every Argument I could to prevail upon the Committee to hear what I had got to say, and to examine the witnesses I had to bring to prove the facts, agreeable to the resolutions entered into at the first formation of the Society: but to little purpose - one could not because he was part owner, another was interested some other way, hear any evidence or examine in any way into the Business. Several Europeans as well as natives had been killed, but no notice whatever was taken of the death of the Europeans even. I have no doubt, had the Committee allowed me to have investigated this Subject, but an horrid Scene of Rapine, murder and Violence would have been laid open to the public Eye. I then clearly saw from the Spirit of opposition manifested at this meeting that no relief was to be expected from the leading men of this Colony for the injured Savages in these seas. Tho' a Sum of money was subscribed at the formation of the Society for the Relief and Protection of the natives of the South Sea Islands; yet not one Shilling has ever been expended for their use and Benefit; tho' some of these poor Creatures have been brought by Sickness and Hardships on board the different whalers and other Vessels to the very mouth of the Grave, and landed at Port Jackson in want of all things. I do not expect now that anything will be done by that Society for the benefit of the natives of these Islands; and for certain reasons was a Society here to act, it would be a Check upon that plundering, murdering system, which has so long disgraced the European name amongst the Inhabitants of these Islands; but this would wound the Interest and Honor of Individuals of some weight and influence. I mention these things to shew that at present we can form no public auxiliary Society. We are not strong enough. Besides there are other reasons which operate against it at present, but may be removed in a little time. I herewith send you a Copy of all the Proceedings I could get taken at the general meeting last October. Tho' Duaterra attended the meeting and wished to know the Cause of the death of the man whom he had Committed to the care of the Master; and several of the Crew belonging to the Cumberland had been killed and one Otaheitian, yet the matter would not bear examination. The whole was hushed up in Silence and remained so to this very day. All that Duaterra could learn was that his man had been shot by one of the Ship's Company, but for what reason he was not told. You may deem this letter unnecessary nor should I have sent it but I wished to shew the difficulties that might

and would arise in the way of the Mission if any public auxiliary Society was attempted to be formed as yet. The people here would think their "craft was in danger". I am of opinion that when a vessel belonging to the Colony returns from the Islands with only part of her Crew, the others said to be killed, it is the duty of the Government to inquire into the Cause of these men who are missing, losing their lives. Such an inquiry if it had no regard to the natives would tend to bring to Right many acts of darkness and Cruelty. I have now written to you at considerable Length and in much haste and in the midst of a variety of other Calls, so that I might crave your indulgence for all Errors of every kind.

I am

Dear Sir

Yours with much esteem

Saml. Marsden.

Revd. J. Pratt

&c. &c.

Hocken Library, Dunedin, Mss.55/35: "Outrages on Polynesians by  
Crew of Ship "Cumberland". (1814)".

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EUROPEANS.

COOK ISLANDS.

London Missinnary Society Letters.

40. Pitman, Rarotonga, 27.2.37 to 20.3.37.

What he has long dreaded has happened - landing of runaway seamen, openly stating their opposition to missions; all on Arorangi.

'Flu epidemic in progress. (Related to above???)

98. Royle, Aitutaki, 9.5.43.

Large numbers of traders at Aitutaki; 35 whalers in port during last 12 months, and some captains unprincipled.

212. G. Gill, Mangaia, 18.8.55.

Foreigners anxious to settle again, want to be traders, stockraisers for Tahitian and Californian markets, etc.

220. Mrs. Buzacott, 30.12.56.

Says foreigners "of some wealth" and little religious principle beginning to reside among them.

318. W. W. Gill, 2.1.78.

"The contact of the foreigner with these islanders has driven the commercial spirit into the very heart of the people, so that in too many instances the crown of life dims in their vision before the earthly reward. Thus the small repairs to a church which formerly would have been cheerfully done without the expectation of payment must now be paid for. The ringing of the church bell and the beating of their wooden gongs are regularly paid for out of church funds. The bread for the Lord's Supper (which we give to all the churches) is fetched by a deacon who expects to be paid annually for his trouble in this respect. All this is inevitable as "civilisation" advances. How far the utter disappearance of their original simplicity of character is a blessing may be a matter of doubt."

331. W. W. Gill, 14.1.80.

As many as 7 vessels anchored at Avarua at the one time, and many bring in grog. Total prohibition now the law of the island. Number of deaths "very slightly in advance" of the number of births.

341. W.W. Gill, 16.8.81. 70 whites on Raro., "Quietly pursuing their different callings", only 3 of whom are French.

LABOUR TRADE AND MIGRATION.

COOK ISLANDS.

152. Royle, Aitutaki, 19.9.47.

In June, 1847, a govt. ship from Tahiti came to pick up men -- captain behaved very gentlemanly.

154. Pitman, 28.10.47.

Many young people anxious to go to sea. Says Mangaia has more trade contacts, trades a good deal, as with fish nets; Avarua has more than Ngatangia. Ships calling at Mangaia and Avarua take Maoris away as crew; these are usually ships from Tahiti, though not all French. They offer what look to be "high wages", and the people forsake their lands and leave; many don't come back.

155. W. Gill, 20.12.47.

Says ships now coming "very frequently" to Arorangi.

160. G. Gill, Mangaia, 17.6.48.

Late 1847 had an epidemic of "Scarletina", from which many died. Many young men had been induced to go to Tahiti as servants for European residents there. Many return after 6 or 8 months with new vices. They have tried to take women away as servants, but chiefs and governors had stopped it. Only 5 went.

