

THE PETITION TO QUEEN VICTORIA

[Copy of Petition to Queen Victoria. 1882c. Undated, unsigned copy.
Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Fiji.]

To Her Majesty Queen Victoria The Gracious
Sovereign of England.

Having heard of your Majesty's character, your obedience to the Laws that are set up in your Kingdom - that you observe them strictly, as do also those whom your Majesty appoints, whereby the people your Majesty rules over are well disposed that they should represent you in the various offices you have appointed them to -

Therefore we write this petition to your Majesty, with respect and reverence, and pray your Majesty to grant your gracious attention to the matters we wish to address you upon.

Now this is the request which we most earnestly make to your Majesty, that you would order Mr Baker to leave Tonga, for we are not willing that he should have office in our land. And these are the reasons why we are not willing.

1. Because he does not perform the duties of his office according to the laws and yet it was he that composed the laws that now exist in Tonga; and he accomplished that work while he was head of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga and now he is deposed from that position because of his wrong doing and is at the present time Premier of the Tonga Government and we are certain that he does not act at all according to the law but on the contrary tramples on it.

2. Because he sets up regulations that are not adapted in many ways to the land; and the people seeing that do nothing but grumble, and are discontented, and besides, there is beginning to be disorder in the land in consequence of it.

Your Majesty will be surprised perhaps at our addressing ourselves to you, and passing our own King Tupou. Quite True! but we see that he is advanced in years, and under Mr Bakers influence; and it is no use our saying anything, we the people of the land. That is the reason we have made bold to address your Majesty.

And if you will graciously grant this our request and take Mr Baker away, we shall be - exceedingly grateful.

Wishing you continued prosperity etc.

THE PETITION TO QUEEN VICTORIA : CHARGE AGAINST MOULTON 1883
 [Tonga Government Blue Book For Private Circulation. Containing a list of charges, brought by the Premier of Tonga (Rev S.W. Baker), on behalf of the Tongan Government, against the Rev J.E. Moulton, as made before the District Meeting of the Wesleyan Church, at Lifuka, Haapai, October 24th, 1883, and the Replication of the Rev S.W. Baker to the same. Charge II, 1st series, pp.4-5.]

CHARGE II.

In translating secretly, and unknown to His Majesty and Government, a petition to Her Majesty the Queen of England, containing as it does:-

- (1) Strictures on His Majesty King George.
- (2) A malicious libel on the Rev S.W. Baker, saying he was deposed from his position, for wrongdoing.

With regard to Mr Moulton translating the petition I need not present proof, as Mr Moulton has pleaded guilty of doing so.

(1) With respect to the strictures on His Majesty King George, I forward a certified copy of the petition, from which it will be seen that the petition says:-

- (1) "The King is advanced in years," - intimating His Majesty is no longer able to govern righteously.
- (2) "It is no use our saying anything, - we the people of the land," - intimating also they can no longer get what is right, so they appeal to the Queen of England. The Tonga Government, in bringing the above charges against Mr Moulton, think his conduct most reprehensible in the extreme, that he, a missionary sent by the Conference to this kingdom, should see fit to give the influence of his position and the mission in translating such a petition. The Tonga Government therefore think they are justified in saying, as a missionary to Tonga, his conduct is treasonable to His Majesty King George.

(2) A malicious libel on the Rev. S.W. Baker, by translating, "I was deposed for wrongdoing." Mr Moulton may object, - he is not responsible for what the petitioners choose to say. But Mr Moulton is responsible for translating what he knew to be a falsehood, and ought to have objected to translate what he knew was untrue. The Minutes of Conference distinctly state "I voluntarily resigned". I have, through Sir A. Gordon, written to Her Majesty the Queen, stating -

- (1) It is untrue that I was deposed; for I have voluntarily resigned.

(2) That the Conference did not convict me of wrongdoing; but that in consequence of wishing to help the Tonga Government my resignation was accepted.

MR. MOULTON'S REPLY.

The petition in question was brought to me by the British Consul, with several other papers, to be translated for his Government, - a thing I had frequently done. I was not previously aware that such a step had been taken. I translated it; returned it to the Consul, and there my participation ended. As to the petitioners, I have not met them before or since. With regard to the charge of secrecy, I need not say that all such papers are translated secretly; and it is a serious breach of faith in our country, and, indeed, anywhere, to disclose such a thing to another.

I have frequently translated papers for the Tongan Government, - more than ten, I should say, - but have I gone and talked about them? Also, for Europeans, and of course have not said a word; and, not myself only, but all the Missionaries have done so, from the commencement of the mission until now. "Since the world began" who ever heard that the translation of a paper made me responsible for its contents.

With this charge, also, His Majesty and the Crown Prince have nothing to do.

It is no use my taking in detail the subordinate parts of this charge; for it is nonsense to say that that petition expresses my sentiments, simply because I translated it for the British Government; but I wish to make a reply, because the charge states that I translated what I knew to be untrue.

Mr Baker has left out one word of the sentence which he says is false. He quotes: "I was deposed for my wrongdoing;" that he "voluntarily resigned." But he has left out some words of the petition, which read, "deposed from that position," - which was the Chairmanship of the Friendly Islands District, which was the consequence of his wrongdoing, - and where is the falsehood? As to the talk about treason, I shall not condescend to answer it, for it is rubbish.

But, perhaps some may say I ought to have known it was not a proper document. I assert that it did not seem so to me. I thought that people in any land were at liberty to send such a petition. And when Sir Arthur Gordon visited us, I took occasion to ask him what was the law on the matter. His reply was "That individuals were at liberty anywhere, if they were not agreeable to the residence of an Englishman in their land, to petition Her Majesty the Queen to remove her subject for fear of complications." He also said such a course had been taken

several places; nor had people been punished for doing so. And he illustrated by reference to the stay of Finau in England, saying: "If it had appeared to me that Finau was likely to come into collision with the people, would it not have been kindness on my part to write to the King to order his subject to leave England lest something should happen?"

Voting - Guilty 7
Not Guilty 5

Peter Vi voted "Guilty" the meeting had decided that Peter Vi's vote was valid. Mr Moulton protested that the subject of the voting should be recorded. It had been put thus from the chair, - Whether Mr Moulton was guilty, or not guilty, in translating secretly, and without giving information to His Majesty and the Government, the petition to Her Majesty the Queen of England.

MR. BAKER'S REPLICATION.

Mr Moulton again states that with this charge His Majesty has nothing to do. Does Mr Moulton forget that terrible scene that took place between himself and the King, when it became known that he had translated this petition? Does Mr Moulton forget how the Minister of Police interfered on that occasion, and remonstrated with him for his conduct towards the King? Does Mr Moulton forget how the King told him he had undone all the good he had ever done in Tonga, and said in reply the words of Scripture, "E 'Isileli kuo ke maunau'i koe 'e koe," that is, "Israel, thou has destroyed thyself," And yet he says with this charge also His Majesty and the Crown Prince had nothing to do. To which I would say, this also was reported to the authorities in Sydney, shortly after it transpired, at the King's command, and is now brought by the King's command, by the unanimous vote of the Privy Council (of which the Crown Prince is a member), and by the unanimous vote of the Cabinet. Mr Moulton singularly remarks in his reply, - "Whoever heard that a translation of a paper made me responsible for its contents? True if Mr Moulton be a public or paid interpreter, he would not be responsible, a person holding Mr Moulton's position, lends the influence of that position as kind of guarantee of the justice of the petition, he certainly is responsible, to a great degree, for what that petition contains; but I must emphatically demur to Mr Moulton's special pleading, saying that I had left out one word of the sentence complained of, or that it bears the construction put on it by Mr Moulton. The whole sentence in the petition, as translated by Mr Moulton, reads as follows:- "Because he does not perform the duties of his office according to the laws, and yet it was he that composed the laws that now exist in Tonga; and he accomplished that work

while he was head of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, and now he is deposed from that position for his wrongdoing, and is at the present time Premier of the Tongan Government; and we are certain that he does not act at all according to law, but, on the contrary, tramples upon it."

Will anyone reading the above paragraph for a moment deny that the impression it presents is that I was deposed as a Wesleyan Minister from my position for wrongdoing. Such was the impression made upon the native minds, and such, I am persuaded, must be the impression of all those reading it, for if I had been guilty of wrongdoing, should I not have been deposed, not only from being chairman, but also as a Wesleyan minister; but as Mr Moulton's District Meeting has found him guilty, as accused in this charge, I have only now to leave the matter to his Conference.

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PERSONAL INSULT TO THE BAKERS

[Tonga Government Blue Book For Private Circulation. Containing a list of charges, brought by the Premier of Tonga the (Rev. S.W. Baker), on behalf of the Tongan Government, against the Rev. J.E. Moulton, Wesleyan Missionary, together with Reply of the Rev J.E. Moulton, as made before the District Meeting of the Wesleyan Church, at Lifuka, Haapai, October 24th, 1883, and the Replication of the Rev S.W. Baker to the same. Protest by Mr Baker. p.7.]

Before giving my evidence I beg to protest against the person employed by the plaintiff, viz., Mr Hanslip, putting any question to me, in consequence of his having grossly insulted me and also my wife, and in such a manner that is most unpardonable, viz:- Whilst driving out with my wife on Monday last, November 19th, I called with her to see the sick child of one of the native chiefs, named Josateki Toga, and whilst standing at the door of the house with my wife, Mr Hanslip having entered the house at another door, and having first poked me on the hat with his stick, then turned round, and, according to native custom, insulted me most grievously, by stooping down and showing his posteriors, or, as the natives call it, o afi uji, - the greatest and filthiest insult that can be offered by a native. Any solicitor or lawyer guilty of such conduct to a lady would be scratched off the rolls, but as Mr Hanslip holds no such legal status no professional usage can be brought to bear upon him. I have, therefore, to ask the protection of the Court against being compelled to answer any question he may put; and, as the plaintiff is here, his cause can suffer no injury by such a course. I have also to request that this protest may be forwarded to His Excellency the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific; also,

the Judicial Commissioner of the Supreme Court of Fiji, and the Secretary of State. I am prepared to answer any question put by this Court, but I respectfully ask to be excused from answering any question put by the person employed by the plaintiff, for the aforesaid reasons.

