

SECTION 7. EUROPEAN POWERS AND TONGA'S INDEPENDENCE.

The latter half of the 19th Century was a period of Colonial expansion by European powers. Britain, France, and Germany in particular came into conflict as they carved out for themselves colonies in Africa and Asia. Terms like 'the scramble for Africa', and 'spheres of influence in China, became part of the language during that period. The Pacific was not free from this colonial movement and the closing years of the 19th century saw the Pacific aspect of colonial expansion and imperial rivalry.

Colonial expansion had very drastic effects upon the very existence of a number of Pacific nations, Fiji was annexed by Britain in 1874. Germany annexed large portions of New Guinea and New Britain in the 1880's. France took New Caledonia and portions of the New Hebrides. Samoa eventually passed into the hands of Germany. Divided government, or no government at all according to European standards, seemed to be the excuse for intervention. Tonga however was different in this respect from most of the other Island Kingdoms in that an orderly form of government had been established quite early. Tonga's first Code of Laws, the Code of Vava'u, appeared in 1839 and a second code followed in 1850 for the whole of the country. By 1862 a third code had been promulgated, which also provided for the liberation of the serfs. The year 1875, several years before colonial expansion really reached its peak, saw the handing down by King George Tupou I, of a complete Constitution. Basil Thomson may scoff at the amateur law making of the missionaries, but it must be conceded that by 1875 Tonga had effective codes of Law, a constitutional Monarch, and a free and united people. The other island nations could not boast these 'improvements' and they became the easy prey for the colonial giants. These Improvements, however, protected Tonga, and the words of Charles St. Julian to Tupou in 1855 had become somewhat prophetic. After advising Tupou how to set up an efficient government he said:

"With your Kingdom thus governed there can be no pretext whatever for any other power to attack its independence. On the contrary the great maritime countries will rather desire to maintain that independence in order that the Tongese Islands may remain a neutral state."

Debates raged in the Australian colonies and in New Zealand, in Britain and in Germany, but Tonga was never annexed. In 1900, after Britain and Germany had finally decided on spheres of influence in the Pacific and after Tonga had fallen as Britain's share, annexation by Britain did not follow. Instead, a Treaty of Friendship was signed, placing Tonga in an almost unique relationship with Britain, that of a Protected State. Tongan independence, while somewhat limited by the 1900 Treaty of Friendship, was never swept away. This is the reason why, in 1970 when Tonga celebrated her 'Independence', the term Independence was never used officially. The high sounding phrase 're-entry into the Comity of Nations' was used. This phrase stood to remind us all that Tongan Independence had never really been lost.

A. INSTRUCTIONS TO PACIFIC EXPLORERS

[198] THE DUTCH: TASMANS INSTRUCTIONS 1642

[J.E. Heeres (ed.): Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his Discovery of Van Diemens Land and New Zealand in 1642 with Documents relating to his exploration of Australia in 1644 etc., Appendix E. Amsterdam, 1819.]

Instructions for Skipper Commander Abel Jansz Tasman, Pilot-Major Franchoy Jacobsz. Visscher, and the Council of the Ship Heemskerck and the Flute de Zeehaen, destined for the discovery and exploration of the unknown and known Southland, of the South-east coast of Nova Guinea, and of the islands circumjacent.

It is well-known that a hundred and fifty years ago only a third part of the globe (divided into Europe, Asia and Africa) was known, and that the Kings of Castile and Portugal (Ferdinandus Catholicus and Den Emanuel) caused the unknown part of the world, commonly called America or the New World (and by cosmographers divided into North and South America), to be discovered by the highly renowned naval heroes Christopher Columbus and Americus Vesputius, who thereby achieved immortal praise; likewise that about the same time the unexplored coasts and islands of Africa and East India were first reached and discovered by the famous Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese Captains. With what invaluable treasures, profitable trade-connexions, useful commerce, excellent territories, vast powers and dominions the said kings have by this discovery and its consequences enriched their kingdoms and crowns; what numberless multitudes of blind heathen have by the same been introduced to the blessed light of the Christian religion; all this is well-known to the expert, has always been held highly praiseworthy by all persons of good sense, and has consequently served other European Princes as an example for the discovery of many Northerly regions.

Nevertheless up to this time no Christian kings, princes or commonwealths have seriously endeavoured to make timely discovery of the remaining unknown part of the terrestrial globe (situated in the south, and presumably almost as large as, the Old or New World), although there are good reasons to suppose that it contains many excellent and fertile regions, seeing that it lies in the frigid, the temperate and the torrid zones, so that it must needs comprise well-populated districts in favourable climates and under propitious skies. And seeing that in many countries north of the line Equinoctial (in from 15 to 40 degrees Latitude), there are found many rich mines of precious and other metals, and other treasures, there must be similar fertile and rich regions situated south of the Equator of which matter we have conspicuous examples and clear proofs in the gold-and silver-bearing provinces of Peru, Chili, Monomotapa or Sofala (all of them situated south of the Equator), so that it may be confidently expected that the expense and trouble that must be bestowed in the eventual discovery of so large a portion of the world, will be rewarded with certain fruits of material profit and immortal fame.

This being the case, and no European colony being better fitted for initiating these promising discoveries than the city of Batavia (which is as it were the centre of East India, both known and unknown), therefore the Governors General Jan Pietersz, Coen and Henrick

Brouwer (our predecessors in office) were during their periods of office seriously inclined to send out expeditions for the discovery of the unknown Southern regions, although they were prevented from so doing by voyages of greater necessity. Likewise ourselves have, during the period of our office, been well disposed towards the same, our Lords and Masters equally recommending the said matter as a highly useful one. For all which reasons we, the Council of India, having made a proper estimate of the Company's, naval forces now available, and having found that, without detriment to other more important expeditions, both warlike and mercantile, two able and fitting vessels may without inconvenience be set apart for this purpose, have determined no longer to postpone the long contemplated discovery of the unknown South-land, but to take the matter in hand forthwith, using for the purpose the ship Heemskerck together with the flute de Zeehaen (duly provided with all necessaries), placing the said vessels under the command of your persons, to whom, as well fitted and inclined to the same, we with full confidence commit this important voyage, trusting that you will ably and prudently manage the same with good judgement, necessary courage and the requisite patience, so that on your return you will be able to give us a full and satisfactory account of the execution of your mandate.

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In landing with small craft extreme caution will every-where have to be used, seeing that it is well-known that the southern regions are peopled by fierce savages, for which reason you will always have to be well armed and to use every prudent precaution, since experience has taught in all parts of the world that barbarian men are nowise to be trusted, because they commonly think that the foreigners who so unexpectedly appear before them, have come only to seize their land, which (owing to heedlessness and over-confidence) in the discovery of America occasioned many instances of treacherous slaughter. On which account you will treat with amity and kindness such barbarian men as you shall meet and come to parley with, and connive at small affronts, thefts and the like which they should put upon or commit against our men, lest punishments inflicted should give them a grudge against us; and by shows of kindness gain them over to us, that you may the more readily from them obtain information touching themselves, their country, and their circumstances, thus learning whether there is anything profitable to be got or effected.

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All continents and islands, which you shall discover, touch at and set foot on, you will take possession of on behalf of Their High Mightinesses the States General of the United-Provinces, the which in uninhabited regions or in such countries as have no sovereign, may be done by erecting a memorial stone or by planting our Prince-flag in sign of actual occupation, seeing that such as lands justly belong to the discoverer and first occupier; but in populated regions or in such as have undoubted lords, the consent of the people or the king will be required before you can enter into possession of them, the which you should try to obtain by friendly persuasion and by presenting them with some small tree planted in a little earth, by erecting some stone structure in conjunction with the people, or by setting up the Prince-flag in commemoration of their voluntary assent or submission; all which occurrences you will on carefully note in your Journal, mentioning by name such persons as have been present at them, that such record may in future be of service to our republic.

