

1879.

## NEW ZEALAND.

## NATIVE LABOURERS IN NAVIGATOR ISLANDS.

(PAPERS RELATIVE TO ALLEGED CRUELITIES.)

*Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by command of His Excellency.*

## No. 1.

The Hon. the PREMIER to His Excellency the GOVERNOR.

*Memorandum for His Excellency.*

SIR George Grey presents his compliments to the Marquis of Normanby, and respectfully advises His Excellency to forward to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the memorandum of which copies are enclosed, upon Sir Michael Hicks Beach's despatch, No. 50, of 18th October, 1878, covering reports respecting alleged cruelties to Polynesian labourers in the Navigator Islands. No. 2 and enclosures.

Wellington, 15th February, 1879.

G. GREY.

## Enclosure.

1. It has been reported to Her Majesty's Government that Mr. F. Cornwall, who was British Acting-Consul in Samoa on the 27th November, 1877, had in view the establishment of a plantation, at the smallest possible cost, at Lata, where he claimed to be the owner of about 8,000 acres of land. The natives denied the validity of the sale of a great part of this land; but it has not yet been shown that he is not owner of that portion of the estate which he was putting under cultivation.

2. Mr. Cornwall proposed to carry on the works on this estate by means of coloured labour brought from the Line Islands, in the Pacific. It is stated that the well-being of these labourers was overlooked in the attempt to keep down expenses.

3. In pursuance of his plans, Mr. Cornwall brought, on the 27th November, 1877, in the cutter "Bertha," 15 tons register, seventy coloured labourers\*—men, women, and children—who were landed on the beach at Lata. There was no shelter ready for them.

4. About the 27th December, a second load of sixty coloured labourers—men, women, and children—were brought in the "Bertha" to Lata. These are said to have consisted of the weaker labourers and their families, who had been kept for three weeks on an estate in Samoa called Magia, to recover their strength. According to the statement of the manager, Mr. Moors, this batch of labourers was supplemented by the sick people from the Magia estate. Mr. Moors, who is an American subject, was left by Mr. Cornwall at Lata, in charge of the plantation as manager.

5. No list of these labourers was recorded in the Consulate, and the list given by Mr. Cornwall at Lata was made out some time after the arrival of the people, and was imperfect. Mr. Moors had either kept no account of deaths, or he purposely misinformed Mr. Maudslay, the Deputy Commissioner, who inquired into the subject.

\* A 15-ton registered vessel would be of about the following dimensions:—Length, 42 feet; beam, 14 feet; depth of hold, 5 feet 6 inches; and would have a cubic capacity of 1,500 feet, exclusive of space for crew. She would require about 5 tons of ballast. The deck space in superficial measurement would be about 440 feet: deducting one-third for permanent encumbrance, such as hatches, masts, boats, &c., would leave about 300 superficial feet available space for passengers. The 5 tons of ballast would reduce the depth of hold to about 4 feet, and the capacity to 1,000 cubic feet.

The cubic space usually allowed to each passenger in coasting vessels is 72 feet: 1,000 divided by this figure would give the number in hold 14.

The passengers in the hold would not be able to stand upright. Each deck passenger would require a space of 3 feet by 3 feet, equal to 9 feet superficial; 300 feet divided by 9 would give 33 as the number that could be carried on deck, and this could only be done for short distances and in fine weather, as small vessels of this kind have very low bulwarks and no other protection.

The above computation would give the number of passengers that a 15-ton vessel could carry as 47 in all, and with that number I consider that she would be much crowded.

Vessel ought to be fitted with proper skylights and hatches.

Marine Department, Wellington,

30th January, 1879.

6. The labourers had been brought, in the first instance, from the Line Islands to Samoa, in the "Flirt," for Mr. Cornwall, but it has not yet been possible to obtain the information wished for regarding the "Flirt's" voyage. The treatment of these labourers in Samoa was, in some respects, so shocking that it is singular the Acting-Consul cannot furnish the information required regarding the voyage of the "Flirt," upon the circumstances connected with which suspicion must rest.

7. From the time of the arrival of the labourers at Lata, their food was insufficient and unsuitable. The water supplied to them was insufficient, disgusting, and deleterious in quality. They were brutally treated: the manager could not tell how many he had flogged. One sick woman was, as a punishment and example, carried on a pole, to which she was tied hanging by the hands and feet like a dead pig, and the same night she was publicly flogged, so cruelly that the wounds in her back required to be dressed. She died some weeks afterwards: her wretched child had died in an attempt the persecuted mother made to escape, before the one for which she was so brutally treated. So many persons died under this system, that the manager either made false statements to conceal the number, or could not remember how many had sunk. Generally, it may be said that 130 coloured labourers were kept for five months on the estate of an acting-consul, upon miserably bad and insufficient food—that the water also was insufficient in quantity and filthy in quality—that men and women were alike cruelly flogged at the caprice of the manager—that no account can be given of the number so flogged. They were not allowed to go to church on Sunday: indeed, the survivors state that they were compelled to work on that day; and that their average of daily labour was within a few minutes of ten hours.\* Under this system, in five months, twenty-one of these labourers out of the 130 died.

8. It is impossible to read without being deeply moved by them, the sad statements of cruelty made in these papers. And this feeling is increased upon general grounds, as from these revelations it is almost certain that similar transactions must be daily taking place in many parts of the Pacific, whilst in this particular case indignation is increased by the knowledge that (if I am right in assuming that Mr. Cornwall was the British Acting-Consul) these transactions took place, as it were, under the British flag.