I might add, that the chief, referred to (Josateki Toga), has taken an affidavit on oath before the Chief Justice, proving the above statement, and some other witnesses have done so as well.

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MATTERS POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS : MOULTON'S HANDBILLS

[Appendix. Report of Sir C. Mitchell etc, etc. London 1887.p.151]

EXTRACTS FROM CIRCULARS OF MR MOULTON IN MARCH AND APRIL, 1885.

HANDBILL, MARCH 31, 1885.

(Translation.)

The King has given out that we are to be banished, and the Chiefs have rushed and taken possession of the chapels and driven out our people, and in some places they have taken them by force for the new religion.

This thing must assuredly be put right;* if this Government will not do it England will, so let no one be anxious about it.

It is true that the love of some to their country is dying, and how should it not be so, when they are so ill-treated? but many of us are not so minded.

I have written to the English Government to show the King's regulations, and the exhortations of some Rulers to gather arms to fight us, and I have asked that I might be given a piece of land near here, that we may remove to it, as His Majesty has said that we may worship according to our own consciences.

One Ruler said it is easy to overthrow the Constitution, therefore it is a religion that violates the Constitution.

One Ruler said to the poor women who have not yet turned over that they should be thrashed. In one place the Representative of the Government said that the women should be taken and drowned in the sea. One deals with the children. Ah! my heart burned (saving your presence) when I heard about it. Up stands a great fellow and says to the tiny children who were trembling there: "If you will not turn you shall die ." And more especially (saving our presence) they say

*ie., the taking of churches. - J.E.M.

they will bake the people in the ovens and eat them. Is this religion? It is heathenism revived, and how can it be the same as our religion?

HANDBILL, APRIL 2, 1885.

As for the chapels that are taken forcible possession of, let them alone, do not touch them, because as the Premier does not wish to put it right, I have committed his trial⁽¹⁾ to England.

THE PREACHER'S BOOK, APRIL 14, 1885.

The violated Constitution, the broken laws, and the persecuted people cry to Heaven.

And one bad thing, the good name of this Government is lost. I solemnly assure you that the world will never trust it again. For what is the use of it swearing again to this or that? Was not the Constitution sworn to, but how was it kept?

THE PREACHER'S BOOK, OCTOBER 29, 1885.

There was some talk about a letter that had been brought here, and some had put their names to it, but I have inquired about that letter as to who had seen it, but no one knew. I have now investigated this letter to the very bottom, and this is it:

It appeared in a Government letter which was taken to Haapai and Tubou held a "Fono" on; it was there said that it was stated in the Parliament of New Zealand: "We have received a friendly conversation⁽²⁾ from Tonga, that Petitions are being taken round for the Tongans to sign asking New Zealand to take forcible possession of Tonga." So it is only a letter⁽³⁾ from foreign parts, but no one signed it yet, therefore we are all right⁽⁴⁾ in this matter. So⁽⁵⁾ there has been no breaking of the laws.

- * (1) The inquiry into that J.E.M.
- * (2) Private Communication J.E.M.
- * (3) Distribution of Petitions J.E.M.
- * (4) Still clear J.E.M.
- * (5) And J.E.M.

C. THE SETTING UP OF A STATE CHURCH

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ESTABLISHING THE NEW CHURCH(i) Tupou I's Fono

[Appendix. Report of Sir C. Mitchell etc, etc. London 1887.
Enclosure H, page 148.]

KING'S "FONO" AT UIHA, MARCH 24, 1885.

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TRANSLATION OF THE "FONO" HELD BY HIS MAJESTY IN UIHA ON MARCH 24, 1885.

Mr Moulton has sailed, and some very great falsehoods have gone with him, and will increase the division in two of the people, but I wish to make it plain to the Chiefs and people that it is my desire that Tonga be a Free Church, I shall not be satisfied for Tonga to be dependent upon a foreign country, and therefore let all who are Tongans be one with me.

Although I have just met Mr. Moulton and shaken hands with him, but I dislike him exceedingly, on account of the evil work he has done; it is true I shook hands with Mr Moulton, as we met in the road. He reached out his hand and I responded, lest Mr Moulton should say I was ungentlemanly; but, you must understand, that it was simply acting as a gentleman I responded, and when he looked to me, and I to him, it was difficult for me to turn away, lest Mr Moulton should say I was afraid of him, and so I shook hands with him, but I dislike him very much indeed, and I shall write a letter to the Fathers in Papalagi by all means to remove Mr Moulton from Tonga.

And there is another matter after this "Fono" is over, the Mayors of the towns, are each to return to their towns and urge the ticket-money, for the Free Church has been set up, and let us love our Free Church.

With regard to our preparing for our meeting, all Haapai and Vavau are to go to Tonga, no vessel must remain at anchor, only the vessels of the traders shall stay, and you are to expect for the end of May.

And I am not willing, therefore, for a Tongan to listen to Papalagi; and should there be one who does not wish to be one with me, he can leave, and seek a land, and listen to it.

(ii) "Change your religion".

[Statement of Lese Hake sworn before H.B.M. Pro-Consul, A.G. Buckland. Nuku'alofa, 6th April 1885. Certified English translation by R. Hanslip. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Translation

"The King's will is that you should change your religion and don't you delay. If any of you held on and hinder you will find yourself in an evil case. We can do what we like with you. Eua has been given into my hands to go and do what I like with you. The law will have nothing to say if we bind and beat you. Those of you who will not change their religion will be brought over from Eua. No one who belongs with Fakaogo (or Wesleyan) Church shall live at Eua. Eua shall be utterly destroyed." These were the words of Halaholo at the fono on Monday afternoon March 30th 1885.

(Signed) Lese Hake.

(iii) Sir Charles Mitchell's Comments

[Sir Charles Mitchell. to Sir H. Holland. Report of Sir Charles Mitchell etc, etc. London 1887. Paragraphs 24, 25, 26.]

24. Very shortly after the institution of the Free Church the King appears to have held a "fono" (meeting at which the will of the King or Government is declared) at Uiha, at which he expressed his desire that all who loved him should join his Church. This in itself may be regarded, perhaps, as a perfectly legitimate expression of the King's desire for religious unity in his kingdom; but it must be remembered that it is not long since that the wish of the King was the law of the land, and all native evidence brought before me went to prove that the great bulk of the chiefs and people still so regard it. The King himself, in answer to my questions, said that he considered that it was the duty of all loyal subjects to act in this matter as he wished them to act.

25. There can be no doubt that this expression of the King's wish or will travelled quickly throughout the islands, and "fonos" were held in all directions, at which the King and the chiefs harangued their people and pressed them to join the Free Church.

26. The great bulk of the people apparently, on hearing what was the will of the King, acted as he desired; but a considerable number remained true to

their original Church, and were more or less hardly treated by their chiefs for what was then designated as "disobedience to the King".

(iv) The King's Statement at Opening of Parliament
[Tonga Government Gazette. Vol.2. No.35. December 2nd, 1885.]

THE KING'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

..... You are all aware that since we last assembled the Free Church of Tonga has been established. You are all acquainted with the reasons of my doing so. I need not repeat them now, I will simply say as I have said in Fonos that I have held -

"He that hath any love to me and Tonga, will follow me,
and be of one mind with me in this matter."

THE ADDRESS IN REPLY

..... With reference to the Free Church, your Majesty well knows our minds, in reference to the same, and we need not repeat what we have said in other places to you. It is only for you to command and we will obey.

GOVERNMENT PRESSURE TO FORCE MEMBERSHIP OF THE STATE CHURCH(i) "FONOS"

[Appendix. Report of Sir Charles Mitchell, etc, etc. London 1887. Evidence No.3, p.29; No.4a, p.30; No.24, p.37.]

No.3. David Latukefu:-

I live at the west end of Tongataboo. I was put down from my position in the Government for not joining the Free Church. I was Town Officer. Mr Baker put me down. He did it himself at a meeting of Government officials. I was put down at the same time as Lamatau. Ata appointed me. Mr Baker asked me if I would change; he first read a paper from the King. We were asked one by one. Manipagai was called. He was not there. Then I was called: I was asked whether I would be Free Church or Wesleyan. I replied, I shall remain a Wesleyan. I was asked a second time, and replied, I shall remain a Wesleyan. I wished to remain a Wesleyan, because I obtained spiritual light in that Church. I looked upon the Free Church as differing from the Wesleyan Church. The one thing that was clear to my mind was that it was not the part of the Government to set up a Church, but that it was the work for priests.

By Mr Baker:-

Tuuhetoka was present. He told me to get up and go. He is the Minister of Police.

No.4 a. Caleb Otuhouma, sworn:-

I came from Suva in the "Diamond". I was degraded from my position in the Government because I would not join the Free Church. I was a Police Magistrate at Eua. The Police Magistrate at Nukualofa was ill, and I was written to by the Minister of Police to take his place. Mr Baker degraded me; he told me at the meeting of the Chiefs and Government officials. He said that a letter had come from the King to the Government officials, that those who were not willing to join the Free Church would be dismissed, and might go and seek money elsewhere. I got up and spoke: I asked that the King's letter should be read. Mr Baker read the letter; it said that the Free Church had been set up on account of the money. That it should not go to Sydney. The letter also stated the religion was not different; it was the same that Mr Thomas brought. I then spoke: I said I loved the King and prized my position in the Government, and my pay and my inheritance and title possessed by my ancestors, but that I would not barter my religion for these things. I wished that the King's word touched some

worldly matter, a war, for instance. In that I would do my best for the King; or a public debt - I would help. The difficulty was that the King gave orders about the lotu. That concerned myself alone. I refused to become Free Church. Mr Baker said it was unfortunate. Mr Baker called over the names. When it came to me, I refused to change. Mr Baker said, "You are dismissed." I asked if I was dismissed today? He said, "Yes." I said, "In Tonga?" He said, "Yes, and in the islands also."