165. Pitman, Dec. 1848. (Admitted his ill-health in June '48)

Disease and migration have decreased pop. down to about 2,800 for island of Raro. (a guess). Young people leave on ships, few come back; doesn't know how many left during period '39-48.

167. Pitman, 3.7.49.

Over 100 youths have left Ngat. and Titi to go on to ships; thinks the same number would have left Avarua and Arorangi altogether.

173. Pitman, 28.11.49. Vital stats. for 1849.

Ngat. and Titi: deaths 76, births 41. Notes on Dec. 21 that 10 went to sea between 28.11 and 21.12: hasn't been able to stop it, even though had heard of deaths of some who went to sea.

LABOUR TRADE AND MIGRATION (contd.)

180. G. Gill, Mangaia, 22.11.50.

Tahiti once attracted many young people; now youth beginning to leave for California. He notes that natives suffer in health in the Arctic on whalers, few returning.

185. G. Gill, Mangaia, 30.9.51.

Youths still going away on ships to Calif; some have brought back new diseases, and disease getting worse each year.

187. Pitman, 1.1.52.

Not one in 20 of those gone to sea return: pop. now less than 3,000.

Buzacott returned in 1852, and he and Gill tried to get rid of Pitman delicately in view of Pitman's "personal failing and local policy".

201. Buzacott, 12.1.54. Vital Stats. 1853.

	Ngat.	Titi.	Avar.	Aror.	Total
Deaths	28	18	26	19	91
Births	27	11	32	22	92
Marriages	7	3	8	6	24
Youth to sea	63		7	15	85
return	12		10	7	29

(RPG comments that lesser number at Avar. and Aror. due to more effective prohibition of youths leaving.)

211. W. W. Gill, Mangaia, 6.7.55.

Says many youths, among them those of the classes, have gone to sea, but only 2 of the church members!

276. W. W. Gill, 30.3.67

CENSUS OF MANGAIA, 1859: 2,306.

1867: 2,237 showed a loss of 69,  
but many people had migrated.

Krause left for England via Samoa mid-1867: Chalmers replaced him.

London Missionary Society Journals.

1872. Chalmers, Rarotonga, 23.12.72.

Up to 3 months ago, Mangaia had forbidden emigration, but this was now repealed. Now all the people want to leave without much reason. 100 now in Raro., a few working for traders, but most are idle. Rarotongan people offered them coconut trees for their use, but these were refused. They also offered to let them pick cotton to get money for clothes, but this was also refused: they prefer to have a good time. Chalmers hopes they don't take up liquor; natives removed from their own islands, removed from restraint, are worse as regards evil than the Rarotongans. They seldom come to church, whereas the greatest drunkards among the Rarotongans like the mission.

1873. Harris, Mangaia, 22.4.73.

Relates story of escape of two young men, who, having missed getting on a vessel, kept on going in their canoe and finally reached Rarotonga. King of Mangaia felt bad about this, and removed the tapu against persons leaving the island. Now, 150 young men have left in one year, "the strength of the land"; ten have just returned but Harris doubts if the majority of the others will. Previously men had left despite tapu, but would never return.

The planting and digging of taro is still done by the women as in heathen days.

1881. Harris, Mangaia, 20.8.81. 10 years' report for Mangaia.

Population slightly on decrease: in ten years numbers had dropped about 200, but this was partly due to the abrogation of the tapu on emigration. 1872 pop. -- 2,266; 1881 about 2,000.

1887. Hutchin, Rarotonga, 12.1.88.

Mentions a case of 6 Raiateans, blown off course, coming to Rarotonga in 19 days. They had been caught in a storm when heading for Raiatea from Tahiti. Hutchin thinks islands were peopled that way.

1900. Te Karere, February.

Mangaia's population is decreasing, partly due to



exodus to other islands. Manganians have reputation as good workers, and are consequently in demand as labourers.

1895	--	1,821.
1900	--	1,541.

Represents a decrease of 280, but death rate not this high.

COOK ISLANDS

Tahiti Consulate Papers in Mitchell Library

- (1) Aitutaki - Chiefs (1852) re expulsion from the island of Thomas Dryden, and his petition of protest.
- (2) Rarotonga - (1866): Letter from R.H. Irvine re desire for an English Protectorate; also letters from Sir George Grey and Foreign Office on this subject; from the Assembly of Lords of Rarotonga (1865) to Grey; from the Chiefs and Settlers (names given), "the protection craved is such as was granted to B.B. Nicholson for Malden Island"; also a letter from the missionary Krause.
- (3) Rarotonga - Avarua (1866) from Chief Makea Abela asking for the return of labourers from Atimaono.
- (4) Mangaia - (1863): W. Wyatt Gill on native labour trade on Mangaia, Rakahanga, Pukapuka and Niue for Peru, as well as from Penrhyn Island, entrapped by an Irishman, Paddy, whose career is briefly traced.
- (5) Mangaia - (1866): Gill on the proceedings of Capt. Dunn of the Annie Laurie, and Dunn's intention to settle there (Cummings and Strickland mentioned); also a letter from the King and Governor of Mangaia on the same subject.