9. In despatches written thirty-one years ago, especially in one written on the 14th March, 1841, I pointed out to Her Majesty's Government that transactions such as are now under consideration would occur. I especially called attention to the species of trade in the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands which was certain to spring up; and I suggested that a remedy should be at once applied, by the acquisition of the islands which did not then belong to Great Britain. With the view of facilitating this object, if it was approved, I made arrangements for the cession of the Fiji Islands. I argued that we should certainly be compelled ultimately to accept the cession of those islands. I showed that we might at that time do so unembarrassed by the land claims which in a few years would spring up, and free from many difficult questions which would have come into existence during the few years at the end of which I predicted we should be compelled to accept the cession.

10. When I made these recommendations, a compliance with them would have entailed but a trifling expense on Great Britain during a short period, for the Customs duties of each island would have paid the cost of the modest Government which it would have been necessary to establish.

11. As a part of this plan, hospitals were provided in New Zealand at which sick persons from the Pacific Islands could be cared for, and placed under skilful medical treatment. Schools were established in several parts of New Zealand at which, under special provisions for the purpose—which were intended to supplement primary education in the Islands—the children of Pacific Islanders could receive an excellent education; and numbers of such children were brought to New Zealand and educated here. The endowments for these establishments are still in existence. But my recommendations were overruled. A stop was put to the arrangements which had been made alike as to the Fiji Islands and the Friendly Group; and I stopped negotiations I had entered upon with regard to the cession of the Samoan Islands. All the difficulties I foretold grew into existence, and Great Britain has had to take the Fiji Islands and to face those difficulties. If, however, those plans had been sedulously followed out during the last thirty years, the Pacific would now have been studded with rising communities; a considerable and constantly-increasing commerce, very valuable at the present moment to Great Britain, would have been in existence; the city of Auckland would have been a great emporium for the Pacific trade; and such shocking scenes as are disclosed in the papers under consideration could not have taken place.

12. I still remain of the opinion I so long ago expressed, and I think now that if Great Britain will not accept the cession of those islands in the Pacific which do not belong to her, she should allow her colonies in this part of the world to do so. Their future interests and welfare are to the highest extent involved in this question: in fact, the whole future advancement and civilization of this part of the world depend upon it. On it hangs the question whether a common language, common laws, common civilization, and a similar form of government, shall prevail throughout the Pacific.

13. If other Powers come in and occupy the Pacific Islands, they will establish arsenals close to these colonies, which will not only imperil the future safety of the colonies, but will force a large and constant military expenditure upon them. The Powers who take such islands may also establish in them convict colonies, which may ultimately flood the British settlements with most undesirable persons; or they may set up communities with peculiar forms of civilization, in some cases establishing what might almost be kinds of slavery.

14. It is certain, also, if the Pacific Islands are held by Foreign Powers, that, in the future, disputes will arise between the British communities and such Foreign Powers, and that the Pacific may become the scene of constant wars, instead of being one vast area of peace and commerce of the most valuable kind, from the great variety of commodities which the islands can produce.

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\* Mr. Moors states that the labourers commenced work half an hour after daylight, and ceased three-quarters of an hour before sunset; a rest for two hours, from 10 o'clock until noon, being allowed them. The sunrise and sunset is almost exactly at 6 (within a few minutes) at all times of the year. Daylight, as there is little twilight, would begin at 5.30 a.m., and end at 6.30 p.m.

15. It is difficult to understand why Great Britain should encourage foreign nations to gain a footing in the Pacific, and yet refuse this privilege to her own offspring; and it is still more difficult to understand why, in the case of those islands which are actually British possessions, she should allow, as she has done, foreign nations to take possession of them, yet refuse to permit her own children to do so.

16. By allowing the British colonies in these seas to occupy such of the islands in the Pacific as they are willing to undertake the administration and cost of, the Empire would spread in the most natural and effectual way at no cost whatever to the mother country. British commerce would rapidly extend and be fostered under the most favourable conditions, whilst the inhabitants of any colony that willingly assumed responsibilities of this kind would have their energies developed, and have a field of enterprise and statesmanship opened to them which would do much to form the character of a youthful nation, and to raise up a people which would reflect credit upon the great country from which they have sprung. It is probable that the British race cannot permanently be shut out from a great destiny in the Pacific and Eastern countries; that it must become the ruling power in those parts of the world; and that the interest and welfare of the countries I allude to, and of many millions of people in territories lying to the north and west of the Pacific, are involved in this question. At a time when British statesmen admit that British commerce is declining, and they are proposing to restore it by the doubtful plan of establishing a great commerce with Africa, it is difficult to understand why they should deliberately cast away a lucrative commerce, which would rapidly grow, and which here lies ready to their hand.

17. Experience appears to show that it is impossible for an Empire to neglect the duties it owes to the races on its frontier, without entailing on itself serious evils, which, penetrating beyond its mere frontier, spread into the population of its outlying possessions.

18. Thus, the habits and disorders which are allowed to grow in the Pacific Islands call into existence a class of men who, believing that large fortunes may be realized from speculative purchases of lands from uncivilized races, engage in this pursuit, some of whom are careless by what means or arts they acquire a specious title to tracts of lands. The proceedings of such persons re-act upon the inhabitants of British territories where there are mixed populations, who are encouraged by the numbers who engage in the pursuit and by the success of some. Hence great embarrassments are often created, and the most vital and important interests of the entire community are sacrificed to promote the undue acquisition of wealth by a few persons.

19. The coloured labour traffic, again, calls into existence a lawless set of reckless men, whose acts exercise a pernicious influence, and create a lawless sentiment, more wide-spread than would at first be thought. A bad feeling arises in the minds of many Europeans towards native races, whilst these people finding themselves despised—perhaps looked down upon with contempt—in their turn conceive a distrust of, perhaps a dislike to, the European race. From such a mutual feeling of dislike and distrust, disasters are too likely to arise.