I said I hoped that Mr Baker would not be angry, as I would still be friendly to the Government. I then went away.

I had been more than ten years in the Government service. I was a local preacher at the time I was dismissed from office. Before I was dismissed I had heard of the establishment of the Free Church. I don't think that I preached between the time that I first heard of the Free Church and my dismissal. I did not hear of the Free Church at Eua. I heard that Mr Baker had a separate service. I reflected on the Government for having taken away the schools. I did not preach against it; I complained of it in the course of private conversation; I did not do so in my capacity as local preacher.

Cross-examined by Mr Baker:-

I remember a service of song when Mr Moulton returned from Haapai. I spoke at the service. I was tried for what I said. I was found guilty of libelling Mr Baker. I did not do so. I was tried at the Police Court first. The Police Magistrate at Nukualofa would not take the case, because I was his friend. The Police Magistrate from Haapai tried me.

The Judge asked me whether I spoke against Mr Baker as Premier, or in connection with the "lotu." I said in connection with the "lotu" only.

The Magistrate sent it to the District Court. What I said was to the effect that Mr Moulton had come from Haapai, where the new religion had been set up; that the Prince said to Mr Moulton, "Be comfortable; a boil is painful until it is lanced." We held a service of song. This is before my dismissal; it was a few days before.

No. 24. William Tugi, sworn:-

I am the President of the Parliament. I live at Mua.

I remember "fonos" at Mua and persecution of the Wesleyans. At the commencement I was ordered by Mr Baker to hold a "strong 'fono'" to induce the people to turn over to the Free Church. It was Mr Baker's order first; after-

wards he had nothing to do with it.

We held "fonos" and acted violently; some went over, and some did not. Then we were divided into two camps, and got bitter with one another. Mr Baker never commanded me to beat any one. Mr Baker and I spoke together. There was no order of the Government. We spoke together after the issue of the first order. For certain things I had no written order; Mr Baker only spoke to me. Tuuhetoka came to me and told me to take away the plantations and give them to the minister of the church to whom they belonged. I took away the church plantations, and then I received an order to take away the plantations of the Wesleyans. The policeman and gaoler brought the order.

I have heard of a letter from Queen Victoria as "in the wind" (ie. by hearsay).

I share in executive duties. I am a Chief in Tonga. I was so before the present system of Government. Then I was Governor of Tongataboo; then I was President of Parliament. If there are big things to be done in Tonga I take part. There are two Bulikolos in Nukualofa; there are two towns joined. There is no Governor of Tongataboo. No floggings took place in Nukualofa by my orders. The week after the Consul came. People were then flogged by the will of the man who beat them. I don't know what his reason may have been, because we did not speak about it. Some were beaten after they had become Free Church.

J. K. thrashed some people; he did it with the butt-end of a gun. I did not stop him because he was not under my authority; I don't know under whose authority he was.

I know of cases where people were punished for not joining the Free Church. I don't know whose orders they acted under.

I cannot say whether the Government issued orders that they should be punished or not; I was in my house all the time. Each Chief dealt with his own people as he liked. I cannot say whether the Chiefs were acting under orders from the Government or not.

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(ii) LAWS

[Sir Charles Mitchell to Sir H. Holland. Report of Sir C. Mitchell etc, etc. London 1887. Paragraphs 27,28,29,30,31,60.]

27. In many cases these people were treated with more or less cruelty. Beatings were not infrequent, and deportations were common. I do not wish it to be understood that the newspaper accounts of these persecutions during 1885 and 1886 are true. On the contrary, they are full of exaggerations. But there is sufficient truth in them to justify me in saying that during those years the remaining adherents of the Wesleyan Church were unfairly, and, in many instances, cruelly treated. During all this time I am bound to say that neither the King nor his Premier showed any disposition to interfere. On the contrary, they appear to have sought by the passing of certain laws during the latter part of 1885 to intensify the difficulties under which the Wesleyans were labouring. Two laws appear to me to have had this tendency; and, although Mr Baker has denied that they were passed with the object I have indicated, I have no doubt, from the false interpretation that was allowed to be put upon them, and from the use made of their provisions, that they were meant to force the Wesleyans into obedience to the King's will.

28. By the first of these laws it was made penal to preach or to attend a preaching in any place where there were less than six residents of the same denomination as the preacher. The word used to express residents was "kakai totonu" and this was, in the application of the law, held to mean, and I believe, in strict interpretation, does mean, persons whose ancestors belonged to the land on which the town had been built. The oppressive action of this construction of the law cannot be over-estimated. In Tonga, where genealogies are much studied, it was not difficult for the town Ruler, or for the Police to prove to the satisfaction of a Police Magistrate, such as Togatea (see his evidence, Nos.105,106, and 113), that out of an assemblage of perhaps thirty persons not six had lived in the place from time immemorial, the consequence being the infliction of a heavy fine on all present. In one instance, that of Foui, those present who belonged, and whose ancestors belonged, to an adjacent piece of ground called "Lolopoaga," on which no houses had ever been built, but the cultivators of which had always dwelt in Foui, were held not to be "Kakai totonu" of that town, and twenty-nine of them were fined 24 dollars each for attending a preaching there. Comment of this is needless. The idea of passing this law appears to have been

derived from the old English Conventicles Act, 22 Car. II., cap. 1.

29. The same law contained a provision that unless thirty persons of any denomination lived in a place it should not be lawful for them to have a caretaker (held to include teacher or minister) sent to the town. This had its meaning strained by the deportation from the villages where land had been granted to the Wesleyans, and churches had been erected, of their ministers and caretakers, and advantage was taken by the Government, by their forced absence, to carry into effect a law relative to the weeding and cleaning of grounds, which law it was utterly impossible for them to comply with, against the responsible Wesleyan authorities; and these were in many instances fined large sums, and in default of payment were committed for hard labour imprisonment. Mr Baker admitted in his evidence that the law contained no provision to justify these deportations.

30. I may here, parenthetically remark, that imprisonment in Tonga, in default of payment of a fine, means that the person shall be employed at Government work which he must execute at the value of 1s. a-day until the amount of the fine is paid; but that it does not necessarily imply that he is subject to any actual restraint beyond that of locality. He may, if he pleases, sleep in gaol, but he is generally permitted to live in his home, and, in that case, must feed himself.

31. The second law to which I have alluded is a Land law, under which the chief of a district, or of a particular piece of land, may summon to return to the cultivation of that land any persons whom he may discover elsewhere who are "kakai totonu." to his land. The law was reversed in its application, and was held to justify the expulsion from any town or village of persons who were discovered by the chief of that town or village not to be "kakai totonu" to his land, although, in some cases, they had cultivated their "abis" (individual holdings) for generations. This straining of the law was not, I am bound to say, the result of a judicial decision, but was the pretext urged by the chiefs, and apparently concurred in by the Government, to justify many of the deportations both before and after the law was passed.

60. In speaking of the unfair laws that had been passed during 1885, I omitted to mention an Order in Council that shortly followed them, to the effect that where two churches of different denominations existed within 600 yards of one another, the regulation of their times of worship should rest with the local Government authority. This order, considering the part taken by the Government and by the chiefs, was unfair; and an instance of the working of the rule,

quoted by Mr Moulton, will show this. The Wesleyans greatly affect what are known as "Watch Night" services, that is, the watching on the night of the 31st December for the coming of the new year. In 1886-87 the enforcement of this order practically deprived the Wesleyans of these services.

(iii) COURT CASES

(a) Dispensing with Legal processes

[Affidavit of J. Parsons sworn before H.B.M. Vice-Consul Symonds, 15th May 1885. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

I John Parsons make oath and say as follows:

I was requested by the Rev. G.G. Crosby lately to prosecute certain Vavau Natives for using Church property at here (Vavau) I applied to the Inspector of Police, Josiua Mafi whose duty it is to issue a summons against the Bule Kolo at Toulā. He promised to do so but subsequently came to my house and told me that I was not to attend the Court, that it would only be waste of time, that the King has said that the summons which he has made out was to be torn up and pitched into the sea. I asked him to give me in writing what he said and the reply I received was that the fact of the King having spoken was sufficient.

(b) Rebelling against the King.

[Sioeli Nau to Mr Baker. Mu'a, Niuafo'ou, 13th November 1885. English translation by Mele Seini Fifita. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

Mr Baker,

I'm writing to you because of the matter in which I am being tried. I do not plead innocent but I only try to make truth known and recognised.

Firstly, about the matter with which I was brought into court. It was a comment I made to Otukolo "What the king is trying to get established is right, good, reasonable, and undoubtedly the best; but what you men are doing now is not righteous according to the scriptures and the will of God."

But I am being tried on the basis that I speak ruthlessly against the king, saying these words. Let me explain a few things about the matter. Nobody can say that I denied what the king wanted. Its goodness, its truthfulness and its purity are obvious. Who in this world can deny that? Only a fool can. Remember that what I had said to these men I wrote over to you about on 18th May

1885. Please read that letter again. I did not speak to them about it until September 28th 1885.

This is the reason that made me speak like that to the men. They have given us a very bad time. They have us scolded, badly treated, imprisoned, saying bad things about us while we have not committed theft or any other crimes.

So because of the position to which God has chosen me, I spoke and only the truth I spoke. Besides, I knew that what they have done is not in accordance with the law of God, I did not have fear at all because I know that it is my duty to God to have justice done.

Another thing was that I did not speak to them uninvited but because of what they have done to me. Of my being scolded, of their false accusations about me, of my being imprisoned and having me in chains when I had not committed a crime. So the Lord made me go and speak to them.

So, I ask you here to please give me permission to have my letter published in a newspaper in Fiji for the good people of this world to examine it to see if I had said anything against the king or if I had only tried to improve my faith which made me end up in this situation.