[199] THE ENGLISH INSTRUCTIONS TO COOK 1772

[The Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain & Ireland &c^a to Cook. 25th June 1772. in The Journals of Captain James Cook, Edited by J.C. Beaglehole. The Voyage of the RESOLUTION and ADVENTURE, 1772-1775. Cambridge. 1961. pp. clxvii-clxx.]

THE INSTRUCTIONS

By the Commissioners for executing the
Office of Lord High Admiral of Great
Britain & Ireland &c^a

Secret Instructions for Capt. Cook,
Commander of His Majesty's Sloop Resolution.

Whereas several important Discoveries have been made in the southern Hemisphere in the Voyages performed by the Dolphin under the command of Captain Byron, and afterwards under that of Capt. Wallis, by the Swallow Sloop under the Command of Captain Carteret, and by the Endeavour Bark commanded by Yourself; And whereas we have in pursuance of His Majesty's Pleasure signified to us by the Earl of Sandwich, caused the Resolution & Adventure Sloops to be fitted out in all respects proper to proceed upon farther discoveries towards the South Pole, and from the experience we have of your abilities & good conduct in your late Voyage, have thought fit to appoint you to command the first mentioned Sloop, and to intrust you with the Conduct of the present intended Voyage, and have directed Capt. Furneaux, who commands the other Sloop, to follow your orders for his further Proceedings; You are hereby requir'd & directed to proceed with the said two Sloops to the Island of Madeira, & there take on board such quantities of Wine as may be proper for their respective Companies.

Having so done, you are to make the best of your way to the Cape of Good Hope, where you are to refresh the sloops companies & take on board such Provisions & Necessaries as you may stand in need of, & may be able to procure.

You are if possible to leave the Cape of Good Hope by the End of October or the beginning of November next, and proceeding to the Southward endeavour to fall in with Cape Circumcision, which is said by Monsr, Bouvet, to lye nearly in the Latitude of 54°00' South, and in about 11°20' of Longitude East from Greenwich.

If you discover Cape Circumcision, you are to satisfy yourself whether it is a part of that Southern Continent which has so much engaged the attention of Geographers & former Navigators, or Part of an Island. If it proves to be the former, You are to employ yourself diligently in exploring as great an Extent or it as you can; carefully observing the true situation thereof both in Latitude & Longitude, the Variation of the Needle, Bearings of Head Lands, Height, direction & Course of the Tydes & Currents, Depths & Soundings of the Sea, Shoals, Rocks, &c^a; and also surveying & making Charts & taking views of such Bays, Harbours and different parts of the Coast, & making such Notations thereon, as may be

useful either to Navigation or Commerce; you are also carefully to observe the nature of the soil & the produce thereof; the Animals & Fowls that inhabit or frequent it; the Fishes that are to be found in the Rivers or upon the Coast, & in what plenty; And in case there are any which are peculiar to that Country you are to describe them as minutely, & to make as correct Drawings of them, as you can. If you find any Mines, minerals, or valuable Stones, you are to bring home Specimens of each as also of the Seeds of Trees, Shrubs, Plants, Fruits & Grains peculiar to the Country, as you may be able to collect, & to transmit them to our Secretary that we may cause proper Examination & Experiments to be made of them; You are likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives or Inhabitants, if there be any, & endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them Presents of such Trinquets as they may value, inviting them to Trafick, & shewing them every kind of Civility & Regard; but taking care nevertheless not to suffer yourself to be surprized by them, but to be always on your guard against any Accident. You are with the consent of the Natives to take possession of convenient Situations in the County in the Name of the King of Great Britain, and to distribute among the Inhabitants some of the Medals with which you have been furnished to remain as Traces of your having been there. But if you find the Country uninhabited you are to take possession of it for His Majesty by setting up proper Marks & Inscriptions as first Discoverers & Possessors.

When you have performed this Service, if the State of your Provisions & the Condition of the Sloops will admit of it, you are to proceed upon farther Discoveries, either to the Eastward or Westward as your situation may then render most eligible, keeping in as high as Latitude as you can, & prosecuting your discoveries as near to the South Pole as possible; And you are to employ yourself in this manner so long as the condition of the Sloops, the health of their Crews, & the State of their Provisions will admit of it, having always great attention to the reserving as much of the latter as will enable you to reach some known Port where you may procure a sufficiency to carry you to England.

But if Cape Circumcision should prove to be part of an Island only; Or if you should not be able to find the said Cape from Monsr. Bouvet's description of its situation; you are, in the first case, to make the necessary Surveys of the Island, & then stand on to the South ward so long as you judge there may be a likelihood of falling in with the Continent, which you are also to do in the latter Case, and then proceed to the Eastward, in further search of the said Continent, as well as to make discovery of such Islands as may be situated in that unexplored part of the Southern hemisphere, keeping in as high Latitudes as you can & prosecuting your discoveries as before directed as near to the Pole as possible, until by circumnavigating the Globe you fall in again with Cape Circumcision, or the Spot where it is said to be situated; from whence you are to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, & having there refreshed your people, & put the Sloops into condition to return to England, you are to repair with them to Spithead, where they are to remain til further Order.

In the prosecution of these Discoveries, whenever the Season of the Year may render it unsafe for you to continue in high Latitudes, you are to Retire to some known place to the Northward, to refresh your People & refit the Sloops, taking care to return to the Southward as soon as the Season will admit of it.

You are to observe with accuracy the situation of such Islands as you may discover in the course of your Voyage, which have not hitherto been discovered by any Europeans, & to make surveys & Draughts, & take Possession for His Majesty, of such of them as may appear to be of consequence, in the same manner as directed, with respect to the Continent.

But for as much as in an undertaking of this nature, several Emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, & therefore not particularly to be provided for by Instructions beforehand; You are, in all such Cases, to proceed as you shall judge most advantageous to the Service on which you are employed.

You are by all proper Conveyances, to Send to our Secretary, for our information, Accounts of your proceedings & Copies of the Surveys and Drawings you shall have made. And upon your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this Office in order to lay before us a full account of your Proceedings in the whole course of your Voyage; taking care before you leave the Sloop to Demand from the Officers & Petty Officers the Log Books & Journals they may have kept, & to seal them up for our inspection, and enjoining Them & the whole Crew, not to divulge where they have been, until they shall have permission so to do. And you are to direct Capt. Furneaux to do the same with respect to the Officers, Petty Officers & Crew of the Adventure.

If any Accident should happen to the Resolution in the Course of the Voyage so as to disable her from proceeding any farther, you are, in such case, to remove yourself & her Crew into the Adventure, & to prosecute your Voyage in her, her Commander being hereby strictly required to receive you on board & to: obey your Orders the same in every respect as when you were actually on board the Resolution; And, in case of your inability by sickness or otherwise to carry these Instructions into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next Officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

Given &c the 25th of June 1772.

SANDWICH
LISBURNE
A HERVEY
THO^S BRADSHAW

By command of their Lordships
Ph^P Stephens.