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COOK ISLANDS

- CO225/7 HC to SS 6.4.81. "A number of Europeans and islanders at Suwarrow engaged in extensive pearl shell and beche de mer fisheries.
- CO225/22 Copy of report of Comm. Rooke of Miranda to Rear Admiral Tryon 23.7.86. Arundel & Co. employ 96 workers on Canton - 46 from Niue, 50 from Hervey Islands.
- CO225/22 Arundel to Sir R. Herbert 1.1.86. Says he is in regular trade with islands including Cooks. Claims good reputation.
- CO225/26 Sir J. Ferguson to CO 20.7.87. Asks for Henderson & McFarlane who want their ownership of various islands, incl. Suwarrow, recognised. (CO will recognize occ. of Suwarrow as Brit. terr.).
- CO225/29 Report by W.J.L. Wharton, Hydrographer to Adm. 11.5.88. Reports on various possible cable stations incl. Manihiki, Rakahanga & Suwarrow.
- CO225/29 Adm. to CO 7.5.88. Data on annexation of Penrhyn, etc. printed in CO paper Australia No.138, pp.50 ff.

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Ron,

While working on another question (i.e. early trade) the other day I made the following notes relating to the Cook Islands, some of which may be of some use to you:

- (1) Maetee Island, discovered by the schooner Endeavour (Capt. Walker).

You may remember that she was the schooner that discovered the alleged sandalwood stands on Rarotonga.

Sydney Gazette 18.5.11, p.2.

- (2) Visit to Hervey Islands by H.M.S. Conway (Capt. Bethune) in December, 1838.

Nautical Magazine 1840:685.

- (3) Visit of H.M.S. Sulphur to Mauke and Rarotonga (Capt. Belcher) from 13th to 17th April, 1840.

- (4) Visit of H.M.S. Beagle to Aitutaki in November, 1835 (Capt. Fitzroy).

- (5) Visit of Samuel and Mary to Rarotonga, Palmerston and Aitutaki (c.1845).

Adelaide Miscellany 5.5.49:214-217.

There are a number of other references to the Cook Islands in Petherick's Bibliographies (I could let you have the Box Nos. if you remind me), and if you have not already been through these I think you might do so now with possible advantage.

*John*  
15.9.60.

P.S. It might be worthwhile looking up the Nautical Magazine for 1863, pp.451-452, on Manihiki, but I doubt it.

American Cabinet and Boston Athenaeum (Boston, Mass.).  
27.1.49. Vol.II, pt.4, no.1, pp.1-4.

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AN INCIDENT IN THE PACIFIC

Some years ago I was rambling amidst the various groups of islands scattered over the great Southern Pacific Ocean. I had reached Raratonga from Sydney, Australia, in a vessel called the Samuel & Mary, which was driven ashore and knocked to pieces by a hurricane, almost three weeks after I had left her at that island.

From the fragments of this wreck, Makea the King, or Head Chief of Raratonga, had built and rigged a small vessel for himself, which was navigated for him by an American who had resided for nearly twenty years on that and adjacent islands. As this vessel was about to proceed on a kind of exploring voyage, intending to visit a great number of islands in quest of cocoanut oil & arrowroot, to be purchased by the natives, I resolved, as she intended to call finally at Tahiti, to get the opportunity of seeing many rarely visited islands.

At the last of the Navigator Group which we touched at, we found several natives who had been waiting in hopes of a vessel calling which could take them back to their own islands called Aitutaki. They had built a canoe and intended to go to an island 150 miles off called Wateoa, but not knowing navigation so well missed their course. The sea in that latitude has a strong westerly current so that for many weeks they were driven about until a whaler picked them up and landed them on this island, where they were treated with utmost kindness by its inhabitants. As there was little trading at this particular island, we waited until we got our new passengers,

American Cabinet ... 27.1.49, cont'd.

aboard. In order to replenish their stock of cocoanuts, we stood in for a small group of islands, called Palmerston's Island, circled by a large reef; in fact one of those remarkable coral formations which are termed Atolls in contradistinction to what are called Fringing, or barrier reefs.

No one who has not sailed over the Pacific can form any distinct conception of these varieties of coral formations more by that variety called in the Indian Archipelago, Atolls, or Lagoons, with islands rising within them.

Palmerston's Islands, the name given to a group of Islets which we were now approaching, were densely covered with cocoanut trees, we supposed them to be uninhabited, as they were sand heaps, though producing plenty of vegetation. As we neared the island we were surprised to see a canoe emerging from an opening in the reef with a white hoisted sail (the sign of white men being there). They came along side and boarded our vessel, one was an American and the other a Scotsman. Their first cry was for tobacco, they said that they did not care if their beef and biscuit ran out; so long as their tobacco lasted, they were content. They told us they were left behind with a machine to prepare cocoanuts and expected a boat would pick them up later on.

We supplied them with part of our flour and biscuit and bade them farewell. Three months later at Eimo, an island near Tahiti we saw them again. They told us the ship instead of calling for them made a direct trip to Sydney. We visited numerous islands before we reached the residence of our native passengers. I heard a tremendous yell of Aitutaki, Aitutaki, shouted with a perfect display of passion, delight, and eagerness. There

American Cabinet :..... 27.1.49, cont'd.

is no proper anchorage, but ships lay off and on, in this particular bay.  
After being received with kindness by the natives we left them and steered  
our course to Tahiti.

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Dryden, Expulsion of Thomas.

1. Letter from Chiefs to British Consul, Tahiti, 17 Mar. 1852 (original and translation), explaining their motives for requiring Thomas Dryden, a British subject, to quit the island of Aitutaki.