Secondly, what brought me to trial was to do with a letter I received from Mr Moulton which said that "a meeting in New Zealand has agreed to take over Tonga." In fact I received two letters from Mr Moulton. When I had received the first letter, I did not say anything and after the meeting in New Zealand, Mr Moulton wrote me the second letter. He said that when that meeting was over, he went to a man in New Zealand and asked him if he could give him the newspaper which talked about the matter. He obtained the newspaper and gave it to Ngu.

After receiving the second letter then it became clear to my mind that the matter was true after all. So in our church service I told the gathering "A meeting in New Zealand has agreed to take over Tonga. So I ask you all to pray for it. Nothing can save Tonga now but only prayer."

This is what brought me to trial. They said that I had been rebelling because I had persuaded the right people of the island. But I did not in the least try to rebel. I only know that it was my duty to God to prevent any danger threatening the kingdom lest it would be too late. So it looks to me that I said those words to the gathering only on the basis of my duty to God. I'm amazed that they have made it appear like rebellion.

I ask you to forgive me for writing but you know I'm only trying to

justice because my days draw to an end.

With very much love,

I am the servant of God,

Sioeli Nau.

(c) The Chief Judicial Commissioner's Comments on Nau's case.

[Appendix. Report of Sir C. Mitchell etc, etc. London 1887.
Inclosure 7. Summary of Evidence prepared by the Chief
Judicial Commissioner. p.17.]

Fines. Joeli Nau.

10. Joeli Nau says: Was charged with libelling King in August 1886.
Sentenced to five years, 100 dollars fine to King, 50 dollars expenses.
Was also tried for saying the thing that the King wished was wrong,
and got five years in addition. Afterwards released on going to Fiji.
Was promised pardon if he would turn over in letter from brother by
Baker's orders.

Monstrous sentence.

45. Isaiah Nau, brother of Joeli, denies having written to promise Baker's
pardon to Joeli if he would turn over.

49. J. Nau recalled : My brother did write to me. I kept copy of my answer
to him. (Letter not produced.)

I think that Isaiah did write to Joeli to the effect stated, but I
do not believe that Baker really made the promise.

(iv) Property seized.(i) Wesleyan Property seized in N.T.T. 1885

[Manuscript notes by Moulton on visit to Niuatobutabu, August 21st 1885.
Free Wesleyan Church Archives, Nuku'alofa.]

"I found our property has been seized wholesale, and I left it with Jione to please himself whether he would prosecute those who had taken horses, Malaefoou for the clock, the person taking the church key.

List of things taken

Matavai; * Tauhi's house gone; bell; church; kerosene lamps etc.
Tafahi; Tauhi's gone; bell; church; kerosene lamps.
Falehau; Tauhi's gone; church, kerosene and lamps; trustees books.
Vailoa; Preachers gone and part of his town land; trustees books; church;
and by violence (kerosene, lamps, and bell.)
Horses; 3 horses have been seized.

(ii) Breach of the land Laws 1886

[British Vice - Consul Symonds to Moulton, 6/6/1886,
Free Wesleyan Church Archives, Nuku'alofa.]

"Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday informing me that your plot of land at Beka has been, you are informed by the King, taken away from you.

Apart from the question of the right of the Tongan Government to seize without legal process lands held by British subjects, which is now under consideration it appears to me from the terms of your letter that the seizure of your land at Beka is a breach of Tongan law and I would suggest that you call the attention of the local authorities to the 9th clause of the 29th chapter of the Laws published in 1883.

I have the honour to be etc.

Henry A. Symonds.

* Tauhi --- to tend, look after, or to minister to

THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER(i) Thrashings.

[Affidavit of the Herbert Massey Fisher, sworn Saturday 12th February 1887.]

I hereby solemnly declare that I witnessed the following barbarities perpetrated this morning.

A boat load of natives were brought down from the Hahake district and sat in Tungi's abi about 7 a. m. They were Fakaongo's who had recently turned to the Catholic religion: at about 8.30 hearing a swishing noise looked out of our sitting room and saw the people being thrashed all the time.

From the corner of our fence I saw about 20 people sitting one man administering an oath to them on the Bible as far as I could hear of the following nature. "Fuakava kia Otua tala'ongofua kia Tungi mo e Tuku'aho, mo e Tubou, moe Buleanga ikai teu fakakaukau ha kovi ki ai " - I could not hear the rest. All but 6 or 7 were dismissed and a Young man commenced thrashing these with a cocoa branch. One man Phillipu from tukuuta received the 4th blow from back across his face causing the blood to stream down. At the 7th blow he fell fainting but was picked up and a bucket of water dashed over him.

On the morning of Tuesday 8th seeing a crowd round a house behind Mr. Trescoe's I entered and saw a man lying down, as I thought dead: he was terribly bruised, livid white, quite motionless and could not he was one of the 5 who were handed over by the king for his people "to do what they liked with as they were "Fakaongo's" They has been bound thrashed and thrown out in the sun. I passed in the evening but the man was unable to answer me, his attendants told me that he had eaten and drunk nothing all day and had scarcely spoken.

I also solemnly declare that since Monday fully 12 natives have told me on enquiry these things that "Victoria had written to Tubou saying that he might do as he chose with his won people" Some of them further adding that Mr. Baker had" told this to the houseikis and has the letter" our workmen have witnessed thrashing on 5 morning this week.

If these are judicial punishments as a British Subject I protest against their being executed before our faces as they are revolting to our feelings and an insult to humanity.

Signed Herbert Massey Fisher & Sworn before Mr. Vice Consul Leefe.

(ii) Looting and plundering.

[Affidavit of Silvanus Mounga sworn before H.B.M. Pro-Consul W.E. Giles, 25th January 1887 Free Wesleyan Church Archives, Nuku'alofa,]

I, Silvanus Mounga, was in Hofoa on Monday (yesterday) when Taukei a government officer, came up and said to the town officer, if any people come to loot here don't prevent them for it is the King's will that they loot. Ahau (the town officer) replied, ~~What's~~ the meaning of these contrary orders. The looters came before and we asked if it was by the King's authority and they answered yes. So they did the looting, bye and bye there came another order make a list of all the property of the Wesleyans, that had been "maumau" (i.e. damaged or destroyed), and the list is made out. And now the other order has come that we are not to hinder the looting but allow it to go on.

(iii) Turning the Law upside-down

[Affidavit of Sedaleki Manu sworn before H.B.M. Pro-Consul W.E. Giles, January 25th 1887]

I, Sedaleki Manu, was in Teekiū on Saturday 22nd January 1887, when there came along a company of people numbering perhaps 12, with painted faces, turbaned and "vesa" (i.e. with cinctures on their arms and legs) and arrived with guns, axes and clubs and they said, "We are the forerunners and the chiefs and the army are coming on: they are in Nukunuku now he have come to plunder the Wesleyans and to bear to pieces and destroy their goods." Shortly after a man called Tui came riding along on horseback and galloped through the town shouting "Today the Law is turned upside down in order that the Wesleyans may be plundered and trampled upon" Shortly after the main body of warriors arrived - perhaps there might be forty of them, people from Utulau, Bea, Nukunuku, Tofoa and the Haabians the last were the more numerous. . . .

The first thing they did was to enquire concerning the Wesleyans whether they had any pigs and they were told that they had better go to Majilamea for there were plenty of pigs: they started to go these but returned and people began to try to get the people to turn over. They commenced with the and a man called Fetuu. Then said "here is my house and my body but I shall not turn over" They then tried Fetuu saying "are you going to continue being a Wesleyan" and he said "I shall be a Wesleyan" they then said "Will you be able to bear the things that will be done to you" he answered "I shall be able to bear them" While they were thus questioning us the warriors surrounded us with their guns."

(iv) The Tongan Laws "torn to pieces"

[Jarvis to Moulton, May 20th, 1885. Free Wesleyan Church Archives Archives Nuku'alofa.]

Reverend Mr Moulton,

I am forwarding Joeli Now's letter by this opportunity per care Capt. Muller.

We have no very cheerful news for Matu, governor of Kepples as seduced most of the church people round to the (National church for those who like to call it so).

The chiefs have been pushing the matter hard We whites sympathise with you in this difficulty, which is such an unfair fight and in which the Tonga laws are torn to pieces and turned around to suit certain parties Joalis as been bringing in the horses from the different villages and if you should wish to dispose of any of the Cart Horse I would take two or three, this is rather a premiture notice. But I hope that your difficulties will be settled in your favour as they have a right to be and everything go on as formerly. I am sure the native would hope so.

(v) The Haapai Warriors

[Appendix. Report of Sir C. Mitchell, etc, etc. London 1887. Evidence No.31. p.40.]

31. Henry Van Hagen, sworn:-

No profession. Live at Nukualofa. Remember the Haapai warriors being here. I saw violence to Wesleyans in the main street. About 9.45 A.M. I saw a crowd in front of Fotofili's house (Governor of Niua). I saw Tatafu tied up, with his arms lashed behind him from the wrists to the elbows; this causes cruel agony. I said, "You fools! why don't you become Catholics, and the French would look after you?" I recognized a Police Magistrate and a policeman. I heard afterwards that one of the men who had been tied was dead. I went with Parsons and Fisher to the native house where that man was; he was insensible; could not swallow spirits. There were marks on his thighs from his floggings. Mr Moulton came in, and then Dr Buckland, who ordered us to go out. I have heard since that this man has gone to Fiji. I saw no other acts of violence.

Sekonaia, the last witness, was my house-boy. I went into I's house in the evening; he and some others were boasting of the way they had flogged the

the Wesleyans. He said he had forcibly converted Sekonaia. Joni Fetukai, the Mayor of Kolofou, said to me, "What are you small fly interfering in these matters for? Don't you know that Queen Victoria has written to King George to say that he can do what he likes with his own subjects?" Then he challenged me to single combat, and I had to put him ashore.

By the High Commissioner:-

I have no private personal grudge against any member of the Government.

(vi) "a charge of Gunpowder or dynamite"

[Moulton to H.B.M. Vice-Consul. Nuku'alofa, January 29th, 1886.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church, Nuku'alofa, Tonga.]