20. A striking instance of this feeling of lawlessness to which I have adverted, appeared in a case recently brought before the Court at Auckland, regarding a shocking murder of one British subject by another on the Island of Bouteritari, on the 7th October last. Documents appended give details of the transaction; and of the failure, for the present at least, of any constituted authority to hold the offender responsible for his offence.

See A.—3, 1879.

21. I beg to be permitted to add the following further remarks: It appears that Mr. F. Cornwall, at the time he was Acting-Consul, was extensively engaged in a coloured-labour traffic, importing such labourers as were specially engaged for him. The Acting-Consul was also agent for a firm at Auckland.

22. I recommend that a stop should be put to such a system, and that no person holding permanently or temporarily the position of Consul or Acting-Consul should be allowed to be in any way, directly or indirectly, connected with such a traffic. I think it becomes a great nation rigidly to enforce the rule I recommend for adoption, even if some additional charge is thereby entailed on it.

23. With regard to Mr. Cornwall being the agent of an Auckland firm, I think, looking to the distance of Samoa from New Zealand, they might well have thought that the fact of their agent being Acting-Consul was a sufficient guarantee for their being able to place reliance on the propriety of his proceedings.

24. As already stated, no list of labourers was recorded in the Consulate at Samoa; and the list given by Mr. Cornwall, the Acting-Consul at Lata, was made out some time after their arrival there and was imperfect, and Mr. Moors (Mr. Cornwall's manager) had either kept no account of the deaths of the labourers, or purposely misinformed Mr. Maudslay, the Deputy Commissioner, on the subject.

25. On this point, I would recommend that steps should be taken forthwith to prevent the possible recurrence of such a state of things in future.

26. I also concur in the judicious suggestion made by Mr. Maudslay that, if possible, some power should be given, under the Pacific Islanders Protection Act, to establish regulations for the proper treatment of coloured labourers when employed on the estates of British subjects.

Wellington, 3rd February, 1879.

G. GREY.

## No. 2.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the Colonies to His Excellency the GOVERNOR.

MY LORD,—

Downing Street, 18th October, 1878.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of a despatch, with its enclosures, addressed by the Acting Deputy Commissioner in Samoa to the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, reporting the result of an inquiry which he had instituted into certain alleged cruelties to Polynesian labourers on the estate of an English proprietor in the Navigators Islands.

As Mr. Maudslay's report shows that the estate on which these cruelties have been practised is worked by an agent of Messrs. M'Arthur and Co., of Auckland, I request that you will bring the subject under the serious consideration of that firm, in order that the necessary steps may be taken, with the view of putting an end to the abuses which have been shown to exist on their plantation.

Governor the Most Hon.

the Marquis of Normanby, G.C.M.G.

I have, &c.,

M. E. HICKS BEACH.

### Enclosure 1.

Mr. MAUDSLAY to the Right Hon. the SECRETARY of STATE.

SIR,—

British Consulate, Apia, Samoa, 14th May, 1878.

On the 23rd April I held an inquiry at Mr. Cornwall's plantation, at Lata, into the condition of the Tapitenga labourers working on that estate, and investigated certain charges made against the manager, an American citizen named Moors.

2. The plantation of Lata is situated on the south-west coast of the Island of Savaii, between the native villages of Taga and Saleailua, and is about fifty miles distant from Apia.

I have attached a sketch-map of the coast, showing the position of the plantation. Black lava cliffs extend almost the whole length of the south coast of Savaii, against which the surf is always beating with great violence, and navigation in small boats is always dangerous, and often impossible.

At Satupaitea and Saleailua some protection is afforded by short stretches of coral reef, but between these two places, for a distance of twenty miles, there are only the small boat passages at the villages of Tufu and Taga, which are only practicable in very fine weather. There are only two paths along the coast, both passing over level land, but owing to the rocky nature of the ground they certainly rank amongst the worst native tracks I have ever walked over. The plantation is thus in a very isolated position. The clearing commences about half a mile from the coast, and runs inland. There is a dense forest all round, and the nearest native village is distant about five miles.

3. Mr. Cornwall claims to be the owner of a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of Lata, amounting to something like twelve or thirteen square miles. The land, however, has not yet been surveyed, and it is impossible to give the extent of the claim with accuracy. The natives have acquainted me with their intention of disputing the validity of the sale of a great portion of this land.

4. A small break in the lava cliff just opposite the plantation affords sufficient shelter for boats to be loaded in fine weather, but the work must always be attended with some risk, and since the date of my visit Mr. Cornwall's small cutter, the "Bertha," has been struck by a squall and totally wrecked whilst lying alongside the cliff.

5. I had walked through Lata on my way from Satupaitea to Saleailua, and had held some conversation with the labourers, many of whom speak Fijian. They appeared to be discontented with their lot, and complained of want of food and too much work.

6. The surface of the ground at the plantation is covered with loose black volcanic rock, and the only cultivation at the present time is an inferior crop of maize. I should say about eighty to one hundred acres of land had been cleared.

7. I enclose a copy of Mr. Hunt's letter, which you gave me before I left Fiji. I believe this letter to have been written from motives of personal animosity to Mr. Cornwall, and the charges are consequently somewhat exaggerated. I am not aware that there is any dispute about that part of the estate which is now under cultivation; and the murder of the labourer, which Mr. Hunt refers to, as showing the opposition of the natives to the occupation of the land, took place when the Tapitenga labourers were gathering cocoanuts, two and a-half miles distant from the plantation.