2. Petition of Thomas Dryden, dated Papeete, 3 May 1852, on the subject of his expulsion from the island. 2p.4 to.

[States he has been resident on Waitetaki for the last 16 years, where he has raised a family of four children "by my wife who belongs to the same island". The Chiefs describe him very differently as "a certain troublesome foreigner upon this land whose name is Adam", and list his promiscuties and complete disregard of the law, etc.]



Peru, Abduction of Islanders for

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

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

Rarotongan Natives

Copy

Agreement, 1st April 1863, Queen of Rarotonga  
and Mr. W. H. Hardwick for R. Towns.

An Article of Agreement drawn up this first day of April one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, between R. Towns W. H. Hardwick both of Sydney and Queen Mary Paa of Rarotonga. R. Towns and W. H. Hardwick of the first part agree to engage Natives of this Island for the purpose of going to an Island in the Pacific to work Guano for the period of twelve months and for such services R. Towns, W. H. Hardwick agrees to pay to each native in way of compensation at the rate of \$10.00 Ten dollars per month.

Queen Mary Paa of the second part agrees to let such Natives engage on condition that they receive the above named \$10.00 Ten dollars per month and at the expiration of the twelve months or thereabouts to be returned again to this Island if living.

R. Towns W. H. Hardwick agree to the above proposal by Paa, and we thereunto affix our hand and seal

(sd) William H. Hardwick  
Mere Pa Meine

Capt. R. Towns  
Witness         

(Towns Papers - Uncat. MSS. set 307, item 91)

Rorotongo South Sea Islands March 19 1863

Capt. Towns

Dear Sir I take the liberties to write to you to inform you of my arrival here after the passage of thirty days from the Island new Caledonia and by what I can see I think that this is going to be a broken voyage. On my arrival here Capt. Harwick went on shore and as you are aware of we was to get men to work he has tried all he could to get me to bring the vessel into harbour but ~~as~~ I have made it my business to go on Shore to look at this harbour and it is not fit to bring a long boat into and for that reason I have to stand off and cruising round the island. I have been on Shore several times to hurry them but there is no use. I also wished to fill up with water as the Ship is getting very light and this being a hurricane month here.

I form a different opinion on Capt. Harwick now as I know more about him he is Every thing but a Straight Forward upright man. I have made it my business to go on Shore and Engage water. and I have got it all in this Evening he has taken most all the trade stuff on shore he says it all belongs to him. I have got no memorandum of nothing nor neither my mate the accounts that I get here of Cap. Harwick

is very bad he is known here this last twenty years but I assure you that I am not going to be humbuck with him much more for I shall shape my Course for Sydney. I have written to you from new Colledonia. he has opened my eyes there but I did not like to mention anything about him in fact he is worse drunkard than Ever <sup>Roods</sup> was and you know he is good. I am fairly disgusted at their Conduct - I have quite sure you could not find another two to Compare with them in Sydney - by what accounts that I here he would have been hung only he has got into the King and Queen's Favour which does bail for him and I believe he had to run from Auckland. I have also been informed that he has made an attempt to run away with the last Vessel he was in on the same terms as he is in the Governor. I am very sorry that I am bound so strict under him but my weather eye is watching him and Rood has been quarreling from Sydney to Colledonia but I have told him a little of my mind he has kept his place a little better. Every body that speaks about him tells me to look out but I cant object to land the stuff he wants for I would be breaking the agreement at once. I am much surpris'd at you Capt. Town that you have not let me know more about him.

I have reason to believe what I here because I have not found him the gentleman he represented

himself. he is what I call a ? in disguise,  
I do not wish to break the Voyage if I thought  
there was any prospect of making a good one.

Every one that knows You is surprised  
to think that he has got one of your vessels on  
such a Cruise.

I believe I have said enough to give You an  
idea. what I say in this letter I have been  
informed by good authority I can assure you  
that You can depend on me I am for your  
interest and no body Else. I wish this Voyage  
was over.

I remain your most Industrious Servant

A. McDonald

Master Brig Governor

This letter goes by a small schooner by way of  
Aucklands. She is to sail on twentieth day of  
March.

The John Williams Mission Barque arrived  
of here to Day.

(Towns Papers - Uncreat. Ms., Set 307, item 91.)

Irvine, R.H.: Petition of

1866, Feb. 23 - Letter to British Consul from Mr. R.H. Irvine, a settler, stating that the native authorities desire to have an English Protectorate Flag for their island, and that he is suffering losses from thefts by the natives, and from them not paying their debts to him. 4p.4 to.

[Mr. Irvine had been running and trading between "this group" and N.Z. until lately so many vessels in the trade had overdone it, and he was now residing ashore, going on with coffee growing, and in the whaling season doing a little at that. Two very respectable families had arrived lately to settle and practise agriculture, one from Melbourne and one from N.Z. He says the island could produce sugar and coffee to supply all the colonies and is capable of producing almost everything. But the natives are so under the influence of the missionary that they will not rent their land to settlers, nor do they cultivate it themselves.]

Dunn, Complaints re Captain (of the "Annie Laurie")

1866, 29 Mar. Letter from Rev. William Wyatt Gill to British Consul, Tahiti, complaining of the proceedings at Mangaia of Captain Dunn of the British Schooner the "Annie Laurie". Sp.4 to.

[Concerns ownership of a piece of land Dunn claimed to have bought from "an American named George Cummings", and Dunn's proclaimed intention to settle on the island. White settlement was not allowed on Mangaia. The name of Jeffrey Strickland occurs in this letter.]