On Friday evening January 1st about 10.0 p.m. a charge of gunpowder or dynamite was pushed through the roof of a house of one of the three who had re-become a Wesleyan on the previous Sunday. Some people were in it but fortunately it exploded outwards and no one was injured. The thatch blazed up but by strenuous efforts the Wesleyans put it out before serious damage was done. Many Free Church people stood round, a few jeering, but only one offered to help and his own party tried to stop him; to his honour be it said, for he holds the difficult position of Govt. representative in that town. That same evening another of the three was thrown at with coconuts. On the Monday that Govt. representative held a fono denouncing the fire etc; but I suppose he feared the chief too much to try and find out the perpetrator; nor did he report the matter to the Govt., who must however have heard of it. Still absolutely nothing was done, and Thursday saw the culmination of this kind of thing. On the evening of that day, Jan. 7th, about 10.0 p.m. the third man was sitting in his house when suddenly a charge of gunpowder exploded in the roof, again going outwards. Immediately the Wesleyans gathered and got the fire out before any serious damage had been done. The leading Wesleyan returned to his house but had hardly sat down before he saw a flash in the roof. At once he rushed to it and put it out; and thus not one of these three attempts, made so recklessly and with so much danger to life, came off successfully.

COMPLAINTS TO KING PREMIER & BRITISH AUTHORITIES.

(i) Minister of Police to Moulton. Nuku'alofa, April 10th, 1885. This translation by Robert Hanslip is attached to the original letter. Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga Archives, Nuku'alofa.]

Office of the Minister of Police
April 10th, 1885.

Mr. Moulton,

I received your letter and it is true that it is my office as Minister of Police to prevent disturbances in the land. But the thing you have reported to me for prevention is difficult for me for I have no grounds for action, for it is a dispute and not an act of violence (bau'u) For the Chiefs say that they are their own churches that they have laid hands upon for they built them, but I do not know how they were built and they say there was no money paid for them by the Ministers, and so, when you tell me to prevent them taking them by force, it is as if you said they were yours. So I inform you that you had better have the things tried in the courts, and when it is clear to whom the churches belong, then I shall have power to act. For although the Premier has tried to prevent it, is it not still going on? It is my mind also that they should not lay hands on anything until the matter has been judged, but the chiefs say, let the Government stand on one side for it is their affair therefore until it has been tried, this sort of action is sure to go on, and this is my answer also to your letter of April 3rd, 1885.

(signed) Sekonaia Tu'uhetoka

Minister of Police.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct translation of the letter signed by Tu'uhetoka. Nuku'alofa, May 4th, 1885.

Rob. Hanslip, Sworn Interpreter.

(ii)

[Premier to Mr. Moulton. April 2nd, 1885. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

Sir

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me that " at ^{the} present moment some thirty people are in your loto'a who have been expelled from their homes by Lavaka and the Pea people on account of their

being Wesleyans."

I have already heard that Lavaka was at Folaha and had threatened to expel those who were Wesleyans in connection with yourself. I immediately sent for the Minister of Police and instructed him to find out whether the same was true, and if so, to go back with the people to Folaha; after which to go to Lavaka and inform him the Government would not sanction the ill-treatment of any man on account of his religion.

I have the Honour to be etc.

Shirley W. Baker. Premier.

(iii)

[Pro-Consul to Moulton. 19/1/1887; 20/1/1887; 20/1/1887; 25/1/1887.
Free Wesleyan Church Archives, Nuku'alofa, Tonga.]

(a)

British Consulate, Tonga.

19/1/87.

Dear Sir,

Your note of even date to hand. On receipt of it I at once sent for Namui (?) the Police Inspector; the Minister of Police " Tui-Toku " being away. I have informed him of the shooting of the Pig by 'Takai' inside the College grounds; and I have told him that this must be stopped at once; and I also directed him to put one of his police near your residence to-morrow; to protect both it; and the college from any violence ; and I instructed him to warn the Haapai people who arrived today; from interfering with you in any way.

I have told him distinctly that if violence is attempted by anyone on the premises of the Wesleyan Mission; that I shall take measures promptly to protect the Mission. Should the Tongan Government require you to deliver up to them any Native (subject of the King of Tonga) you will; I need not add; offer no obstruction to their doing so; so long as they refrain from violence; but in the event of any "breach of the Peace" being committed; please let me have early intelligence of same.

I have the Honour the be etc.

William E. Giles.

(iii) Continued.

British Consulate, Nuku'alofa.

20/1/87.

(b)

Dear Sir

I send you the other Notice; I hope it will have some effect in protecting you from trespassers. Of course any Action I may take the Tongan Government may refuse to recognize; and yet break no law thereby; as I do not hold any "Exequatur" from them; and as the Premier took care to inform me yesterday; Mr. Treskow does. My Duties also are limited strictly to

* Acts; and probably I have exceeded them already; though I consider that "circumstances alter cases" and probably the occurrences of the last week were never dreamed of; when Mr. Collet appointed me Pro-Consul here.

Yours very truly,

William E. Giles.

* The word is illegible in the original

(c)

British Consulate, Nuku'alofa.

20/1/87.

Dear Sir

At your repeated request, I have both written to the King; and called on him personally in company with "Tui belihaki". I have also seen the Imperial German Consular Agent; and he has protested against any invasion of the Wesleyan Mission grounds.

At a public 'Fono' (meeting) just held; the Premier has directed the people to be orderly; quiet and law abiding and to cease the intermittent shooting that has been going on the last few days. They have I believe, promised to do so; and I hope order will now be restored.

Under the circumstances perhaps it might be advisable to (at all events temporarily) remove the two Notices; I put up over the College Gates this morning; and see whether order will be maintained or not. "Tui belihaki" tells me his people will keep the peace.

I have the Honour etc.

William E. Giles.

(iii) continued.

(d)

British Consulate, Nuku'alofa,
25/1/87.

Dear Sir,

I interviewed the Eiki " Tui belehaki " last evening and gave him the club belonging to the Native of Haapai who trespassed inside your College grounds last evening. He promised to have the man sent for early this morning.

I also delivered your letter to him for King George; which he said he would himself give to the King this morning; and I particularly requested him to ask the King both on your behalf; and on behalf of the British Government; to do something towards stopping the trespass and robbery that appear to be carried on wholesale on the Wesleyan leased lands in Tonga; at the present time. All this he has promised me he will endeavour to get the King to do.

I have the Honour to be etc.

William E. Giles.

(iv)

[Moulton to the Pro-Consul. December 16th, 1885.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

December 16th 1885.

.....

Another cruel sentence has just been given in Haapai --- A woman was accused of saying that the King was in his second childhood. At the first trial no one appeared against her, but a letter was read from someone in Vavau affirming she had said so. She denied it, and, as no prosecutor appeared, ought to have been acquitted. But she is a Wesleyan so the case was adjourned. When next brought before the Court some one was found to swear that she had said what was imputed to her. Yet the Judge hesitated to pass sentence, and the case was referred to the Higher Court where the woman was found guilty --- seven years work and \$500 to the King.

D. B.

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D. BRITISH INTERVENTION : AN ENQUIRY BY SIR CHARLES MITCHELL 1887

[164]

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S DIRECTIVE AND THE
TONGAN KINGS RESPONSE

[Sir Charles Mitchell to King George Tupou 27th March 1887.
Appendix to Report by Sir Mitchell, High Commissioner for the
Western Pacific in connection with Recent Disturbances in and
the Affairs of Tonga, containing the Further Inclosures in
that Report. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by
Command of Her Majesty. Her Majesty's Stationary office,
London. August 1887.
Enclosures 3 and 4, pp.2-3.]

SIR C. MITCHELL TO THE KING OF TONGA.

High Commissioner's Office, on board H.M.S. "Diamond"
at Nukualofa, Tonga, March 27, 1887.

Sir, my Friend,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Majesty that I have been directed by Her Britannic Majesty's Government to inquire into and report fully on the cause and effect of certain disturbances that have recently taken place in the islands under your Majesty's rule.

To the end that I may fulfil the instructions I have received, I have now the honour to request your Majesty's good offices in affording me yourself, and in causing all your subjects to afford me, all the information that it may be possible to you or to them to give with reference to these troubles.

The Chief Judicial Commissioner of the High Commission has accompanied me to inquire into, and, if necessary, adjudicate upon, certain criminal charges that have been brought by your Premier, Mr Baker, against Mr Hanslib, a British subject resident in these islands. For the purposes of his Honour's inquiry, I would also request your Majesty's good offices.

I have also brought with me three Tongan subjects who have recently sought an asylum in Fiji, and who may be able to give evidence during my inquiry. These Tongans are, during my visit to these islands, under my special protection, and I request that your Majesty will cause this to be generally known, in order that they may be saved from any possible annoyance or insult.

I would also request that your Majesty would be good enough to yourself sign any communications that you may do me the honour to address to me.

On receipt of your Majesty's reply to this letter I shall at such hour as your Majesty may appoint do myself the honour of waiting on your Majesty for the purpose of paying my respects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C.B.H. MITCHELL.

* * * * *

THE KING OF TONGA TO SIR C. MITCHELL.

(Translation.)

King's Palace, March 27, 1887.

Sir, my Friend,

I HAVE received your Excellency's letter of to-day, informing me that your Excellency has been commanded by Her Britannic Majesty's Government to inquire into the disturbances which have recently taken place in Tonga, and requesting me to afford myself and to command my subjects to afford what information they can with reference to the same.

I wish to express the pleasure it gives me in your Excellency coming to Tonga, and I will do as your Excellency requests.

I note that the Judicial Commissioner accompanies your Excellency in reply to a request made by my Premier, and I shall render him all the assistance I can.

With reference to the three Tongans whom your Excellency has brought, I should be glad as they have come to give evidence against other natives if they could remain on board, lest some silly Tongan should molest them, and cause me or my Government to be in disrepute, but for their friends to be at liberty to visit them on board if your Excellency sees so fit.