[200] THE FRENCH: INSTRUCTIONS TO LA PEROUSE 1785

[A Voyage round the world, performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe, under the command of. J.F.G. De La PEROUSE: Published by order of the National Assembly, under the superintendence of L.A. MILET-MUREAU. In two volumes, Translated from the French, Vol.1. London: 1799. pp.11-42.]

PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS
FROM THE KING TO THE SIEUR DE LA PEROUSE,
CAPTAIN IN THE NAVY,
COMMANDING THE FRIGATES LA BOUSSOLE AND L' ASTROLBE....

JUNE 26, 1785.

p.11. His majesty, having ordered the frigates, la Boussole, commanded by the sieur de la Perouse, and l' Astrolabe, commanded by the sieur de Langle, captains in his navy, to be equipped in the port of Brest for a voyage of discovery, makes known to the sieur de la Perouse, whom he has appointed commander in chief of the two vessels, the service he will have to perform in the important expedition with which he is entrusted.

The different objects, which his majesty had in view, in giving orders for this voyage, require the present instructions to be divided into several parts, thereby to explain the more clearly to the sieur de la Perouse his majesty's particular intentions, with respect to each of the objects he will have to pursue.

P.24.

PART THE SECOND.
SUBJECTS RELATING TO POLITICS AND COMMERCE

In the first part of these instructions, his majesty Has 'traced out the path, which the sieur de la Perouse will pursue, in the observations he has to make throughout the greater part of the terrestrial globe: and in this he will point out to him those objects of politics and commerce, which are particularly to engage his attention in the different places at which he stops, in order that the expedition undertaken by his majesty's command, while it contributes to the improvement of geography, and the extension of navigation, may equally accomplish, in other respects, the objects he has in view for the interest of his crown, and the benefit of his subjects.

2. He will learn whether the English have entirely quitted the Island of Trinidad; whether the Portuguese have settled the re; and what may be the establishment they have formed since it's evacuation. p.25. :

5. The islands of the great equatorial ocean can be supposed to furnish but few observations respecting politics and commerce. Their distance will probably prevent European nations from entertaining the design of forming settlements on them; Spain alone may be a little interested in occupying islands, which, being nearly equidistant from her Asiatic and American possessions, might afford harbours for the shelter and refreshment of

her trading vessels crossing the great ocean. Be this as it may, the sieur de la Perouse will chiefly study the climate and productions of the different islands in that ocean, at which he shall touch, the manners and customs of the natives, their religion, government, mode of making war, arms, and vessels, the distinguishing character of each tribe, what they may have in common with other savage nations and civilised people, and especially what is peculiar to each.

p. 26. In such of the islands as have been already visited by Europeans, he will endeavour to learn, whether the natives have distinguished the different nations of the navigators, and what opinion they may have formed of each in particular. He will examine into the use they have made of the different commodities, metals, tools, stuffs, and other things, with which they have been furnished by Europeans. He will inquire, whether the cattle, fowls, and other animals, which captain Cook left on some of the islands, have bred; what grain and pulse of Europe has succeeded best there; what methods the islanders have employed in cultivating them; and what use they have made of their produce. Lastly, he will every where examine the truth of the reports made by navigators, who have published accounts of these islands, and he will particularly endeavour to learn what may have escaped the observation of his predecessors.

.....

6. If, during his visit to the islands of the great equatorial ocean, and the coasts of the continent, he should fall in with any vessel at sea belonging to another power, he will behave to the commander of the vessel with all the politeness and civility, that custom has established between polished and amicable nations: or if a similar meeting should take place in any port belonging to a people considered as savage, he will concert measures with the captain of the foreign vessel, for the certain prevention of all dispute or altercation between the crews of the two nations,

p.39.

PART THE FOURTH.

OF THE CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED TOWARDS THE NATIVES OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE THE TWO FRIGATES MAY LAND.

The narratives of the several voyagers, who have preceded the sieur de la Perouse, in the seas which he is to traverse, will have acquainted him before hand with the character and manners of some of the different people with whom he may have to deal, both in the islands of the great ocean, and on the north-western coast of America.

His majesty is persuaded, that, improved by this reading, he will strive to imitate the good conduct of some of these navigators, and avoid the faults of others.

At his arrival in each country, he will endeavour to conciliate the friendship of the principal chiefs, both by tokens of good-will and by presents, will inform himself what resources the place affords, to supply the wants of his vessels, and will employ all honourable means of forming connexions with the natives.

He will endeavour to learn what wares and commodities of Europe they prize the most highly, and he will make such an assortment of these as will be acceptable to them, and

induce them to commence a traffic.

He will feel the necessity of taking every precaution, that prudence can suggest, for preserving his superiority over the multitude, without employing force; and, however kind the reception he may meet from the savages, will consider it as of importance always to show himself in a state of defence; because it is to be apprehended, that security on his part might tempt them to endeavour. a surprise.

He will never send a long-boat, or any boat whatever, ashore, without it's being equipped with it's guns, and provided with musquets, cutlasses, pole axes, and ammunition, in sufficient quantity, and commanded by an officer, whom he will order never to lose sight of the boat committed to his charge, and always to leave a party to guard it.

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p.40. He will take care so to moor his majesty's frigates that they may be able to protect the party on shore; and he will regulate with the officer on guard the signals to be made in case of alarm.

These arrangements being observed, he will consider of the means of providing for the subsistence of his crews, and the other wants of his vessels; and after he has made a selection from the tools, manufactures, and commodities of every kind, with which the frigates are furnished, he will form a store of them on shore, under the protection of the corps-de-garde: but aware that the islanders of the great ocean in general have an irresistible propensity to thieving, he will take care, in order that he may not tempt them by the sight of too many things collected in one place, to send ashore such a quantity at a time only as may be employed in traffic in the course of the day.

p.41. He will enjoin every one of the crew to live amicably with the natives, to endeavour to conciliate their friendship by civility and good behaviour, and he will forbid them, under pain of the severest punishment, ever to employ force to procure from the inhabitants what they may refuse to part with voluntarily.

On all occasions the sieur de la Prouse will behave with great gentleness and humanity to the different people he may visit in the course of his voyage.

He will zealously exert himself in every thing that can improve their condition, by bestowing on their country the pulse, fruits, and useful trees of Europe; by teaching them the manner of sowing and cultivating them; and by enabling them to understand the use they are to make of these presents, the object of which is to multiply on their soil productions necessary to a people who derive almost the whole of their subsistence from the earth.

If imperious circumstances, for which, in a long expedition, it is the part of prudence to be provided, should ever compel the sieur de la Prouse to employ the superiority of his arms over those of savage nations, in order to procure himself, in spite of their opposition, the necessaries of life, such a provision, wood, and water, he will use his strength with the greatest moderation, and punish with extreme severity any of his people who shall exceed

his orders. In all other cases, if he cannot obtain the friendship of the savage by good treatment, he will endeavour to keep them in awe by threats; but he will have recourse to arms only in the last extremity, for his own defence alone, and on occasions when forbearance would decidedly endanger the safety of the vessels, and the lives of the French subjects, with whose preservation he is entrusted: and his majesty will consider it as one of the happiest events of the expedition, if it should terminate without costing the life of a single individual.

B. TONGA'S LONG-STANDING CONCERN OVER INDEPENDENCE

[201] THE FEAR OF FOREIGN POWERS TAKING LAND – TONGAN MYTHS AND LEGENDS

[Gifford, Tongan Myths and Tales, Bishop Museum publication, 1924.]