1866, 26 Mar. Letter from the King and Governors of Mangaia, complaining that Capt. Dunn had threatened the English missionary with violence, and had refused to deliver up to the authorities of Mangaia the alleged title to a plot of land in that island, which a late foreign resident had transferred to Capt. Dunn at Rarotonga.

Protectorate, Petition for British,

1866, June 30 - Letter from Foreign Office, Earl of Clarendon to British Consul, Tahiti, covering papers relating to a petition from Rarotonga for British protection. The French Government disavow any intention of annexing Rarotonga, and H.M. Govt. are not prepared to take the island formally under British protection.

The papers covered are :-

1. 1866, Feb. 24, Government House, Wellington - Sir George Grey to Rt. Hon. Edward Cardwell, transmitting a copy of a letter from the Chiefs of the Island of Rarotonga praying that their island may be taken under British protection. Also enclosed copy of a Petition signed by the Chiefs of the island and the European settlers thereon. Also a copy of a letter from the Rev. E.R.W. Krause, stating at greater length the reasons which have led the petitioners to adopt the course they have taken.

[This is what the Chiefs wrote :-

Avarua, Rarotonga,

November 9th 1865.

To the Governor in New Zealand, Sir George Grey, K.C.B.

"Live you by our Lord Jesu Messiah, our life by which we live.

From us is this writing from the assembly of Lords of Rarotonga, from Turomana, from Pa, from Ramuku, from Karika.

This is the reason of our writing, that it may be looked to by you, our Protection, That is the bringing of the British protection on to our Land. This is what we ask for of you.

By you can the protection be set up, or by Britain, a protection for us of Rarotonga, a lasting protection, and a peaceful protection for us.



Live you by the Lord for Jesus sake.

From us the Assembly of Lords of Rarotonga"

The joint petition of Chiefs and settlers states their fears because the French "are taking all these beautiful little islands". The island has been an English missionary station for more than forty years. The protection craved is "such as was granted to B.B. Nicholson Esq. for Malden Island". A p.s. states that, as a preliminary measure, they have hoisted the Protectorate Flag of England against any foreign invasion. The European signatories are John B. Young, E.R.W. Krause, Fred L. Liardet, J.E. Molestar, Thos. Wyatt, Wm. Price, Michael Trainer, G.H. Traysa, Andrew Clark, Henry Nicholas, Arthur Hassall, Thos. M. Hill.

Krause's letter, dated 6 Nov. 1865, states that no reply has been received to a former letter sent by him to Grey, and he feels assured that letter has never been delivered. He now desires to inform him that tomorrow (D.V.) the foreign residents, being without exception English, will in conjunction with the Chiefs and people, hoist the British Protectorate Flag, as a preliminary measure, hoping it may deter the French till formal permission can be received.

He lists the products of the island, more than 80,000 lbs. of excellent coffee, about 60 tons of cocoa-nut oil, 20 tons of lime juice, 10,000 lbs. of cotton, and sends from 10 to 15 cargoes of oranges annually to New Zealand, besides supplies of vegetables to many, especially British vessels. "Rarotonga has been discovered by an English missionary, the Revd. Mr. Williams, and has been 42 years under the superintendence of English missionaries, and is in sentiment therefore entirely English". (I quote).

Tahiti Consulate Papers.

ML

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Atimaono Plantation, Return of labour from

1866, Dec. 31, dated at Avarua, from Chief Makea Abela to British Consul, Tahiti, asking that natives taken by Mr. Stewart of Atimaono for one year be returned, as it is now in the third year.

Tahiti Consulate Papers.

ML

PUKAPUKA1870Bully Hayes

T. Powell, in a Deposition dated Pagopago, Tutuila, Samoa  
January 6th, 1870.

Powell reports that the schooner 'Atlantic' (Capt. Hayes) came to anchor in Pagopago Harbour during the afternoon of December 14th 1869.

On the morning of December 15th, the chief Mauga called at Powell's house, telling him that there were some kidnapped natives from Manihiki and Pukapuka aboard the schooner, and that he and his people intended to liberate them.

Powell advised him that such a course was most hazardous, and would most likely end in defeat and bloodshed.

Shortly after Powell received a visit from a man who introduced himself as Sivewright. He told Powell of Hayes' doings and wrote out the following memorandum:

'10 boys, 2 women, 1 man, natives of Manihiki; 19 men, women and children from Buka Buka. The Buka Buka people were engaged for a period of 6 months at the rate of 5 dollars per month. The agreement reads for a period of 5 years at the rate of 2 dollars per month each.

Signed: Fred Sivewright.'

During Sivewright's visit some of the Manihiki natives accompanied by the Rarotongan teacher Tauga (of Manu'a) arrived and told how they had been kidnapped by Hayes. About this time news arrived that all except a few of the captives were free - having jumped overboard and swum ashore. Then the mate arrived, complaining to Powell that the natives had seized his boat. Powell refused to intervene in any way.

A few minutes later Powell saw the Captain 'coming in a canoe on the other side of the bay,' and later he heard the report of pistols. The chief Mauga had ordered the canoe in which Hayes was riding to be upset; as soon as Hayes recovered his feet he pulled the trigger of the six-barrelled pistols he was carrying, but they missed fire, were wrested from him by the Samoans, and he was taken prisoner. ~~Later, on the morning of December 16th, at about 7 a.m., Hayes called again on Powell, asking if he might use Powell's house to write out some documents,~~

taken prisoner. Later the Samoans managed to fire two barrels of the pistols. Hayes was taken to the chief's house. Soon after Sivewright arrived with a message from Hayes, asking that Powell should go to him. Powell refused. Sivewright had with him a bundle of wet papers which Hayes had committed to his charge. He considered, that 'under the circumstances, it was no unlawful breach of confidence' to show them to Powell.