I will send all letters to your Excellency in Tongan, and signed by myself as requested.

I shall be glad to meet your Excellency to-morrow at 10.30 A.M.

I am, &c.

(Signed) JIOAGI TUBOU.

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A SYNOPSIS OF THE ENQUIRY

[Sir C. Mitchell to Sir H. Holland. May 6th 1887. Report by Sir C. Mitchell, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in Connection with the Recent Disturbances in and the Affairs of Tonga. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. July 1887. Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London.]

SIR C. MITCHELL TO SIR H. HOLLAND

High Commissioner's Office,
Suva, Fiji, May 6th, 1887.

SIR - I have the honour to report that, in obedience to your telegraphic instructions, I left Suva in Her Majesty's ship Diamond on the 24th March. I arrived at Nukualofa, Friendly Islands, on the 27th (Sunday), in the afternoon.

.....

9. Mr Baker and Mr Moulton came on board the Diamond at my request on the afternoon of Monday, the 28th March, and we agreed - (1) That the enquiry should be deemed to extend from the setting up of the Free Church in January, 1885, until the date of my arrival in March, 1887. (2) That it should be divided into three periods namely:- (a) The alleged persecutions of the Wesleyans by the Tongan Government prior to the attempt on Mr Baker's life on the 13th January, 1887; (b) The period including that attempt, and before the arrival of the force sent for by the King from Haapai and Vavau; and (c) The alleged persecutions and ill-treatment of the Wesleyans subsequent to the arrival of these men. (3) That, although either side would be at liberty to take its own notes, those only taken in shorthand by Mr Collet, the Secretary to the High Commissioner, should be relied on as a record of evidence. (4) That Mr Moulton should hand in a list of all the witnesses living at distant portions of the Group and of any other persons whose presence he could not himself procure; and that Mr Baker, on the part of Government, should undertake that these men be produced. (This last arrangement was afterwards modified in the case of the witnesses from Vavau, for whom it was agreed to send a small interinsular steamer that was expected to arrive about that date; but as this vessel broke down somewhere in the Fiji Group, and did not come to Tonga, the Vavau evidence was not procured.) (5) That the enquiry should be an open one accessible to any persons, either Tongan or European, who might wish to attend it. (Note. - An exception was made to this in the case of the King, who could not have been reasonably expected to give evidence in an enquiry held within his own dominions)

10. On the afternoon of Tuesday I went, by appointment, to the Palace, accom-

panied by the Chief Judicial Commissioner and by the Secretary to the High Commissioner. I had arranged that, as Mr Moulton was personally obnoxious to the King, a gentleman (Mr Parker) should attend the meeting on Mr Moulton's behalf, to check Mr Baker's translation of my questions and of the King's replies. I append a copy of these questions and replies. The King's manner to me was courteous, and his replies straightforward and unhesitating. I may here remark that I saw no indication, either on this occasion or on that of any of the many subsequent interviews I had with the King, of his mental incapacity, or of his being under Mr Baker's control. On the contrary, his mind appeared to me to be clear, his manner decisive, and his whole bearing that of a man of strong will and independent character.

11. Having received from Mr Moulton on the following (Wednesday) morning a schedule of his complaints, under the heads (a) and (c) mentioned in paragraph 9, sub-section (2), I opened my inquiry at the Consulate that afternoon, and continued it from day to day until the evening of Saturday, the 23rd April, excepting only on Saturday, the 2nd of April (on which day the Chief Judicial Commissioner occupied the Consulate with the trial of Mr Hanslip, on the charges mentioned in my despatch of the 18th March); on Good Friday (on which day it was thought undesirable, in view of religious scruples, to sit); on Monday and Tuesday, the 11th and 12th April (given to Mr Baker, on the conclusion of Mr Moulton's case, in order that he might prepare his refutation); and on the three Sundays. On the Monday succeeding the close of the inquiry, I saw all the British subjects and a good number of the other European and American residents at the Consulate, and heard their complaints on matters other than that I had inquired into. None of these were grave. I impressed on all those present the great importance of their abstaining from interfering with the Tongan Government; and I assured them that, in my opinion, their lives and property were as safe in Tonga as they would be in any part of the civilized world. On Monday (25th April) I addressed a letter to the King, of which I enclose a copy, containing the advice I thought it necessary before leaving to tender to His Majesty. On the following day I received the satisfactory reply of which I also inclose a copy. This letter was brought on board by Mr Baker, who informed me, in addition to its contents, that the King was prepared to allow of the re-opening of the Tubou Wesleyan College (broken up by his order) with the limit of thirty pupils, and with certain restrictions as to the re-admission of those recently attending that institution. Matters having been thus, in my opinion, satisfactorily settled, I took my leave of the King at a "faikava" ring to which he had summoned all the chiefs and

leading men, and I availed myself of this opportunity to assure him, in their presence, of the good will felt by Her Majesty's Government for Tonga. The King's manner was very cordial at parting.

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THE INTERROGATION OF KING GEORGE

[Appendix to Report by Sir C. Mitchell etc, etc. London, August 1887. Inclosure 6, pp.7-11.]

EXAMINATION OF THE KING OF TONGA.

Nukualofa, Toga, March 29, 1887.

At the King's Palace, Nukualofa, Toga, at 4.30 P.M.

Mr S.W. Baker, the Premier, interpreted, and Mr. E.W. Parker attended to check the interpretation on behalf of Mr Moulton.

The High Commissioner said: Will you say to the King, please, that in order that no after remark may be made as to insufficiency of the interpretation, I have asked Mr Moulton to have a gentleman here who is thoroughly conversant with the Tongan language, in order that he may represent him as regards interpretation, in order that your interpretation may not pass uncriticised, and that Mr Parker is merely here in that capacity; that I shall permit nobody to address questions to His Majesty but myself. All I wish to do is to elicit from His Majesty such explanations as he may wish to offer on the subject, into which I am to inquire.

(Mr Baker interpreted the above.)

Will you say to the King that I propose to take up the case from the time when it is asserted that after the establishment of the Free Church of Tonga, certain persecutions were carried out as against the adherents of the so-called Wesleyan party, with a view to forcing them to join the King's Church. Although I shall be very glad to hear anything afterwards His Majesty may wish to say on the subject, I conceive it will be convenient to begin a definite point. I conceive that my instructions relate chiefly to the persecutions that have recently taken place.

(Mr Baker interpreted.)

1. Q. Will you ask him if he is aware that complaints have been from time to time raised that, on the establishment of the Free Church, undue pressure was brought to bear on the adherents of Mr Moulton.

(His Majesty wished to know what particular complaints were referred to.)

I asked His Majesty if he was aware that complaints had been made from time to time. I want to know first of all if he knows that complaints were made, either by Tongans or Europeans, that undue pressure had been brought to bear. I only want to know if he is aware of the fact. - A. His Majesty says in the commencement of the Free Church he is not aware of certain persecutions, neither of Tongans or Europeans first of all complaining. But the first thing he knows of is that Mr Moulton was in Haabai when the Church first commenced, that he came here and said in a public meeting on the Hill Zion;:-

"There is a new thing happened in the land; there is a new religion set up." When they heard what Mr Moulton had said, he and others said in their own minds, "What religion had been put up?" It was the same religion, with the same forms as before; but with regard to money, they wished to have the liberty of deciding as to money themselves. But there was no new religion, and the doctrines were the same in the new Church as in the old. When Mr Moulton said that, it appeared to him that Mr Moulton at once wanted to divide the land; that by so doing, it would cause dissensions amongst them in calling it a new religion; and that such language was altogether wrong.

2. Q. What I want to ask him is this, under the Article of the Constitution of Tonga, which provides for the free exercise of religion does he conceive that his Government would be justified in exercising pressure to force his subjects to attend a Church notwithstanding that it was, as he said, of the same doctrine precisely as the one from which he wished to take them. - A. His Majesty replies that when the Free Church commenced there was no idea of commanding any one to go to it by force.

3. Q. Can I take that to mean that His Majesty does not recognize any right in the Constitution of forcing his subjects either one way or the other. A. The King replies that the Free Church was an after affair; but the disturbances commenced by Mr Moulton before the Free Church was inaugurated.

4. Q. That is not quite what I want to get at. I am aiming at a particular point to clear away certain obstructions that may be in the way before I can understand His Majesty's mind on the subject. I want to know whether, in his mind, there exists any conception that there is a right in the Government to exercise a control over the religious opinions of his subjects. - A. His Majesty replies that he does not think it would be right for himself or his Government to interfere in the particular religious views of the people; but in this affair, with regard to the Wesleyan church, the affair has arisen because of unpleasant

ness and disturbances to which he has referred.

5. Q. Am I to understand His Majesty to distinctly disavow any right in the Constitution on the part of his Government to interfere with the freedom of religion of his subjects, in following any religion they please. - A. His Majesty says his views are, that it is right for the people to use that religion which they like; not for the Government to interfere with their religious views.

6. Q. By that he means to include interference between two parties of the same denomination, with no fundamental difference whatever, but merely for reasons of their own keeping apart. Assuming there is no difference, does he assume that there is any right either in him or his officers to exercise any pressure one way or the other? - A. His Majesty says it is right for each one to act according to his own conscience, as he believes; but this affair is not one of religion.

7. Q. Clear away from His Majesty's mind any idea that I say he has done so. I merely wish to arrive at an understanding on a common ground? - A. His Majesty makes the same reply again with regard to the Constitution: that it is right for each man to worship as he believes, but that this affair is not an affair of religion, and it is not religion to divide the land and cause the disturbances which have arisen in consequence of the recent action which has taken place in religious affairs.

8. Q. That being so, will you ask His Majesty if he conceives there would be any justification for the Government to exercise pressure to make his subjects leave Mr Moulton's Church to join the Free Church? - A. His Majesty does not say it would be right to punish one because he belonged to Mr Moulton's Church.

9. Q. Will you say to His Majesty I include in pressure not punishment only, but the prevention of a person so offending from receiving any State reward, or office or position. That is what I include under pressure? - A. His Majesty does not say it would be right to do so.