8. I enclose a copy of a statement, sworn to before me by Joane, the Native ordained minister of the London Missionary Society, resident at Saleailua, and copies of the statements made to me by Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Moors, and others, when under examination at Lata. I also attach a copy of a letter I have since written to Mr. Cornwall, stating the opinion I had formed from the inquiry, and directing certain changes and improvements to be made in the treatment of the labourers.

9. The labourers employed on the plantation were brought from the Line Islands in the "Flirt." I have not yet been able to obtain the information I wish for with regard to the "Flirt's" voyage. Mr. Cornwall, for whom the labourers were engaged, was Acting Consul at the time of their arrival, and I am informed that he boarded the vessel in Apia before she had dropped anchor, and went off in her to Magia, his plantation on the north coast of Upolu. I am, therefore, not able to obtain much independent information as to the condition of the labourers and their families on their arrival in Samoa, but there is little doubt that in their own homes the Line Islanders had been suffering much from want of food owing to bad seasons.

10. No list of labourers was recorded in the Consulate, and the list given me by Mr. Cornwall at Lata, which was made out some weeks after their arrival, is imperfect, and Mr.

Moors had either kept no account of the deaths, or purposely misinformed me on the subject. It was not until I had examined several of the labourers that I could be sure of the accuracy of the list I now enclose.

11. I had all the labourers and their families brought up before me, and, with the exception of ten, they appeared to be in good health. I was not able to take down any regular statement from those whom I questioned, owing to the fragmentary nature of their evidence, and the frequent reference from one to the other (in their own language) before any answer was given. In fact, it was only when inspecting the houses, when I could get some of them apart, that they became communicative. I was guided, however, by the information they gave me when questioning Mr. Moors and Mr. Cornwall.

12. I believe the large number of deaths to have been principally owing to the inferior water supply, and the change from food to which they had been accustomed. It appears as if those who arrived in fair health have been able to stand this change of food and climate, and no longer suffer from it, but that the weaker ones have all succumbed. The mortality has been greatest amongst the women and children.

13. Corn is no doubt supplied to the labourers in abundance. It is grown on Mr. Cornwall's plantation at Magia, and can cost him but very little; and there should be a fair supply of cocoanuts on the estate, and some breadfruit when in season; but even after an occupation of over five months there are no yams, taro, or bananas on the plantation, and Mr. Moors failed to convince me that he had made proper efforts to purchase any. As there is no reef along the coast, and the labourers have no canoes, they are not able to supply themselves with fish.

14. The object Mr. Cornwall had in view was no doubt to establish a plantation at the smallest possible cost, and the well-being of the labourers has been overlooked in the attempt to keep down expenses. Had he kept the weaker labourers and the women and children under his own charge at Magia until they had recovered their health, and sent only a working party of men to Lata to put up houses and plant food, I have no doubt that the rate of mortality would have been very much lower.

15. With regard to Mr. Moors, I think that his own statement is quite enough to show that he is not a proper person to be left in entire charge of a large number of labourers and their families.

16. I very much regret that the "Pacific Islanders Protection Act," which deals so fully with the recruiting and shipping of labourers, gives no power to Consuls or Commissioners to enforce regulations for their proper treatment when employed on the estates of British subjects.

I have, &c.,

ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY.

JOANE (Native ordained minister), sworn :—

When the labourers came here in November they arrived in a cutter from Tasitootai. I was instructed by Mr. Pratt to visit the labourers, as many of them were members of our Church. Several of the labourers had already been to me with complaints of not getting enough food, and of being severely flogged. One of these men was named Lepaitlau. I then wrote a letter to Mr. Moors, the overseer, telling of the complaints made, and saying that if they were better fed they would work better. I received no answer; but Tu, a Tahitian, living at Gajamali, who trades for Mr. Cornwall, said he heard from Moors, and was instructed to tell me that I was to write no more letters, as I was not master of Lata. When I visited them, about six weeks after their arrival, I found the labourers living in the bush, near the beach; the houses in which they are now living were not finished, only the framework was up. The labourers themselves often told me that they were living in the bush; there were many women and children amongst them.

It was on Sunday that I first went to see them. Very few attended my preaching, as most were at work building houses.

Tu, the Tahiti man, had told me that I should be allowed to preach on Sunday if I did not take the people away from their work on Sunday, or preach that it was wrong to work on Sunday; and he also said that I was not to bring any one with me when I came to preach. Moors had written this to Tu. I have had continued complaints from all the Tapitenea who came here. It was only on Sunday that the men had time to build their houses.

About two months ago a Tapitenea woman, Kilokilo, ran away from Lata to the house of Vola, a Samoan of this town, and she came on to my house the same day. Some Tapitenea men came down to fetch her. She was there three days. A week afterwards she ran away again, and came to my house, and said her child, a boy about five years old had died in the bush on her way to my house. Three days afterwards the Samoan found the body in the bush. It had been partly eaten by dogs. I buried the body. The woman said she had run away because she had too much work and too little food. She was at my house three nights. (Statement corrected: It was the first time that she came here that her child died.) She was very ill at the time. Some Tapitenea came for her, and tied her to a pole like a pig, and in that way carried her back to Lata. Before starting, she said that she wished I would write a letter to Mr. Moors, and ask him to cut her head off and carry that back, and leave her body to be buried by me, as that would be better than going back there alive. It was Saturday she was carried

back to Lata. On Sunday I went there to preach and she was very ill indeed. On Monday she died.