One document which Powell handled and examined, was an agreement on the part of the natives of Bukabuka and Manihiki engaging with the firm of Betham and Moore to go to one of the Fiji Islands (Matamba?) to work for 5 years at the wages of 2 dollars per month, and it was stipulated that if any one of them should be ill, the wages ~~are~~ to be stopped during the illness, and provisions paid for by the native. The document was in neat penman-like hand-writing, with the names of the Manihiki natives on the right hand side and those of the Bukabuka natives on the left.

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Powell thought that all the names except one, were signed in Captain Hayes' handwriting - he later received a note from Hayes and was able to make comparison.

There was another paper stating that the natives of Bukabuka had received payment in advance on Bukabuka to the amount of 6 dollars each for the men, and 5 dollars each for the women, and aboard ship to the amount of 2.50 dollars each. The payment aboard ship was also made to apply to the natives of Manihiki.

On the afternoon of December 15th Hayes called at Powell's house and introduced himself. He stayed for three hours, and took tea with the Rev. and Mrs. Powell. Hayes referred to the taking of his vessel, saying that someone had 'put their foot in it', he admitted that the people of Manihiki were unwilling to come at first, but had later agreed to unite with the people of Bukabuka in signing the agreement.

He said that having got the coconuts aboard at Manihiki, he had said to the people: 'Now you owe me for those things you let go to Capt. Holl, so many dollars - mentioning many thousands - now how do you mean to pay me - well now I'll take these coconuts in part payment, and if some of you will come and work for me where I will take you to, I will take the pay in this way in labour.' Hayes also showed to Powell, the same papers with Sivewright had showed him the same morning. They were now dried, and the one showing the agreement of the Manihiki and Bukabuka natives to work in Fiji for 5 years at 2 dollars per month, had been removed. On the morning of Dec. 16th at about 7 a.m. Hayes called again on Powell, asking if he might use Powell's house to write out some documents,

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as the chief's house was too noisy. Powell furnished him with pen and ink, Hayes had paper himself. Hayes sat writing for about an hour in the parlour - and was provided with breakfast by Mrs Powell.

While Hayes was writing, Powell was visited by some of the liberated captives, and after Hayes' departure Powell, through Tauga, recorded the following particulars:

Natives of Bukabuka: Men - Pilato, Iavana, Ninita, Pataula, Aleluia, Ione. Women - Tapita, Naomi, Petila, Pamatagi, Ietepeta, Niumalie, Veteao, Pau-maola, Talota, Meleana, Akala, Utapiga, Atuapiko, Kariiva.

Natives of Manihiki: Men - Motā. Boys - Katiga, Samuela, Auleva, Noa. Women - Toka. Girls - Tuitelu, Meleana.

Pilato al. Kilato, chief of Bukabuka, said that he had come on the advice of the native teacher Okatai, who thought Pilato should go to take care of the young people. They were to go to Samoa for 6 months and then would be taken back to their own island. Pilato was to return in 2 months.

Tapita, the wife of Iavana, said the men were engaged for 2 months at 12 fathoms of cloth a month, and the women (14 in number) at 9 fathoms a month. One boy, the son of Pilato, was to receive 5 fathoms a month. They were engaged to go to Vailele, on Upolu.

On December 16th Mauga requested M. Hunkin, British Consular Agent at Leone, to come and adjudicate the case, but Hunkin refused as the ship was under the American flag.

On the morning of December 17th Hayes visited Powell, with a note addressed to the B.C. Agent, stating that although he was an American himself, his vessel was under the British flag, and claimed protection from the natives.

Hayes also showed Powell a document 'which had evidently been wetted'. It was a verbatim copy of the document Powell had seen on the 15th December - but instead of showing 5 years in Fiji at 2 dollars per month (as formerly) the document now showed 6 months on Upolu at 12 fathoms of cloth a month for the men, and 10 fathoms a month for the women. The contract was still with Messrs. Betham and Moore. Powell thought the new document to be in Hayes' own handwriting. The names of all the natives had been signed as before.

Powell states that Mauga and the other chiefs seemed to have treated Hayes with great consideration. Mauga gave him his own bed and best house.

Powell's deposition is addressed to J.C. Williams, H.B.M. Consul, Samoa.

PUKAPUKA1870Bully Hayes

T. Powell, in a Deposition dated Pagopago, Tutuila, Samoa  
January 6th, 1870.

Powell reports that the schooner 'Atlantis' (Capt. Hayes) came to anchor in Pagopago Harbour during the afternoon of December 14th 1869.

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COOK ISLANDS

SS despatch No.32 of 17.9.95 transmits copies of correspondence with Thurston (then in England) on the subject of jurisdiction in the Cook Islands and the position of the British Resident.

These include Thurston's letters of 23.8.95 and 25.8.95 to the Under Sec of State, which cover his personal views in detail.

"I venture to entertain the hope that a final decision has not been arrived at, and that the proposed instructions to the Assistant High Commissioner may be withheld while the subject is under further consideration".

"I respectfully submit that on the ground of justice to the native races, of a consistent and uniform policy, of our relations with Foreign States, and of the exigencies of the future, Her Majesty's Government should maintain a free and independent hand in the Western Pacific, and not sanction any of the Australasian Colonies entangling themselves with petty annexations in the South Seas and assuming obligations they cannot discharge."