10. Q. That there would be no disability in belonging to the so-called Wesleyan Church; no disability for any one holding a State office he already had, or having such office conferred on him from the lowest policeman to the highest officer? - A. His Majesty does not think it would be right for there to be such prohibition.

11. Q. Will you ask the King if he attaches any importance to the fact of the Church being a State Church, or whether he looks upon it in the same light as any other church established in the land? - A. He looks upon it as a State Church.

12. Q. Does he in that respect consider that loyal subjects should attend it? - A. Yes.

13. Q. Will you say to His Majesty, Is he aware of any of his officers having exercised any pressure of this sort? I am referring now entirely to the time before the attack upon you. Is he aware that during that period any of his officers exercised any pressure, whether of the stick, or anything that could be called persecution? - A. His Majesty says that there were many Chiefs and persons who did bring strong pressure to bear upon their people.

14. Q. I am to understand that this was absolutely without His Majesty's authority? - A. His Majesty says he never commanded them to do it, but they did it of their own will.

15. Q. When he heard of their doing so, did he check them for doing it, and remind them what their Constitutional duties were? - A. In many instances he did speak to his Chiefs. Some of the Chiefs did it because their minds were vexed with their people.

16. Q. Is he aware of any case in which substantial injury was done by any of these Chiefs to persons or their property? - A. He was not aware of substantial injury being done.

[Mr Parker doubts if "lahi" is a good expression for "substantial injury".]

17. Q. Did you hear of any cases of the infliction of corporal punishment, or of property or boats being destroyed or taken away? - A. His Majesty never heard of any boats being destroyed. He may have heard of some gardens being destroyed. He heard of no such thing as flogging.

18. Q. In cases where there was any substantial injury done, did he force the Chiefs to make compensation or restitution? - A. His Majesty says he stopped the Chiefs from doing so, inflicting substantial injury; but he did not command them to make any substantial restitution, because he did not consider what they had done deserved it.

19. Q. Did any of his subjects complain to him direct, or through you, or any other Government source, such as their magistrates? - A. There were a few who did, but they did not all do it. His Majesty says you certainly must not be aware of the native customs and manners with regard to anything like this. In any disobedience, or anything like that, they have never been accustomed to anything of this kind. Disobedience of the people to their Chiefs in times gone by. His Excellency: Tell His Majesty I can understand all that, and he must not understand me in putting these questions as finding fault. I merely want, in my own mind, to get a picture of things as they happened.

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20. Q. Will you ask him what reply he caused to be made generally to those petitioners who approached him? - A. His Majesty says it is not to be supposed that he understood, or heard, or knew of a great part of everything that was done.

21. Q. What I want to find out is his own personal knowledge of the matter. What general reply did he give to these Petitions? Did he answer them? - A. The persons themselves did not come, but others came and reported; but the parties concerned did not come to him.

22. Q. But through his officers what reply did he cause to be made to the petitioners? - A. His reply was that such kind of proceedings would be stopped.

23. Q. I come to the time of the attack upon yourself. Will you ask the King if the persons accused and subsequently convicted of the attack upon you had a fair trial in open Court? - A. They were tried in a properly constituted Court.

24. Q. My question is not as to the constitution of the Court, but as to its being open, as Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction are. Whether there was access to any one that thought himself interested in the proceedings of the Court? - A. His Majesty is not aware whether there were certain restrictions put upon them or not. *

25. Q. Will you ask the King if he considered at the time - before the trial - that the attack on you was the result of any widespread conspiracy, or that it was simply an attack by ordinary malefactors? - A. That it was a widespread conspiracy. That was his opinion before the trial.

26. Q. Ask him if subsequent events confirmed him in that belief? - A. Yes, his mind was confirmed in what he has already said.

27. Q. Will you ask him if he considered that he had sufficient force on the ground to deal with that conspiracy? Were there sufficient of his loyal subjects within the town and its neighbourhood to deal with that conspiracy? [His Majesty appeared not to understand the question.] I will put the question in another way. Why did he send for the Vavau and Haapai men? - A. Because of what has transpired.

28. Q. Was it because he considered he had not sufficient loyal subjects in this district to deal with the conspiracy? - A. It was not because he thought there was not sufficient, but because he wished Vavau and Haapai and Niua people to be here on account of what transpired, for Representatives of all his land to be here.

29. Q. Did he proclaim martial law or its equivalent? - A. The reason the Police Courts were suspended.

* - Mr Baker here remarked that he had informed His Majesty.

30. Q. Were they so by Proclamation or by a notice? Was there any public Proclamation, whether by crier or notice, that civil law was suspended within the district? - A. The Civil Courts of the Government were to be suspended until these things could be inquired into and settled by His Majesty and his Chiefs.

31. Q. Was that done by a Proclamation in any way made public, either by sending round a crier or affixing a notice in any usual way? - A. It was reported according to Tongan custom. It was "Fanogonogo" according to Tongan custom.

32. Q. Did it not occur to His Majesty that the bringing of a large force of soldiery would lead to excess on their part which he could not control; that they would consider themselves brought down here for war? - A. They were not sent for because he thought he could not accomplish it here; and he did not see that in sending for them here he was bringing more soldiers than he could govern, and they were easy of government.

33. Q. What arrangements did he make for provisioning these soldiers? - A. The arrangement was that both the east, west, and middle part of the island should provide food on their separate days.

34. Q. Were there any special burdens laid on the remaining adherents of Mr Moulton's Church? - A. He is not aware that there were any additional burdens. The command was that all should provide.

35. Q. Is he aware, or does he know of these Haapai and Vavau men having used considerable licence in the way of seizing pigs and taking the garden produce of the people? - A. His Majesty's reply was that it was not many of the Haapai and Vavau people, but only a portion of them.

36. Q. Is he aware whether that section directed their attention particularly to the gardens and pigs of the adherents of Mr Moulton? - A. It was not only Mr Moulton's people, but the Free Church suffered.

37. Q. At the first or throughout - A. From the first and afterwards.

38. Q. Will you ask him if he heard of any cases of beating or cruelty being used towards any of the remaining adherents of Mr Moulton's Church with a view to making them conform to the Free Church? - A. His Majesty heard reports of some, but he is not certain whether they are correct or not.

39. Q. Did he cause the reports to be sifted, to see if there was truth in them? - A. He commanded some of the Chiefs to desist.

40. Q. Was his command obeyed? - A. In some instances the people obeyed their Chiefs; in other instances the people were disobedient.

41. Q. Does he know of any instances of severe punishment being inflicted on the people who were disobedient? - A. His Majesty only heard of reports he

was hearing; they were simply reports.

42. Q. There was a general indiscriminate firing of guns reported to me. Ask His Majesty if there was, and of what nature it was? - A. His Majesty said they certainly fired guns, but who who was hurt?

43. Q. I want to know if this firing off guns was at people, or pigs, or boisterously firing off in the air? - A. It would not be many guns fired at pigs, because Tongans have not got many pigs. It was principally firing into the air.

44. Q. Ask His Majesty if he would prefer that I see him again at some future state of the inquiry, and ask him further questions, or whether he would prefer putting his remarks into writing, so that I may consider them in making my Report? - A. His Majesty says if it would be agreeable to you, that he would be pleased to write to you.

45. Q. Tell His Majesty I hope to see him on other subjects before I go. My question now is simply relating to the subject of this inquiry? - A. His Majesty will be perfectly happy to see you at any time you wish.

46. Q. There is only one point I have omitted to ask His Majesty about for information, that is, relative to the Queen's letter. It is asserted when His Majesty was writing to the Queen to congratulate her on her Jubilee that he or others gave it forth that he had written to the Queen to know whether he could not do as he liked with his own subjects? - A. He never wrote or said anything of the kind.

47. Q. When Her Majesty's reply arrived here did he in any way through anybody give it forth that the Queen had authorized him in this letter to do as he pleased with his own subjects? - A. He never spoke to any one. He never commanded any one to say anything of the kind. If anybody has ever said so it is a great lie.

48. Q. Will you tell him that one of the Magistrates who was sent down in the schooner to Fiji informed the Secretary of the Commission that the King himself told him, the Magistrate, what I have said, and that therefore I have brought him with me in order to take his testimony on oath before the Court. I have not spoken to him myself, but that is what he said to the Secretary. His name is 'Isileli Fehoko? - A. All he told him was that he had got a letter from the Queen, but he never said that to him. Should he write to the Queen, or the Queen write to him, about what he was to do with his own people?

49. Q. The point is, that the Queen's name was brought to bear on the disturbance, and I am anxious to find out by whose means Her Majesty's name was brought to bear? - A. All he knew was that the letter was here, but whether it

came from Sydney, Fiji, or New Zealand, His Majesty did not know.

50. Q. You will explain to him most fully that it is necessary that this point should be cleared up, because we cannot suffer the Queen's name to be dragged into a disturbance. - A. His Majesty does not know, and is not aware who has done it.

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SIR CHARLES TENDERS HIS ADVICE TO KING GEORGE

[Sir C. Mitchell to King George Tupou, 25th April 1887. Report of Sir C. Mitchell etc, etc. H.M.S.O. London 1887. Inclosure 1.]

SIR C. MITCHELL TO THE KING OF TONGA.

"Diamond," at Nukualofa,

Tonga, April 25, 1887.

Sir, My Friend, - I have concluded the task intrusted to me by Her Majesty's Government, and it only remains for me to thank your Majesty, as I now do, for the ready aid which you have afforded me, and for the kindness with which you have received me.

I told your Majesty at our last interview that the one wish of Her Majesty's Government, as regards Tonga, was that your Majesty's rule should continue to be as wise and beneficent as, before the breaking out of the late unhappy differences, it had always been. I told you that the good-will always felt by Great Britain for Tonga would enable me to come to your Majesty as a friend, and to tender to you such advice as to your Majesty's future course as would, in my opinion, tend to blot out the memory of the past trouble, and to confirm your Majesty in the affections of your people, and to establish you in the good opinion of the civilised world. This advice I now proceed to offer, in the full hope that it will be received by your Majesty in the same friendly spirit as that in which it is tendered.