A man whose name I do not know was brought to this house about three months ago in a dying state. He had been picked up in a taro patch between my house and Lata by some Samoans, and told them by signs that he had been lying there four days. He was not able to speak when he arrived; six or seven hours afterwards he died. It was my people who found the man. They said he was dead. I sent to Tu, and asked him what I should do. He asked me to look after him, so I brought him to my house. Moors made no inquiries about the people from me, but he offered six dollars to me through Tu for burying them. I refused the money.

Lata, 23rd April, 1878.

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Mr. F. CORNWALL states:—

The labourers arrived at Lata on the 27th November. They were brought down in two trips by the cutter "Bertha." The second load was brought down about a month after the first. That is the entire list of labourers now given in.\* The list was taken on the 14th to 16th of January.

I came down with the labourers on the first trip of the "Bertha." There were women and children amongst those taken down on the first trip. The people were landed on the beach.† There was no house ready for them. We brought materials to build one. Seventy people came down on the first trip. The "Bertha" is 15 tons register. I stopped here four days. The people were engaged immediately landing cargo and weeding ground, and about twenty in putting up a house. We had one house completely finished by 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the day we landed. We continued to put up houses on the next day. I left Mr. Moors in charge, and myself left Lata four days after arrival. Before leaving I arranged to form a settlement higher up, and not on the coast.

The Samoans made no opposition with regard to the landing of the people.

I brought maize, rice, beans, and beef for the use of the labourers. No one died before I left. One man was apparently sick; I believe he was shamming. There were bananas, breadfruit, and cocoanuts on the ground when the people arrived. I was down here again about the 16th of January, 1878, for four days. I found that the station had been moved to a spot I had chosen, and two large houses were built. There were about one hundred and thirteen labourers. Twelve acres were cleared. Mr. Moors reported that the labourers were very sickly, and some of them had died. *I do not know how many.* Mr. Moors was about to remove the station again, as he had found a better position, and because the ground was too rocky. There was a large waterhole and a large lagoon close to the station. The weather was very rainy, and many of the people were sick. I brought down with me plenty of rice, maize, and beef. I had on the plantation since the commencement 112 lb. salts, a bottle of Dovers's powders for dysentery, eye-water, nitric acid, acetic acid, mercurial powder, and quinine; no chlorodyne. A Native Judge named Mana came down with me to take possession of the land, and there was no difficulty whatever with the Natives. Mr. Moors continually reported to me, and said that the labourers were sickly. I left the punishment of the labourers entirely to Mr. Moors, but I told him that there was to be no flogging on account of failure to do work. I did not say anything about the women. When I came down Mr. Moors told me that he had flogged some of the men.

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Mr. H. J. MOORS states:—

I arrived in the "Bertha" on the 27th November. Seventy labourers came with me. I brought 60 bags of corn weighing 240 lb. each, 45 bags of rice weighing 56 lb. each, 25 bags beans, and 1,200 lb. beef. The rations are rice or beans four times a week, sometimes five times, half-pound each; man, woman, and child get the same. The workmen have corn in any quantity they require, and one cocoanut each per day. Cocoanut, molasses, and salt is cooked with the corn. Water is taken to the labourers in the field at nine, one, and half-past two o'clock. They go to work half an hour after daylight, and continue until ten o'clock. No food is served out in the morning, but there is enough remaining from the night before to give a slight repast. From ten to twelve the people rest and get their food, and then resume work until three-quarters of an hour before sunset. A second ration is then served out. They are allowed what breadfruit and bananas can be found on the plantation. I have planted none. No water is carried to the labourers' houses—they have to do that themselves. There is no work done on Sunday, except as punishment. I do not supply fish, but distributed a number of fish-hooks among the people. One day a week is fixed for building houses, but only one family is released from work at a time. Two houses, capable of holding all the labourers, had previously been built.‡ Six large buckets of water are brought to the labourers in the field each time water is served out. I do not know how many people I have flogged. I gave two persons a regular flogging. I have hit others with my hand or with a stick. The two to whom I gave a regular flogging had com-

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\* This list was very imperfect.—A. P. M.

† Beach: Lava cliff.—A. P. M.

‡ Previous to the removal to the present site.—H.J.M.

mitted the offence of running away. I do not remember that they assigned any reason for doing so. Thirteen deaths have occurred on the plantation—3 men, 9 women, and 1 child :—

Men : 1, dysentery ; 1, throat disease and asthma ; 1, cause not known.

Women : 5, dysentery (of whom one never did a day's work) ; 3, general debility (died within two weeks of arrival) ; 1, fever.

Children : 1, dysentery.

No one is compelled to work on Sunday. At first I allowed the people to go to church on Sunday, but afterwards as I had trouble with the Samoans I stopped the practice. Kilokilo ran away to Saleailua, taking her child with her. Charlie Tu told me of it. I sent a boy to tell her to come back. She said it was better to be at Charlie's house as there was plenty to eat and no work, and she desired the boy to stay too. Next day I went for her myself. I brought her back with the help of two Samoans. When within two hundred yards of the plantation I tied her to a stick and carried her in, in order that the people might think that I had carried her thus a long distance, and be frightened to run away. The same night I called all the people together and gave her a flogging with a whip. I put medicine on her back to heal the wounds. The only work she did on her return was making thatch. No watch was kept over her. Her child was sick. She neglected her child. I have often heard the child crying at a distance from the house, while she herself was eating her dinner or supper. I have on these occasions given her a smart blow with my hand, and sent her for her child.