P. 88. Tales accounting for the location of certain islands are commonly current in Tonga today. A number of islands like Tanoa, mentioned in the preceding tale, are described as portions of other islands that have been removed by thievish gods and dropped in their present position. Certain rocks are said to be transformed people who usually made the transformation to escape a pursuer or because of chagrin over failure to accomplish an undertaking. Other islands are said to have been brought forth by a goddess.

p.89. The Origin of Kao Island.

This is the story of how Kao was taken from the neighbouring island of Tofua, which was once so high that it could be seen from Samoa and also from Tuahivavalu (Eight Ridges).

Three deities from Samoa, Tuvuvota, Sisi, and Faingaa, conspired to steal Tofua. So they came and tore up the high mountain by its very roots its place was taken by a large lake (the crater lake of Tofua). This enraged the Tongan gods very much and one of them, Tafakula, essayed to stop the thieves. He stood on the little island of Luahoko (in the Haapai group) and bent over so as to show his anus. It shone so brilliantly that the Samoan deities were struck with fear, thinking that the sun was rising and that their dastardly work was about to be revealed. Hence, they dropped the mountain close to Tofua and fled to Samoa. The mountain became the island of Kao.

[Tofua is some sixteen hundred feet in height and has a crater: lake in the interior. Just north of Tofua rises the great volcanic cone of Kao, three thousand three hundred and eighty feet in height.]

The Origin of Kao Island. (Variant)

This is the tale of taking away of Kao from Tofua, of which it formed a part. It is said that Haelefeke, a god from Samoa, stole it. However he did not go far with it, for a god of 'Eua, named Tafakula, showed his brilliant red anus from the north. Haelefeke was under the impression that day had dawned, dropped Kao where it is now, and fled in affrighted haste back to Samoa.

The Origin of Lotuma Islanda

Talau (a hill in Vavau, now 430 feet high) was a high mountain in ancient times. It could be seen from Samoa. The gods of Samoa were jealous because this mountain of Tonga was so lofty. They all planned together with Moso, who was a god of Samoa as well as Tonga, to carry Talau over to Samoa at night.

One midnight all the Samoans gods arrived in Vavau to carry out their plan. As they lifted Talau, Tafakula (one of the gods of Tonga who lived in Eua) saw these gods and came over

to stop them. Tafakula (Red Edges) took a position at the eastern horizon, with his back towards the Samoans gods. He made a slapping noise and crowed like a cock. The Samoans gods now thought it was sunrise. They dropped Talau and fled. As they dropped the mountain the summit broke off. This summit or peak was the origin of the small island of Lotuma which is situated close to Mt. Talau.

[202] INDEPENDENCE AND THE FIRST MISSIONARIES

(i) *Finau's exploration.*

[Martin. An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands etc. pp.72-74]

Some years ago, on the arrival of an European vessel, one of the white men came to live among them by choice. This man's name was Morgan. He lived for a considerable time on terms of great friendship with the natives and was much respected by them. Some time afterwards there came another European vessel, (the Duff, Captain Wilson, with the missionaries), and from this ship also there came several white men, to live by choice among them. The white men that came last built a house, in which they used often to shut themselves up, to sing and perform ceremonies, (as Finow expressed it). Matters went on very well for some time. At length a quarrel ensued between Morgan and the other white men, at first about an iron pot which he wanted to borrow of them and then about some pigs which they said he had stolen from them. Upon this they informed the chiefs that this Morgan had been a bad man in his own country, and was under sentence of banishment for his crimes; but from the full execution of which he had escaped. (he had actually escaped from Botany Bay). The people then began to treat Morgan with every species of insult, so that his life was very uncomfortable, and often in great danger. Morgan in his turn told the Chiefs who they were, viz. that they were men sent out by the King of England to bring a pestilence upon the people of Tonga and that they accordingly shut themselves up in this house, to perform witchcraft, and make incantations, which was the cause of the pestilence that then raged; (there was an epidemic disease at the time, which was very fatal among the chief's, two or three dying every day) and that all their books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs began to take Morgan's statement into serious consideration; there certainly was a great mortality among them; the white men often assembled, and sang very loud; besides which, they would not let the Tonga people be present and to prevent them even from peeping through the crevices of the reed fencing of the house, they stop the with all kinds of filth knowing that the cleanliness of the Tonga people would then allow them even to approach. And the chiefs said to themselves, if these people are doing no harm, why do not they allow us to be present? We do not conceal our ceremonies from them, why do not they expose theirs to us? It the meanwhile Morgan said to the chiefs 'You see the effect of their incantations; several or you are dying every day; by and by you will be all cut off and the king of England will take possession of your islands; for although you have the remedy in your power, you will not make use of it.' The chiefs took the alarm in time; they rushed upon the white men, and killed all but three, who were at that time under the protection of Veachi; a great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

(ii) *Vason's comments.*

[James Orange. The life of the late George Vason of Nottingham, London 1840.]

p. 117 Ambler also and Morgan, though they never were reconciled to us yet came to us in a mild manner, and were glad to pretend a reconciliation with us, in order to get some of our articles. We enriched them with presents of considerable value; for trifling articles amount to great possessions in Tongataboo; yet they did not desist from their endeavours to prejudice the natives against us, by every possible unjust insinuation. But the chiefs would not listen to them. Some of them, however, became suspicious of us; and in an assembly gave it as their opinion that we should not be suffered to remain there. But Mulkaamair, my friend and chief, made them the following answer. "If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret whisperings, that they meant to take our land and kill us, we ought all to strike hands and root them out from among us; but they have brought great riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish more?" This satisfied the objectors; and we gradually increased in the esteem of the natives.

(iii) *Two natives arrive in Sydney from Tonga 1823*

[The Sydney Gazette, Thursday, January 9, 1823. The Mitchell Library]¹

The news by the St. Michael from the island of Tonga, one of the Friendly Islands, upon which the Rev. Mr. LAWRY is placed, is very gratifying. The SET TIME is certainly and gloriously come for-the evangelization of those myriads of fellow creatures. Two natives have arrived from Tonga: they come voluntarily, and appear; from their modesty and kindness, to be easily accessible to the mild and winning-dictates of the Gospel. One of them combines the character of priest and warrior, and is of the first importance, next to His Tongese Majesty in the state. The other is a Prince. Were we to enter into further particulars now, it might tend to injure the accounts that are intended for speedy publication. We trust that these remarks will operate as a sufficient apology in the present instance.

(iv) *Assessment of Tonga by Mr. Lawrey in Sydney 1823*

[The Sydney Gazette, Thursday, January 9, 1823. The Mitchell Library]

We promised something in our last descriptive of the Mission to Tongataboo, which we shall henceforward invariably designate, TONGA. Mr. LAWRY says, in reference the, success of the Mission, that he has "no doubt its being of Divine appointment; and that every day's experience encourages hope and excites gratitude." Such sentiments, emanating from

¹ The following 3 manuscripts are not in the original Source Documents but have been added to provide some further details of the waring period.

Missionary seated amid habitations of cruelty, cannot but give birth to the most ardent expectations. The barriers in the establishment of a Mission in the Friendly Islands appeared extremely formidable to encounter.

Hardly a ship could once touch without bloodshed. Upwards of 20 years since, it is within recollection, several Gentlemen from the London Missionary Society were landed there, but operations with them had scarcely began, ere most of the party were butchered while some providentially effected an escape.