I find that, during the two years succeeding the establishment of the Free Church in Tonga, many of your subjects were harassed by their chiefs in order to compel them to join that Church. It has not been asserted that this was done in consequence of orders received from your Majesty, but it was evident that, in acting as they did, the chiefs believed that they were carrying out your Majesty's wishes.

I find that the attempt on Mr Baker's life was not the result of a Wesleyan

conspiracy. When, however, the men summoned by your Majesty from Haapai and Vavau arrived in Tonga, I find that they at once proceeded, in conjunction with certain of the tribes of Tongatabu, to beat, despoil, and generally persecute those who still adhered to the Wesleyan Church; and that, although your Majesty on more than one occasion personally interfered to prevent these actions, they, nevertheless, continued for a considerable time - until, in fact, nearly the whole of the Wesleyans had, under compulsion, joined the Free Church.

I need not point out to your Majesty that actions such as these are in contravention of the Constitution granted by your Majesty to your subjects. I am well aware that your Majesty regards these actions with displeasure. I will therefore, proceed to point out what I think your Majesty should do, now that the land is tranquil, in order to heal the sores left by these unfortunate events.

I think that a general amnesty for acts done during the past disturbances should be proclaimed, and that all political prisoners now in confinement should be released, under such conditions as to your Majesty may seem right.

I advise that a proclamation be issued, restoring, in the fullest degree, liberty to your Majesty's subjects to worship in accordance with their conscience; and that your Majesty should intimate to the various chiefs that your grave displeasure would follow any acts on their part designed to prevent the enjoyment by your people of their full religious rights.

~~If your Majesty could also take measures to repeal the laws known as "of the Six" and "of the Thirty," I think it would be well to do so; but, at any rate, the first-mentioned law should be so altered as to include bona fide residents in any town within its operation.~~

If your Majesty would allow me to extend the advice I am now offering beyond the strict limits of my duty, I would suggest that negotiations be entered into with a view to again connecting the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, of whatever denomination, with the Wesleyan body elsewhere. Nothing would, in my opinion, tend to the permanent tranquility of your Majesty's kingdom so much as the exchange of a voluntary and heartfelt union of your Majesty's Wesleyan subjects for the forced union which must now, to a considerable extent, as a consequence of recent events prevail. If my poor aid and influence can in any way conduce to the attainment of this object, they are ^{most} heartily at your Majesty's service for the purpose.

I have received evidence that would, in my opinion, and in that of the Chief Judicial Commissioner, justify my putting in force against Mr Baker the power intrusted to me, under the Western Pacific Order in Council, of prohibi-

ting a British subject who is dangerous to the peace and good order of the Western Pacific from remaining within such limits as I may deem necessary. I am, however, most unwilling to exercise this power, for the following reasons:-

1. I know that Mr Baker has rendered great and valuable services to the Tongan Government, and that your Majesty regards him with feelings of friendship and esteem.

2. I believe that, if your Majesty should decide to follow the advice I have ventured to offer, Mr Baker would be the most able and fitting instrument for carrying into effect your orders thereupon.

3. That Mr Baker is at present suffering much anxiety from the illness of his son and daughter, caused during the attempt made on his life, and that it would be, for the present, impossible to remove those members of his family from Tonga.

I trust, however, that the intimation of your Majesty's concurrence in the steps I have advised your Majesty to take will enable me to deem it consistent with my duty to abstain, as regards Mr Baker, from exercising the powers vested in my office.

I should be glad to receive a reply to this my letter at your Majesty's early convenience, as I am unwilling to detain Her Majesty's ship longer than is absolutely necessary.

I desire to repeat, on behalf of my Government, the expression of the feeling of friendship and esteem felt for your Majesty and for the Tongan people by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and by the British nation, and I have, &c.

C.B.H. MITCHELL.

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KING GEORGE'S UNDERTAKINGS WITH RESPECT
TO SIR CHARLES MITCHELL'S ADVICE

[King George Tupou to Sir C. Mitchell. 26th April 1887.
Report of Sir C. Mitchell etc, etc. Inclosure 2.]

THE KING OF TONGA TO SIR C. MITCHELL

(Translation.)

King's Palace, Tonga.
April 26, 1887.

SIR, MY FRIEND, - I received your despatch of yesterday, and thank you for the same.

From that letter I perceive there are three things you wish me to take notice of:-

1. To grant an amnesty to those prisoners who were concerned in the late disturbances.
2. To make a proclamation that it is free for all persons to perform their worship according to the dictates of their conscience.
3. To repeal the laws of the Six and of the Thirty.

With regard to the first, I am perfectly willing to grant it, and I have instructed Mr Baker with respect to it.

As to the second, before three weeks are past I will call all the chiefs of Tongatabu together, and tell them the Constitution will be carried out, "That every man is free to perform his worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, and should any chief act otherwise, he shall be brought up to be punished according to law." - (A like command will also be sent to Haapai and Vavau. - Initialled, J.T.)

With respect to the repeal of the laws of the Six and of the Thirty. I am not willing they should be repealed, but that the law of the Six should be understood to mean residents who have been one year in any town. And with reference to the further letter of to-day in re the Free Church site at Nukualofa, I am willing that the law of the 300 fathoms shall not be applied to the same.

And if your Excellency would kindly initiate negotiations with the Wesleyan Church in the colonies on the plan proposed by the New Zealand Conference, I should be glad, and that is my mind.

And, with reference to Mr Baker, if I and the chiefs had listened to Mr Baker's advice, there would have been no persecutions.

But I am prepared to promise that there shall be no more persecutions of Wesleyans because of their religion, and should any chief do so he shall be judged.

With many thanks for your expressions of regard and friendship,
my love.

JIOAGI TUBOU.

THOMSON'S COMMENT ON SIR C. MITCHELL'S DECISION TO LEAVE BAKER IN TONGA.

[Basil Thomson. Diversions of a Prime Minister. Edinburgh 1894. p.8]

"The exhaustive judicial inquiry which he held furnished ample grounds for the removal of Mr Baker under the Order in Council which empowers the High Commissioner to remove any British subject who, in his opinion, is dangerous to the peace and good order of the island in which he is living. But since Mr Baker in fact, constituted in himself the Tongan Government, it was not clear that his removal would not be followed by anarchy; and as the king undertook to put a stop to the persecution of the Wesleyans, and to adopt certain other reforms, Sir Charles Mitchell preferred allowing them to be effected through Mr Baker's agency to incurring the risk of the chaos that might result from his removal. The ship of war therefore sailed for Fiji, taking with her the rest of the prisoners lying under sentence of death.

Now Mr Baker had expected to be removed, and he attributed this leniency to a different motive. He argued, doubtless, that if the High Commissioner had failed to remove him after the wholesale persecution of the Wesleyans and other illegalities, it was because he was afraid to do so, and that he was not likely to take extreme action against him for any lesser cause. So long, therefore, as he restrained himself within certain limits, he might continue his former policy without let or hindrance. The king, who had so often been his scapegoat, could be made to bear the sole blame of breaking the promises made to Sir Charles Mitchell. So the promises were not fulfilled, and things went on very much as before, except that the annoyances to which the Wesleyans were subjected were a little less flagrant."

E. OPPOSITION TO MR BAKER AND THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

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MEASURES FOR SELF PROTECTION 1883.

[Her Majesty's Vice-Consul Symonds to His Excellency Sir G.W. Des Voeux, Acting Consul General. November 6th 1883. Copy from Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Sir

I have the honour to report that since my return to Tonga any communication with the Tongan Government has been impossible owing to the protracted absence from the seat of Government of all the higher officials who for the last three months have been in attendance upon the Premier, who has visited the various islands of this group and also Samoa in the schooner " Sandfly " which I believe to be the joint property of Mr. Baker and the Tongan Government.

During the stay in Tonga of the Premier he invariably stayed at night on board his vessel, although he has a large furnished house here, and I am informed upon good authority that , before his departure for the north , a portion of the Tongan soldiery was disarmed and the rifles taken on board the " Sandfly ". Whether this was done from the desire for self protection or for the purpose of intimidation it is difficult to say, but I am of the opinion that both feelings prompted the act, and this opinion is strengthened from information that I have received to the effect that Mr. Baker placed a woman in irons for having struck a light on board the vessel. This would point to the conclusion that a quantity of powder was on board the vessel.

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DISAFFECTION TOWARDS THE TONGAN GOVERNMENT AND MR. BAKER. 1883.

[Her Majesty's Vice-Council Symonds to His Excellency Sir G. W. Des Voeux Acting Consul General . Copy. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Your Excellency

I am informed that lately at Haapai notice has been given by

Mr. Baker that a penalty will be inflicted on all those who criticise or talk about the Government or the officials, and numerous rumours have reached me relative to various harsh and restrictive measures that are to be put in force, but as yet these are rumours only, therefore I do not feel myself justified in reporting them to your Excellency.

The disaffection towards the Government is daily increasing notwithstanding the heavy punishment usually inflicted on those who have the temerity to oppose Mr. Baker's policy, and I feel sure that, before long, affairs will have become so complicated that scarcely the removal of Mr. Baker from Tonga will have the effect of quieting the excited and distorted minds of the people. This fact together with the account I have given of Mr. Baker's action in matters pertaining to both church and state induces me to express a hope that Your Excellency, before this will have reached you, will have forwarded the order of prohibition and deportation against Shirley Waldemar Baker, for which I have already applied, and which, I am convinced, is not only the sole means of preserving peace and good order in Tonga, but also the only way to protect the lives and property of the European residents, for there can be no doubt that if an outbreak does occur the natives will be only too eager to wreak their vengeance on those who belong to the same race and colour as he to whom they owe so much of their present misery and unhappiness.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

(signed) Henry F. Symonds.

Her Majesty's V-Consul.