She stopped here about three weeks, then she ran away again. When I sent for her a message was brought back that she was sick. I sent two men to carry her. They made a chair and brought her back quite comfortably. I doctored her for dysentery for two or three weeks without any hope of her recovery. She ran away the third time, taking her child with her ; it was very sick. I looked for her in the bush, as I did not suppose she had strength to reach Saleailua. However, I sent there, and had her brought back in a chair. Her child did not return with her, and I discovered afterward that the Samoans had found it in the bush. She returned on Saturday, and died on the following Sunday. Every care was taken of her. The woman gave many reasons for running away. All of them I do not remember. One was that she wanted taro. I offered the Samoans \$5 as a reward for any runaway labourers they might catch.

Taukaro, the man spoken of by the Native minister, was so ill that I did not think it possible that he could go away without help. He had not worked for several weeks. I thought he had been enticed away by the Samoans for the sake of the reward. I did not go to see the man when he was at Saleailua. The men going to church on Sunday saw him in the taro patch, but told me that he was in the missionary's house, as they did not wish to bring him back. Next day I heard of his death. I sent for the body the same day ; but he was already buried. The next day I received a bill from the teacher, asking payment for tapa, cloth, &c., amounting to two or three dollars. I told Charlie Tu to pay the bill, and believe he did so. I invited the teacher (minister) to come up and see the food, &c. He did so, and went away apparently satisfied. There have always been enough houses to accommodate the labourers. The sick people from Magia were sent here suffering from rheumatism, fever, &c. About four or five of them came. One of them died about three days after her arrival. All the labourers were in a debilitated condition when they arrived. The supercargo had protested against the captain bringing such people. I have kept the mothers from work in order to look after the sick children. I have cured all tumours. One man and one boy are continually employed carrying cocoanuts to the people. I have offered prizes for the completion of the houses. Beef of good quality has been served out once or twice a week. I have made the task-work the same as that given by the Germans. When doing task-work the men have often finished by 2.30 p.m. The reason I could not go to see the labourers who ran away to Saleailua was because the people from Saja robbed the plantation ; so I dare not leave. The houses were completed two days after arrival ; the weather was fine. I have bought taro enough to give one taro each to all the people nearly every Sunday. Breadfruit in good condition was not to be got. On Sunday the labourers have permission to cut as many cocoanuts as they please. The men often suffer from fits. I have bought bananas for the labourers, but, as the Samoans gave me trouble, I would not buy any more from them.

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CHARLIE TU states :—

The first time Kilokilo and her child ran away she went to a Samoan's house. Next day I brought her to my house. She stopped there two nights. She asked for food, and I gave her four biscuits. I gave her some breadfruit the next morning, and she wanted to stay. I said, "No ; go back." She said she got nothing to eat. I have bought 200 taro for Mr. Moors at one time, and another time I bought 210 breadfruit. Mr. Moors wanted me to buy taro at one dollar the hundred. The natives wanted one dollar for forty. He then wrote to me to buy 1,000 pounds of yams. I bought about four to five hundred pounds. I could not buy any more taro at the price offered. Kilokilo was very sick when I saw her in the teacher's house, the second time she ran away. Joane states, "When the woman Kilokilo left my house she walked away, but she was tied to a stick in the bush, and carried. Naia was one of the men who carried Kilokilo thus."

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Mr. GIBBON,\* supercargo of the "Active" states:—

I saw the labourers when they arrived. They were in a most wretched condition. I complained to the captain on Mr. Cornwall's behalf. He said he could not help it. The strong men would not come without their families.

Many of the natives, when questioned, stated, "We get rice once a week; beans every four days. There are very few breadfruit. We get no fish. We have to work on Sunday; most of the houses were built on Sundays."

## Enclosure 2.

Mr. ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY to Mr. F. CORNWALL.

SIR,—

British Consulate, Apia, 9th May, 1878.

I have given careful consideration to the statements made at the inquiry held at Lata on the 23rd April, regarding the condition of the Tapitenea labourers employed by you on that plantation, and I now wish to communicate to you fully the conclusions I have arrived at from what I then saw and heard, and to repeat the directions I gave to you before leaving Saleailua.

2. Before considering the general condition of the labourers, I will deal with the direct charges made against the manager of the estate.

3. That the first charge made in Mr. Hunt's letter which was read to you at Lata is one of brutal cruelty to a woman: as this is said to have occurred on your estate at Magia it must be left uninvestigated for the present.

4. With regard to the woman Kilokilo, the inquiry shows that she ran away from Lata three times, complaining of want of proper food, and that on one occasion her child was found dead in the bush, it having died whilst the woman was on her way from Lata to Saleailua. That on her running away a second time Mr. Moors had the woman lashed to a pole, and carried in that manner from the Saleailua road through the plantation, and then gave her a severe flogging in the presence of all the other labourers. That she ran away a third time, and died a few days after she was brought back. The explanation given by Mr. Moors that the woman was out of her mind does not satisfy me, and I consider his treatment of her brutal.

5. With regard to the man who, after several days' exposure in the bush, died in the house of Joane, the Samoan minister at Saleailua, Mr. Moors does not satisfactorily explain how it happened that, knowing the bad state of the man's health, he did not make a greater effort to find out where he had got to. The excuse that he thought the Samoans had enticed him away is not sufficient; and the fact of \$5 reward being offered for all runaway labourers tends to show that the practice of running away must have been a common one. Yet the Tapitenea and Samoans are not on such friendly terms that a Tapitenea labourer would go to a Samoan village very willingly.

6. I will now notice the general treatment and condition of the labourers on the plantation. To begin with, you yourself state that seventy persons (in addition to yourself Mr. Moors and crew) were brought from Tasitootai to Lata in the cutter "Bertha," of 15 tons register. I consider this an unjustifiable case of overcrowding.