Those islands are aggregated at about *one hundred and eighty-eight*, and for nearly the last 20 years the inhabitants have been engaged in sanguinary wars. About 8 years since-war-raged with dreadful fury; another was waged about 4 years ago; and the last has only terminated 2 years. It is acknowledged by the natives that depopulation of one half of the islands has occurred in those contests, which are conducted in a way far more horrible and bloody than can be well conceived by Europeans. Those islanders, now, however, are in the enjoyment of tranquillity; appear to be heartily sickened of war; and the fields are therefore "white [ripe] to the harvest."

When the St. Michael left Tonga, Mr. Lawry was devoting his attention to the acquirement of the Tongese language, while his little heroic retinue were busily engaged in erecting a dwelling-house and cultivating a garden. Wheat, maize, peas, beans, turnips, cabbage, melons, pumpkin, &c were sown, and came forward with rapid growth. The soil is pronounced much richer than the banks of the Hawkesbury. Trees, of various kinds, are very numerous but, in consequence of the majority being fruit, the natives are very backward in allowing them to be cut down for the purposes of building. Bananas are abundant enough for five times the number of the inhabitants; almost all the ground is covered with trees bearing luxuriant production live save occasionally an open field in cultivation. The roads are good, which are chiefly shaded by umbrageous bows and vines. The convolvulus canariensis bearing blue and white flowers, climb the highest trees and, in some places, they extend from bow to bow over acres of ground. The island is adorned too with delightful and refreshing arbours; to form some conception of which Mr. Lawry has one in his garden (having purchased several acres of land from king Palau¹) sufficiently capacious to contain all the people of Tonga; thus shewing, that a kind Providence makes suitable provision for the otherwise intolerable warmth of the climate. The sea abounds with fine fish, of which the way natives take but little notice. The centipede is the only venomous reptile on the island, and this is rarely found. Mr. Lawry says, that Tonga is much prettier than can be conceived.

The people are vastly superior to the New Zealanders, both in body and mind. In New Zealand the chiefs are destitute of authority and importance, equally as much as our aboriginal chiefs, but in Tonga affairs are conducted in quite a different of way. The mandate of the chief must be obeyed, or death is dealt to the transgressor. The chief, by whom Mr. Lawry and his family are especially protected, represented as a very fine looking man, and is much heavier than two common sized Europeans: he only had 14 wet nurses to

¹ *Cokevernal* is the name given by Mr. L. to this estate.

attend him in his infant days. The mental endowments of this chief are discovered to be proportioned to his corporeal powers; a more shrewd, discerning, generous, and prudent man (says Mr. Lawry) no one could expect without the lines of civilization." PALAU, the name of this king, for he is the principal authority among the islands, of which Tonga is the *London*, would pass as a very fair civilian with the possession of the English language.

Timber, either for building or furniture, is not plentiful. As for labour: the Tongese vie with our poor aborigines in the that respect; if tools are placed in their hands, they smile at the simplicity of their new friends, and quietly walk off!!

Some tolerably correct information has been at gained of the murder of the three Missionaries before alluded to; the natives affirm that they were killed in battle; not that they actually fought, but when the opposing party was coming upon them, they maintained their ground; though the excellent chief, when engaged to protect them, actually lost his own life in endeavouring to force them out of danger.

Those people have no particular deity to whom adoration is paid; annually they appear to have a general meeting from all parts, which is a festival that continues nine days, during which great regard is paid to the spirit of eminent departed chiefs, who are the only tutelary gods towards whom the appearance of worship is manifested. In those seasons club-fights form part of the *amusement* upon the occasion; and there is nothing equal to those brutal *sports*, for such they are esteemed in Tonga. To contemplate the Herculean size of our visitors by the St. Michael an adequate conception may be formed of the blows that are dealt out at those feasts. Offerings of yams and other productions, which should be of the choicest kind, are presented to the spirit; and upon the last day a rush is made to see who can grasp most of the offerings, in which one general confusion ensues, and then each family retires peaceably to its respective dwelling.

But some of those islanders, who are eminent and proverbial for treachery, also endeavour to deceive their gods. Mr. Lawry observed several individuals bringing the shadow that should have been offered. For instance, instead of presenting yams, as the first fruits of a plentiful crop, and thus expressing gratitude to the deity, some took merely the leaves. This act of deceit was pointed out to one of the chiefs by the Missionary, who laughed heartily at the detection.

The males undergo the rite of circumcision; and both male and female lose the little finger of the right hand, which is amputated in infancy with a sharp stone. Palau is well supported in his authority, owing to many of the chiefs in the contiguous islands being nearly related him, and seems to wish all the children under his control may be taught by the Papylangy (the English).

The people are not allowed, in the most remote way, to infringe upon the grounds or retirement of Mr. *Lawry* and his family; one instance to the contrary occurred, in which complaint was necessarily made and *His Majesty Palau* immediately, in *propria persona* inflicted severe corporal punishment, to which the sufferers silently yielded.

A man named Singleton, who has been on the island awards of 20 years, is still alive. This individual, who seems to be as much involved in darkness as those around him, has lately

narrowly escaped death. It was supposed that he had come in contact with the interest of one of the petty chiefs and a stratagem was laid for his life. [Upon] Discovery [of his hiding] place, he fled to Mr. Lawry for protection; who [sought] thereby to advantage the object for which he has vanquished the comforts of civilized life. Singleton [being the] interpreter; by which providential means [the] Gospel scheme will be explained to those nations, until Mr. L. becomes sufficiently acquainted with the language. The interpreter betrays no small confusion in instrumentally unfolding the precepts of Christianity to those people, in contravention to which he lived for so many years. Such an influence has [remained] upon the mind of the most abandoned.

We must [adjourn] this interesting account to another opportunity. The next arrival from Tonga will let us more into story and manners of this new world of beings, for which it may consistently be styled; and, in the interim, becomes important that every Christian should offer in fervent prayers for the protection of all Missionaries, and, for the promised final accomplishment of the mighty undertakings that now gloriously agitate the Christian world.

(v) Rifle firing spectacle in Sydney to intimidated visitors from Tonga 1923

[The Sydney Gazette, February 13, 1823. p2. The Mitchell Library]¹

The two natives of Tonga (Friendly Islands) were indulged with an exhibition on Tuesday afternoon, last, that will doubtless fill their minds with contemplation till they return; and then enable them to amuse their countrymen, while they live, with the wonders they have beheld. At the direction of His Excellency, the COMMANDER of the FORCES, we understand, the troops were drawn up in Hyde Park, under the command of Colonel ERSKINE, at two o'clock. The 18th went through many evolutions, and was no way sparing of powder. The strangers were struck with reverence; but what seemed to engage their attention most was the rapid and consecutive firing (the independent file firing) that was kept up for several minutes till the troops become enveloped in clouds of smoke. This species of firing seemed to leave a solemn effect up the uncultivated mind; but, with the whole of the manoeuvres, they appeared quite enraptured. The Reverend Mr. HASSALL was kind enough to attend the strangers in Hyde Park: as did also Captain Bevaridge of the St. Michael.

Such an act of marked attention as the above cannot fail to have a most weighty effect in forwarding the design of the Mission to the Friendly Islands. Abstracted from the powerful influence it must have upon the savage mind; how genial, kind and gratulating, will it be to the inestimable and beloved Mr. LAWRY. Though shut out from all civilized society, yet we behold the considerate REPRESENTATIVE of Our GRACIOUS MONARCH conferring a favour upon Missionary exertions, which merits, and will assuredly obtain, a record more lasting than the flitting newspaper can possible bestow. It seems a small thing, but as regards the policy of the measure, it must be pronounced of as of trivial importance; and the grateful Missionary now perilously dwelling among the heathen, will not fail cherish this act of kindness, on behalf of his family, throughout an arduous but distinguished life.