"But certainly New Zealand should not be allowed to interfere further in the Pacific. At the risk of prolixity I have endeavoured to place before Mr Chamberlain

(1) That all over the South and West Pacific we are in touch with Foreign States with whom Imperial and not Colonial Officers should confer and correspond.

(2) That New Zealand if allowed to annex any Group could not establish an effective administration.

(3) That natives of the several Protectorates ought to remain under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government to which they submitted themselves, and not that of any Colony.

(4) That an adequate Imperial jurisdiction having been established it is desirable and expedient that such jurisdiction should run throughout the Western Pacific and not be impaired by Colonial influences. There is no other 'jurisdiction', as is sometimes supposed.

(5) That both white residents and natives ought not to be debarred from the enjoyment of any part of the jurisdiction and authority of the Queen as provided for by the Western Pacific Order in Council 1893, for no better reasons than those advanced by the Premier of New Zealand. ....

The latest minute of the Premier Seddon still urges that 'New Zealand pays the salary of the Resident'. Let it be relieved of this trifling expenditure and a most embarrassing, inconsistent,

and I believe dangerous, position will cease to exist."

Thurston considered that the Cooks had been annexed largely through the influence of firms interested in the island trade, which was now principally in the hands of one Auckland firm, recently bankrupt and that these interests soon wanted to get rid of Moss "who had made himself objectionable to the traders on the Islands and in Auckland by the firm attitude he assumed in respect of the liquor trade and similar questions bearing upon the native welfare."

The whole question arose because the Premier objected to the holding of a H.C's Court at Rarotonga (see Mr Judicial Commissioner/ ~~Ross's~~ Ross's action there and to the schooner 'Omaka') and did not want the jurisdiction of the HC's Court to be vested in the Resident.

Chamberlain, in reply, "while admitting that there is force in much that you advance, he is not prepared at present to disturb that arrangements that have already been decided upon. While therefore these arrangements subsist, it will be proper for the High Commissioner to refrain from issuing regulations affecting the Cook Islands."

.....

Incidentally Thurston evidently considered the G. & E. experiment a success, for in his second letter he says -

Deputy

"There is already one Resident/Commissioner stationed at the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and I trust it will be recognized that the administration there set up has, (considering that only two years has elapsed since the appointment was made) been not unsuccessful.

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See also earlier correspondence forwarded with SS desp No.2 of 7.1.95 to HC. Especially re Court held at Rarotonga by Ross, which apparently precipitated dispute.

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C.O. 209/260

$$\frac{10}{1900}$$
$$\frac{297}{1900}$$

Rarotonga, 2nd April, 1900.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No.152/900, in which you draw my attention to the inferior condition of the coffee exported from the Island of Rarotonga. It must be admitted that the quality of the coffee in question is something worse than inferior, but that description does not apply to that of Mangaia or Aitutaki.

Whatever the cause of this inferiority may have been in the past, I am <sup>now</sup> of the opinion that it is not/due to the fact that the berries are gathered from the ground; but rather to the want of care exercised in drying them after the removal of the pulp.

The inhabitants of these islands are singularly perverse and obstinate in their disposition and are most conservative; they are men who would agree with me in anything I might propose so far as words went, but they would carefully abstain from following my advice, unless I happened to be present while the work was going on; they are therefore exceedingly difficult to guide when once they have adopted a bad system. This much however may be said in their favour, that they had at one time fair reason to believe that however badly the produce of this island might be prepared, they could always dispose of it at remunerative prices, also that the Au or villages council had the power to fix prices without reference to the market value. The traders of Rarotonga have however become alive to the fact that the senseless competition and trade jealousy which was the rule up to 1898, has had no other effect than to leave

them with a large amount of experience and very little money; the result has been that the trade is now carried on under better conditions, and bad produce is occasionally rejected; it is by this rejection alone that the Maori can be taught, that care and attention and good faith are indispensable in mercantile transactions.

My experience leads me to believe that the traders are in great measure responsible for the state of things that has heretofore prevailed, and that the cut-throat policy that they have adopted one towards the other has led the Maoris to believe that the same price could be obtained for bad produce as for a superior article, and hence he has argued - not without reason - that care and attention were superflutities, since they were not marketable articles in his part of the world. At Mangaia and Aitutaki where there has been less competition, the produce whether of copra or coffee ~~has been less~~ is superior in quality to that of Rarotonga.

It would be unjust to blame the traders for the evils at present existing, without offering a word in explanation and extenuation of the system that has ruined so many men. The whole situation may be summed up in ~~the~~ two words "Chili dollar". From very early times this coin has been the circulating medium of the Pacific; at one time passing readily at its nominal value of four shillings, but constantly depreciating until it has now reached its lowest price of 1/10. Even to this day the dollar is preferred by the Maori to any other coin, and he cannot understand why we should appreciate it so lightly. That it is of little value in New Zealand is a matter of no moment to him, nor can he comprehend the mischief it has wrought to the traders. The absolute effect has been that a merchant in this group might have thousands ~~of~~ of dollars in his safe, and yet be quite unable to pay for goods purchased in New Zealand or Australia; the only market open to him under such circumstances

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was Tahiti, because if he wished to trade with any place outside of that island it became necessary that he should purchase either coffee, copra, lime-juice, or cotton at an exorbitant price irrespective of quality in order to pay for goods that could not be purchased with Chili coin. This fact will in itself explain the bitter hostility encountered by the late Resident, when he gave the firm of Donald and Edenborough a monopoly of all the British coin in the Federation, and thereby placed them in a commanding position over other firms.