7. These seventy men, women, and children were landed at a place on the coast where no preparation had been made to receive them, and, although you state sufficient food was brought in the cutter, and that a temporary house was erected for their shelter before dark, I cannot consider that it was a proper proceeding to land a number of women and children, many of whom are stated to have been in bad health, at a place totally unprepared for them.

8. I have now to notice the second trip of the "Bertha," when, again overcrowded, she brought sixty-five more persons to Lata. These, according to your statement, were the weaker labourers and their families who had been kept for three weeks at Magia to recover their strength, and, according to Mr. Moors' statement, they were supplemented by the sick people from the Magia estate. Why the latter should have been removed from a plantation already in working order, and where a certain amount of food has already been planted, I am at a loss to understand.

9. With regard to the supply of food, I have no doubt that a considerable supply of provisions was forwarded by you to Lata, but I am by no means sure that these provisions were used with proper liberality by Mr. Moors, nor do I think that they were of a nature altogether suited to the large number of persons stated to be in a sickly condition. The labourers all admit that they receive plenty of corn; but all complained to me of want of other food. There are certainly a few breadfruit trees on the land, but the labourers state that they have been able to gather very little fruit from them, and the only bananas I could see were a few young shoots of *sa*, which have sprung up since the ground has been cleared.

10. The account of the rations served out to them, as given by the labourers, is very different from that given by Mr. Moors, the former stating that they get beans every four days, and rice once a week. The letters from Mr. Moors to Tu, the Tahitian, show that the amount of yams and taro brought for the labourers was inconsiderable.

11. The water supply I consider both insufficient and of an inferior quality, consisting as it

\* Mr. Gibbon is employed by McArthur and Co., of Auckland, for whom Mr. Cornwall works.



does of (1.) some small pools in the forest left from the last rain, and only a few inches deep. These pools are half a mile from the houses, and would become exhausted or dry up after a few weeks' dry weather. (2.) Two small holes about four feet wide and two and a half or three feet deep, which contain a little muddy rain-water, and would dry up very quickly. (3.) A mile and a half distant from the houses, a deep pool about forty feet across completely overhung with trees, containing water with an unpleasant taste, and in which I am informed the Samoan Natives frequently bathe, and which, as far as I can see, is the only bathing-place for the labourers themselves. I am convinced that this pool, a mile and a half distant from the houses, would be the only water-supply which could be relied on after a few months' dry weather.

12. With regard to the mortality, twenty-one persons out of one hundred and thirty-one died during five months. You state that the people were in bad health when they arrived. I can only point out to you that if that was the case, Lata was not the proper place to send them to, when no preparation had been made for their reception.

Mr. Moors stated to me that the deaths only numbered thirteen. This must either have been a wilful misrepresentation, or it shows the most culpable carelessness of the well-being of the labourers committed to his charge. In either case, it shows Mr. Moors to be a person unfitted to hold such a position of responsibility and trust.

13. It now only remains for me to repeat to you what I said before leaving Lata: (1.) That I do not consider Mr. Moors a proper person to be left in charge of the labourers. (2.) That some steps must be taken to improve the water-supply. (3.) That no woman is to be flogged, and that, whenever it is found necessary to flog a man, a full report of the case be forwarded to the Consulate. (4.) That there must be no compulsory labour on Sunday. (5.) That a ration of fresh food, such as breadfruit, taro, yams, and bananas, be *served out* to the labourers at least once a week. (6.) That all deaths be reported to me in writing at the earliest opportunity. And I must further point out to you the propriety of removing the sick people to Magia, where there is, I believe, a good water-supply, and where there can be no difficulty in procuring any food which may be necessary for them during their illness.

I have, &c.,

ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY,

Acting Consul and Deputy Commissioner.

List of Tapitenga immigrants who have died between 27th November, 1877, and 23rd April, 1878, on the Lata plantation, obtained from the labourers themselves:—Four men: Sekoke, Sewaahē, Supuapa or Suvanaoa. Two boys: Nao, Kalarahē. Eleven women: Tenama, Kikora, Katiko, Sawari, Teraaono, Sinēgi, Terrahēna, Makaura, Peopeo or Veoveo, Keo or Keēau, Kobua. Five girls: Teritaga, Teroca or Teronca, Tapai-ina, Waleke, Teharara. Total, twenty-two. Now living on the estate: fifty-one men, sixty-two women and children; out of this number ten are in bad health.

House of Samua, of Samoa, 8th April, 1878.

THERE was held on this day an investigation with the people of Faleula regarding the complaint of Mr. Cornwall anent the killing of two of his cows.

All the chiefs of Faleula appeared, and were sworn.

Said investigation commenced at 9 a.m. Then I fresh examined certain boys, who had been stealing cocoanuts and breadfruits from Mr. Cornwall's land. There were three of them, and their names were Joe, Manu, and Paie; then I asked Paie:—

*Judge Firrai.*] Did you steal these things?

*Answer of Paie.*] I desire that anyone who caught me stealing shall stand forth and prove it.

*Judge Firrai.*] Atmosā, are there any witnesses?

*Answer of Atmosā.*] There is a witness whose name is Timoteo.

*Judge Firrai.*] Give your evidence.

*Answer of Timoteo.*] A Tongau teacher was going along the road, when there came down to us three boys who had been stealing breadfruit and cocoanuts; then the wife of the foreigner chased them and caught them in the road, and said to them why had they stolen these things off their land. This is my statement, which is quite true.

*Judge Firrai.*] What is your opinion of that evidence?

*Answer of Paie.*] It is quite true.

*Judge Firrai.*] Your opinion, Joe.

*Answer of Joe.*] It is quite true.

*Judge Firrai.*] Your opinion, Manu?

*Answer of Manu.*] It is quite true.