¹ This newspaper article may be considered as a piece of early 19th Century Australian satirical humour.

[203] A BRITISH VOYAGER RE-ASSURES FINAU 1830.

[Waldegrave, W. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society, London. Vol 3. 1833.]

p. 193. The soil and everything in the island are the king's. Should an industrious man cultivate tobacco, or clear ground, or prune trees, the king sees or hears of it, and sends for it: the king, or chief under him, assumes all the vegetables, poultry, or hogs, are his own, and, in barter, puts the price on each, which either is paid to him or the grower; if a present is made to the king or chief, it is instantly distributed amongst the followers, except that part which the chief allots to himself.

I stated to Finau, that the missionaries are not sent by the King of England, but by good men in England, and that he might receive or send them away; but if he received them, he must treat them with kindness, protect them from harm, else he would displease King George, who would not permit his children to be murdered or ill-treated.

[204] KING GEORGE TUPOU I and INDEPENDENCE 1850

[Rev. Walter-Lawry. A Second Missionary visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands in the year 1850. John Mason, London 1851. Pp.71-72]

25th June 1850

To prevent all possibility of mistake, I wrote the King this morning the following note:

TO KING GEORGE TUBOU

"I beg to ask, with great respect, whether I understood the matter correctly last night; namely,

"First, That you were determined not to part with any land in your dominions throughout the Friendly Isles?

"Secondly, That though you greatly desire the friendship and alliance of Great Britain, yet you do not intend to be in subjection to any Power or State whatever, but to remain, you and your people, a free and independent nation?

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient and respectful Friend,

"WALTER LAWRY."

THE KING'S ANSWER

"My mind is, that I will not verily sell any piece of land in this Tonga; for it is small; then, what of it can we sell? and what would be left for ourselves?

"I verily wish to be the friend of Britain; in friendly alliance, with all fellowship; but it is not my mind, nor the mind of my people, that we should be subject to any other people or kingdom in this world. But it is our mind to sit down (that is, remain) an independent nation,

"I am

"GEORGE TUBOU."

[205] ALLIES AND SUBJECTS OF BRITAIN 1847.

[Walter Lawry. Friendly and Feejee Islands: A Missionary Visit to various stations in the South Seas. London 1850, p.24]

Sept. 4, 1847.

King George has committed to me a letter to his Excellency Governor Grey, of New Zealand, desiring to be under the shadow of British power, and asking the Governor to inquire respecting a letter which had been sent by a former King of Tonga to the Queen, but to which no answer had been received. The King renews the proposals therein made, that he and his people become not merely the allies, but the subjects, of the British crown. This is done because they fear the French, whose base conduct towards the people of Tahiti is fully known here. I am glad the King has taken this step; inasmuch as I am satisfied Governor Grey is just the kind-hearted and far-seeing man that will befriend a fine people who seek to be kept from the spoiler.

[206] THE DEMANDS OF A FRENCH CITIZEN. 1850.

[Erskine Capt, J. E. Proceedings at the South Seas Islands.
The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London, Vol 24. 1851. p. 229.]

(Mr Maruc, a French citizen, was living in Nuku'alofa, serving the local community as a trader. Several times his property was destroyed by fire. A demand for \$600 compensation, made to King George, was duly paid.)

I believe there is no doubt that M. Maruc , during his stay on the : island had been constantly annoyed by the conduct of the natives in spite of all the King could do to prevent it, and of the efforts of the Protestant missionaries, who cannot in this instance be accused of exciting the native population against a foreigner, as they had befriended him from his arrival. But the king naturally expressed great alarm at the prospect of demands being made upon him in this manner, fearing that it might be done, not merely with a view to extortion, but to the weakening of his power, or ultimately depriving him of his domains. I explained to him that complaints of the conduct of French citizens should be made to their own Government, who could not be supposed to entertain any such evil intention towards him and would not willingly allow him to be imposed on. As the King however, has no regular secretary or confidential person about him capable of drawing up any complaint of the kind, he has no means of taking such a step, and requested that I would acquaint the British Government with his situation.

(For a full account of the incidents that led to M. Maruc's demands see Document 210.)

C. THE BEGINNINGS OF REGULAR CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN POWERS.

[207] FRENCH THREATS 1841

[Journal, Rev, Peter Turner. Book 8. January 1842 to October 4, 1843.
Mitchell Library Sydney. B 307.]

January 1st. (1842)

On the 15th December 1841 the ALIER, a French Corvette came in - the captain's name is E. du. Bouzet. She carries 22 guns. The vessel arrived in the bay about noon, and while we were in the native service an officer came on shore to see some of the chiefs and to inform them that the captain requested some of them to go on board in the morning as he had brought a letter from the King of France to the King of these Islands. The chiefs promised to go on board. The officer came up to our house and left a few newspapers with the captain's compliments, who desired him to say that he would pay us a visit some time the next day.

Thursday 16. Several of the principal chiefs went on board of the ALIER and were made very welcome by the capt. He made them a few small presents and showed them the vessel. The captain then desired to have some conversation with the chiefs. The following conversation took place which was translated by a resident of the Island. Where is the King? He is at Tonga. When do you expect him? We do not know at what time he will come. He may not come before the year terminates. Could you not send for him? No, we have not any canoes remaining, they are all gone to Tonga. We are very sorry for that as we wish to see your King for we have brought a letter from the King of France to the King here and we wish to take some writing from King to the King of France. The Chiefs said they wished King Geo. was here as he would then know the meaning of the letter from the King of France. The captain asked if they had not heard what the French had done at the Sandwich Islands and at Tahite. They said they had heard of that some time ago. The C. laughed heartily at that and seemed glad that the news of their great exploits had reached before their arrival: that the dread of them might fall upon the people. The chiefs seemed some little afraid and wished to be going but he constrained them to remain some time longer. He then asked why they had driven the Bishop and two Romish priests from their Island - when they wished to remain? Our chiefs said they did not know that they had driven them away, as they only said that they did not want them, and they had all embraced Xtianity and did not wish for the Romish religion: besides as the King was not here they could not give him every particular as they were ignorant of what passed between them and the King. The captain said he did not think that they could remain until the King came from Tonga, but that he would leave the letter of the King of France and that another vessel would soon be in at Vavau. and the Capt would be able to get an answer from King Geo. The Captain made a request that the people might be allowed to trade while the vessel remained as the men were in want of fresh provisions. To this the chiefs complied and the people began to trade the following day.

On the 17th a small vessel came to anchor just before the mission premises; we soon learned that it was the small vessel belonging to the Romish Bishop of New Zealand and that his lordship was on board: the very same person that was here a few years ago. This gave us to

see immediately the whole design, that it was to introduce popery into these islands - and to reach if possible the scenes of Owhyee and Tahite.

.....

Then we wished to know what the letter could be which the King of France had written to K. Geo - he (the Bishop) said that he knew nothing about it, only that the K. of France had been informed of the manner in which he had been treated a few years ago when in this harbour viz that he had been denied the privilege of leaving a Priest and a Catechist to take care of some goods which he wished to leave here until another vessel should come to take them away - that he promised they should not interfere with the religion of the land. The King of France had taken it up on the grounds of insult that his subjects had been denied the priveleges granted to the subjects of other nations and therefore that religion had not any thing to do with the matter - that it was a mere civil affair.

.....

The following is a copy of the letter which the Captain left for King Geo - an answer to which he is expected to give when the Alier - or some other vessel shall come here.