With reference to the concluding paragraphs of your Lordship's letter suggesting that we should undertake the cultivation of vanilla, I have the honour to inform you that there are already one or two plantations of vanilla on this island, and it seems to me that there is every prospect of this industry extending, though it may be that it will do so slowly. I would however point out that your Lordship must not look for brilliant results under the present system of government; for the majority of the inhabitants of this island are mere tenants at will, and liable to be ejected from their homesteads at the caprice of the Ariki.

Under such a system prosperity is impossible for it is not likely that a man will plant cocoa-nuts on the coral sand formation - which is unfit for any other growth - unless he knows that his children will reap the benefit; and that which is true of the cocoa-nut will in a less degree be true of other articles of export.

The land tenure of Rarotonga is briefly as follows:- From a point near Matavera to Black Rock, a distance of seven miles on the Northern coast of the island, there are but three land owners, namely Makea Ariki, Taraara, and Wahakapara, the former as Ariki of the district claims mana over the whole of

the lands within the boundaries mentioned, including that of the two mataiapos, who although formerly ~~independent~~ independent of Makea, have during the last thirty years allowed her to encroach on their rights. In this district there cannot be less than 800 inhabitants, who - as I have said - have at present no land rights and are mere tenants at will. I am however convinced that previous to the introduction of Christianity these same people had a definite right to the land they occupied, and probably to the whole of the tribal lands. In those days a chief had to depend on his tribe to protect him against his enemies, and therefore he would not have dared to treat his warriors as serfs.

In the district of Arorangi on the Western side of this island, much the same condition of affairs will be found to exist; There Tinomana is the Ariki, and though there are a greater number of mataiapos each of whom owns land, yet the bulk of the people, probably 500 in number, are not in a better position than those under Makea.

The third and last district is that of Takitumu, and here there is a decided improvement, in so far that the land is held by a larger number of people. Pa is recognised as the Ariki and governor, but he is not the greatest land holder, and has no right over the lands of his forty-two mataiapos, except that he can remove a mataiapo from his position, should that man refuse to aid with both men and pigs, in any tribal work undertaken by the direction of the Ariki and his council. In all other respects the Mataiapos are independent land holders and as the Ngati-Taglia have always been the most warlike and dominant tribe of this island, they have at all times succeeded in keeping the power of their Ariki within proper bounds. The weak point however in the Tikitumu district is that the mataiapos on their own lands are as overbearing and arbitrary as the worst variety of Ariki, and treat their own younger brothers and cousins as though they had no right on

the ancestral lands.

From the foregoing your Lordship will recognise the difficulties I have met with, and shall continue to experience in working order out of this chaos, for I am convinced that at least two of the Arikis are actively hostile to all improvements on the land, inasmuch that they dread lest these improvements should hereafter be held to give the occupiers an equitable claim to their holdings.

It appears to me that under the present system whereby the islands of this group have been taken under the protection of the British flag, that the Cook Islanders have gained all of the benefits of the situation and the British Empire has accepted all of the liabilities, for I find myself without the power to enforce arrangements that would make this island one of the most prosperous in the world, although I am in a measure responsible for the welfare of the inhabitants.

Under the just administration of a strong government the lands of the islands should and would be nationalised, but the rights of the land-holders would be recognised so far that a certain amount of the rent received would in all cases be paid to those who would make it clear to the High Court that they had a right to this consideration.

The rights of those whose ancestors have lived and worked on the land for the last five hundred years would be upheld. Such is not the case at present.

// Rent paid by Maoris would be paid in kind, either in copra or coffee, an arrangement that would in itself ensure a high standard of quality for these articles.

Above all, the Government would then be able to give a bonus in aid of new articles of produce, and could introduce ~~a~~ new plants of economic value.



The remaining islands of this group do not require special comment, inasmuch that they will in all things follow the lead of Rarotonga, provided that they receive encouragement and assistance in the way of seeds and plants; for it must not be forgotten that those islands are not in so favourable a position as the seat of government and cannot benefit by the example and advice of the better class of Europeans. The land customs of these islands do however, favour individual exertion, and I anticipate no difficulty in dealing with them, provided always that the system be initiated on this island.

On Mangaia and Aitutaki, the land customs are as follows:- At Mangaia the land has from very ancient times been held by certain tribes whose boundaries are well known, and further the land of each tribe has been divided among all the families composing that tribe; it may therefore be said that in Mangaia, every man, woman and child owns land, the boundaries of which have been defined.

At Aitutaki - which is really a very small ~~is~~ island containing probably not more than 7 square miles - the land has been minutely subdivided; but the Ring that has heretofore governed the island has, I fear, perpetrated many injustices, some of which are now being enquired into by Mr. Large the Magistrate of this place.

In Atiu where the people have always been exceedingly warlike, their land tenure would seem to be purely tribal like that of New Zealand; a tenure that I venture to say is very suitable to the Polynesian wheresoever he may be found. Mauke and Mitiaro have both been conquered by the tribes of ~~Ati~~ Atiu and the original inhabitants destroyed; it is therefore held even to this day that the islands in question are occupied by garrisons who have retained their ancestral rights on Atiu, but have acquired no greater right over the conquered islands, than those common to the whole of the tribes of Atiu.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd) W. E. Gudgeon

British Resident.

His Excellency

The Earl of Ranfurly, K. C. M. G.,

Governor of New Zealand.