*Judge Firrai.*] Has stealing nuts been forbidden by law?

*Answer.*] It has been indeed forbidden.

*Judge Firrai.*] Have the chiefs and rulers of your town never had any meeting to forbid you all from stealing.

*Answer.*] Many meetings have been held, and stealing strictly prohibited.

Then I forgave that offence.

Then I attended to the investigation regarding the cows.

*Judge Firrai to the Chiefs of Faleula.*] Do any of you know who killed that cow?

*Answer of Chiefs.*] We have no idea who did it.

*Judge Firrai.*] Is there no one who has heard any report about it, or who can give any evidence on the subject.

*Answer of Chiefs.*] There are none.

*Judge Firrai.*] Very well, if anyone confesses afterwards when you are put upon your oath, I pity that individual, for he will be very severely punished. It is better to confess now before you are put on your oath.

*Judge Firrai.*] Have you any evidence on the subject?

*Answer.*] The following is the evidence of Tupai, which he repeated to me, viz.:—That he saw Tamaeliu chasing the cows into the bush. Then the wife of Atmosa went back with Tupai, and drove back the cows near the seaside; then the cow was led to the house, and it was extremely weak, and blood was flowing from its mouth and nostrils.

*Judge Firrai.*] Did you not strike the animal, or stone it?

*Tamaeliu.*] Not at all, only chased it gently.

*Judge Firrai.*] Are you sure you did not stone it?

*Answer.*] It is true I did stone it.

*Judge Firrai.*] It was probably you who caused the death of the animal.

*Answer.*] I am sure I do not know.

*Judge Firrai (to the Faleula Chiefs).*] What is your opinion on this matter? I think the animal died through the doings of Tamaeliu.

Then all the chiefs of Faleula replied: It is our opinion that it was on account of what Tamaeliu did that the animal died.

*Judge Firrai (to Tamaeliu).*] It appears indeed to have been you who caused the death of the animal.

*Answer.*] Quite true; it was probably what I did that caused its death.

The following are the names of the chiefs of Faleula who were present:—In Mr. Cornwall's employ, Atmosa, Timoteo, Loan, Saialu, Mala, Vae, and twenty-seven others.

### No. 3.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY to Messrs. McARTHUR and Co.

GENTLEMEN,—

Colonial Secretary's Office, Wellington, 13th June, 1879.

I have the honor to forward herewith three copies of a despatch, and enclosures, received by His Excellency the Governor from Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, relative to alleged cruelties to Polynesian labourers at the Navigators Islands.

This despatch is transmitted for your serious consideration, as it appears that the estate on which these cruelties have been practised is worked by an agent of your firm.

I have, &c.,

Messrs. W. McArthur and Co., Auckland.

G. S. WHITMORE.

### No. 4.

Messrs. McARTHUR and Co. to the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

DEAR SIR,—

Queen Street, Auckland, 20th June, 1879.

I have the honor to acknowledge the letter No. 850, and its enclosures, consisting of a despatch from Sir Michael Hicks Beach relative to outrages in Samoa on the estate of one Cornwall, and perpetrated by Moors, as it would appear.

As the enclosed copy of a letter to His Excellency Sir Hercules Robinson will show you, we have given it our serious consideration about a year since; but that the despatch of Sir Michael Hicks Beach is founded in error in regard to our relations in business towards Mr. Cornwall the letter of mine will show.

I am sending copies of my letters to His Excellency and to yourself by the next mail, for the perusal of Alderman McArthur, M.P., the senior partner in our Auckland firm.

Trusting this will satisfy your wishes,

I have, &c.,

FREDK. LARKINS,

Resident partner of W. McArthur and Co., Auckland.

The Hon. G. S. Whitmore, Wellington.

### Enclosure.

To His Excellency Sir HERCULES ROBINSON, Governor of New Zealand, G.C.M.G.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

The accompanying despatch, &c., reached me to-day, being myself resident partner in the firm of William McArthur and Co., of this City of Auckland.

May I ask your Excellency for an early interview, relating to the despatch of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, which is founded on an error or misapprehension in regard to our firm.

My object will be to show to your Excellency that—

First. Mr. Cornwall, on whose estate the outrages on Natives occurred, is *not* and *never* was an agent of ours.

Secondly. That we *have not* and *never had* any power or authority over Mr. Cornwall, but that he is a trader living in Samoa, to whom we supply goods, and from whom we only receive money or produce in payment.

Thirdly. That we *have not* and *never had* any partnership connection with Mr. Cornwall, so as to be in any way or degree responsible for his doings, or for the acts of his servants.

Fourthly. That the words in the despatch of Sir M. Hicks Beach (note first page of enclosed document), "The estate on which these cruelties have been practised is worked by an agent of Messrs. McArthur and Co., of Auckland," is an error in every respect.

Fifthly. I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the outrages referred to came to our ears soon after their occurrence. That we wrote *thus* to Mr. Cornwall, on the 11th of February, 1878:—"Re treatment of 'Labour' (viz., Natives):—It is reported to us that your overseer does not treat the Natives well. One instance is given of real cruelty. We hope it is not true, for your sake."

Sixthly. Mr. Cornwall dismissed the offender, one Mr. Moors; and our belief was that Mr. Maudsley knew the whole case.

Seventhly. We cannot think how or why he came to be described as our agent, since Mr. Cornwall is only a customer of ours.

Awaiting your Excellency's summons in regard to this painful matter,

I have, &c.,

FREDK. LARKINS,

Resident partner of W. McArthur and Co., Auckland.

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By Authority: GEORGE DIDSBURY, Government Printer, Wellington—1879.