.....

On board of his French
Majesty's Corvette - the Alier.
Port Refuge Vava'u 28th Dec, 1841.

Sire

"His Majesty the King of the French being informed that a worthy and respectable French Bishop my Lord Pompalice having charge of the whole Christian Mission for evangelizing Polynesia, had received on his passage among these Islands in the year 1838 a reception altogether different from that which a French subject and especially a man of his character ought to expect in as much as he was not allowed to leave there one of the persons of his suite, although he entered into an engagement not to occupy himself with religion.

I have been charged by his government to demand of your majesty the motives of such an exclusion injurious to the French nation, so little in accordance with the hospitable customs of the Polynesian nations, and altogether incompatible with the laws and customs of civilized people.

The Government of His Majesty the King of the French animated with the most benevolent sentiment towards all the People of Polynesia has in return the right of requiring a good reception for all French people and their admission into Vavau; and all Islands submissive to the authority of your Majesty; whether for the purpose of commerce or any lawful purposes they may be instigated as to call there upon the same footing as all other strangers and a protection duo from all Xtian and secular governments to honest people. This being refused them it will show a malevolent disposition towards France, who will know then how to cause her subjects to be respected according to the line of conduct which the case will require.

While charging me to make these representations to you the government of his Majesty the King of the French has thought that it will be more noble to act up to the rights of civilized

nations, and thus your majesty will always avoid whatever may disturb the peace and good friendship which France wishes to preserve towards you and your subjects.

Accept Sire the homage of my respect.

The Lawful Commander of the Corvette Alier.

E. Bouzet.

The Lord save us from Pogery. That we and our people may continue to follow the things which have been taught by the true Ministers of Christ.

[208] APPEALS TO QUEEN VICTORIA 1844 - 1846

(i) *"Taking us as Your Majesty's people" 1844*

[Memorial of Josiah Tupou King of Tonga, to her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Nuku'alofa, Tonga, February 19th, 1844.

National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

Memorial of Josiah Tubou, King of Tonga, to her
Majesty Queen Victoria.

Nukualofa, Tonga, Feb. 19th, 1844.

May it please Your Majesty,

I, Your Majesty's humble servant, Josaiah of Tonga taboo, have been constrained to write Your Majesty. I acknowledge it is a freedom I am most unworthy of being a man of another nation, and very far removed from England; but as we now appear to be in danger, this has led me to take this liberty, which I beg Your Majesty to look on with pity.

The Kingdom of Tonga has from of old been a separate and independent Kingdom; it included in it the islands of Tonga, Eua, the Haapai and Haafuluhaa Groups, Keppel's Island, and Niuafouu. The Government has been in the hands of the Tonguese, and no foreign power has interfered either with our fathers, or with us; neither were we led to expect any would do so with a people so few in number, so poor, and so feeble.

It is true that we have acted wrong formerly in taking ships, and doing other evil things; but we did it in our ignorance; and when you informed us not to do such things, we left them off, and for a long time we have endeavoured to behave well towards all who have visited us, and we were far from expecting that any evil would arise towards us. But at this time the conduct of the people of France assumes to us a very unfavorable aspect, and we are now afraid; as we are by no means pleased at what we have been informed they have done at the Marquesas, their having made war on the inhabitants, taken their lands into their own possession, and removed all the foreigners away. We have also heard what they have done at Tahiti, and at other islands; and we now really fear that they have a design to take Tonga. It is this that has led me to write Your Majesty to do with us as you please, only afford us protection from our enemies, as we wish to be Your Majesty's subjects.

From the time Captain Cook anchored here, we have viewed the English as our friends, with

whom we wished to be one; but as we have not been in danger, so we have not sought for assistance; but now, being in jeopardy, we hope Your Majesty will take us under Your Majesty's protection. We are encouraged to lay our case before Your Majesty, by having been informed of Your Majesty's great goodness and readiness to assist those in necessitous circumstances in various parts of the world.

We are not unmindful of the favor Your Majesty has conferred upon us in allowing Your Majesty's ships of war to visit us from time to time; neither do we wish to forget that it is from highly exalted England that we have received the sacred Scriptures, that we might know the true God and his Son Jesus Christ, that we might be saved. We owe much to England, and now offer our sincere thanks. And now, Most Gracious Queen, show pity towards us; and, with as little delay as possible, give us a proof of your compassion, by protecting us and our children, and the good work which has been so hopefully begun in these islands, by taking us for Your Majesty's people.

And may the favor and love of Almighty God be Your Majesty's portion for ever, is the prayer of

Your Majesty's humble servant,

Josaia Tubou.

(ii) "We do not wish to fall into the hands of any other nation"

[King George Tupou to Sir George Grey. Nuku'alofa, August 28th, 1847.
National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

I George write this in love to you the Governor of New Zealand, the Rev Mr Lawry having made known to me your kind regard for me: therefore I am wishful to make known to you, that we wrote to Queen Victoria of England, to beg her to pity us, a weak people, who are exposed to danger: and we have been expecting to receive a letter in answer to ours - but now it is a long time since we wrote, and no letter has been received, neither has any of Queen Victoria's Ships of war called upon us; hence we are not certain whether or not our Letter was received.

But now, I beg to forward to you a copy of that letter that you may see it, and do with it what you think will be right - for our minds continue as they were - we wish to be friends with England. It is true that we as a people are few number and very feeble, not worthy of the notice of a great people such as England, but we do not wish to fall into the hands of any other nation.

It is this which has led me to write again at this time, if there be anything wrong in it, I beg you to forgive it.

I am,

George.

(iii) "Her Majesty will . . . willingly aid you". 1847

[Sir George Grey to King George Tupou. Government House, Auckland, New Zealand. December 22nd, 1847. National Archives of New Zealand.]

Sir,

This letter will be delivered to you by Captain Maxwell - of H.M. Ship "Dido" - who is the officer in command of Her Majesty's Ships and Vessels on these coasts. I beg that you will communicate to him your wishes, and acquaint him with the manner in which I can be of any future service to you. Capt. Maxwell is a personal friend of mine, and I can therefore with confidence recommend you to rely upon his advice, and to trust to his affording you any assistance which he may feel justified in giving.

Your letter of the 28th August did not reach me until yesterday, - I now lose no time in assuring you of the interest with which I have watched the progress of your people in Christianity and civilization, nor of the sincere pleasure it will afford me to render you every assistance in promoting their happiness and prosperity.

The Queen of England will I have no doubt hoar with great pleasure, that even in your country her name is known and loved, and Her Majesty will I am. satisfied willingly aid you, in your efforts for the advancement of those who are dependent upon you, - indeed her goodness is such, that to spread the blessings of peace and concord over the earth, has constantly been her aim, and even these parts so distant from her own home, will be to Her Majesty, objects of the most lively interest, if she can assist in raising the inhabitants of them from vice and barbarism to christianity and civilization.

I beg that you will under any circumstances of difficulty communicate with me. If I can send any animals or plants to you which are not at present to be found in your islands, I shall feel great pleasure in doing so if you will write to me for them.

It may be in my power next year to visit you - I shall make a point of doing so if no unexpected difficulties present themselves. If you could visit me, I shall feel great pleasure in receiving you, or any members of your family, and I can, without difficulty, at any time send a vessel from hence to convey you back to your country.

Capt. Maxwell will deliver to you a small present, which I have sent to you, feeling that in thus evincing the regard of my countrymen for you, I shall act in conformity with the wishes of the Queen of England -

Begging you to accept the assurances of my high consideration for you.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

(Signed) G. Grey.

Governor-in-Chief.

(iv) "The disinterested friendship" of Queen Victoria 1849.

[Sir George Grey to King George Tupou. Government House, Auckland, 19th June 1849. National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

Sir,

I have received a letter from one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State acquainting me that your letter to me of the 28th August 1847 enclosing a letter which had been addressed to Queen Victoria upon the 19th February 1844 had been received in England.

At the same time I was requested to inform you that Her Majesty feels an earnest desire to promote in as far as may be in Her power the welfare of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands and that she is anxious to assist you in promoting the progress of civilization religion and prosperity amongst them.

This message from Her Majesty is a proof of the interest which your letter has created and of the disinterested friendship which the Queen feels for yourself and the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands, and you may rely upon my continuing by every means in my power to give effect to these benevolent intentions and wishes of Her Majesty.

Captain Erskine of H.M.S. "Havanah" and the Senior officers at this station will deliver this letter to you. He is acquainted with the contents of it, and you may rely upon receiving from him the most friendly advice and assistance.

I have the honour to be

Sir

faithfully yours

(Signed) G. Grey.

(v) "A small and weak Kingdom" in fear of "the encroachments of a great foreign Power" 1856.

[King George Tupou to Queen Victoria. Nuku'alofa, Tonga, May 12th 1856. Wesleyan Mission Papers. Copy in English and Tongan. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.]

To her gracious Majesty Victoria
Queen of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland.

I George Tupou, being by the providence of God, and with the consent of the Chiefs of Tonga taboo, Hapai and Vavau, King of the Friendly Islands desire to express to your gracious Majesty our earnest wish to enter into a Treaty of Commerce and Amity with Great Britain.

Christianity has raised our people, and we are now anxious to cultivate our Lands, and pursue such Manufactures as are peculiar to our Country, that we may exchange our

products for the Improvements and comforts and embellishments of Civilized Life.

To secure this object all British Subjects shall have Liberty freely and securely to come with their Ships and Cargoes to all our ports, to trade in the same, to hire and occupy warehouses for their Commerce and shall be granted protection for their Persons and Property to the uttermost of our Power.

We are a small and Weak Kingdom and fear the encroachments of a great foreign Power. We desire to retain our Lands, rule our people in the bear of God and live in Peace.

And we entreat that our independent existence as a Kingdom may be recognized by your Majesty and granted to us.

I am
with profound respect
Tupou.

[209] KING GEORGE'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH. 1850

[Rev, Walter Lawry, A Second Missionary visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands, John Mason, London 1851. pp.62-64.]

21st June 1850

We dined with the King and Missionaries on board the line frigate "Meander," forty-four guns. On our stepping on board we found Captain Keppel and his officers all in their uniform, ready to receive us, and the marines drawn up on the quarter-deck, presenting arms, as a guard of honour to King George. The band played during the dinner-hour, which was at sunset; and - what with the viands, the wines, the servants, the sailors, the dazzling epaulettes, the great guns, and the grandeur of every body and every thing around - George was quite astonished; but he carried himself with dignity; and his speech after dinner I shall here insert, as worthy of him and of ourselves.

KING GEORGE'S SPEECH ON BOARD H.M.S. "MEANDER," JUNE 21st, 1850,
ADDRESSED TO THE HONOURABLE CAPTAIN KEPPEL, AND TRANSLATED BY MR. AMOS.

"I return you my thanks for your kind visit. It is only thanks which your visit demands. The honour you have put upon me to-day is great. I thank you for these favours. But, what is most a matter of thanksgiving is, that Britannia sent us the Gospel, and the Missionaries, and the Sacred Book, that we might live thereby. These we value more than men-of-war, or the visits of Queen Victoria's ships. But we value these visits also.

"It is great love shown to & weak and friendless people, that a wise and powerful nation, such as Britannia, should cast its shadow over us. Under this shade we live.

"To know of the 'confusion' (fakamaveuveu) produced in the world by the French and others. We wish not their visit nor friendship. Theirs is (unga mate) 'a deadly shade.'

"Your visits have always been friendly visits. Has it not been so from the beginning? I flatter you not. I do not speak thus because I am on board this great ship, or because one

of the Queen of England's nobles is sitting beside me. I speak in truth. If my departed ancestors could speak here to-day, would they not bear me witness? Ever since of old has not your course of conduct been uniformly gracious? We know it has; and, if every member of my body a voice, the only word which it would speak would be Thanksgiving! This is the end of my speech to the Chief of this ship."

[210] FRENCH ENCROZCHMENTS and THE BRITISH RESPONSE 1851.

[Erskine, Capt J.E. Proceedings at the South. Sea Islands.

Journal of the Royal Geographic Society London. Vol, 24. pp. 228 - 229.]

Before leaving New Zealand upon this cruize among the islands, the Governor-in-Chief of that colony communicated to me a correspondence which had taken place between his Excellency and Josiah and George Tubou, on the subject of the cession of the sovereignty of their dominions to the Queen of Great Britain, with a letter from her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, in answer to Sir George Grey's Despatch, desiring him to decline such offer on the part of the British Government, but to express her Majesty's friendship, and her desire for the advancement of prosperity, civilization, and religion in their islands.

Sir George Grey having requested me to deliver his answer to this effect to George Tobou, I did so accordingly, and took occasion to assert my conviction that the fear expressed in his letter, before alluded to, of the encroachments of the French (a fear which seems to be generally entertained among the islands of the Pacific), was groundless. The king, however, having lately been a sufferer from the threats of a French citizen, who, according to his account, had obliged him to pay a sum of 600 dollars as an indemnification for losses incurred in the island of Tonga-tabu, by the acts of the natives, was very desirous that the facts of the case should be stated to British Government. It appears that about two years since a French merchant named Maruc, having arrived with a cargo of goods at Tonga , received-permission from the king, at-the request of the Rev. Mr. Thomas, chairman of the Wesleyan mission, to establish himself there: his goods being deposited in the mission-house, till a building could be prepared for himself. The natives, however, who have a great dislike to the French, burnt down two houses successively, whilst in process of removal to other sites which M. Maruc had purchased; the first from the king, and the second from another chief. The king being unable to detect the offenders, caused the purchase-money of both these houses to be returned to M. Maruc, who accordingly was no actual loser; and in process of time he was allowed to put up and inhabit another building. A vessel being about to sail for Tahiti, M. Maruc however, had written a complaint to the governor there of this treatment, and in a very few months the " Brillante" corvette, arrived to inquire into the case. The king complains, that though unwell, he was ordered on board, when a severe lecture was read to him by the captain, and he was desired to be very careful in his treatment of French citizens in future. No: indemnity, however, was asked for; as no loss had been sustained, and M. Maruc continued to reside on the island. A few months ago a small outbuilding attached to his house was again burnt down (the natives assert by the carelessness of his own servant), and a few articles of small value were missed, supposed to have been stolen. The king having caused all the neighbouring houses to be searched, without effect, M. Maruc demanded an indemnification. Cocoa-nut oil to the value of 600

dollars, threatening, that in the event of a refusal, a man-of-war should return and destroy the place, and hinting that his forbearance alone prevented rigorous measures being adopted by the "Brillante" on a former occasion. The question was debated in an assembly of the chiefs, many of whom were indisposed to accord with the demand; but the king, taking (as he told me) the advice of the missionaries, persuaded them that it was better to yield than run the risk of more severe treatment by a ship of war.

The sum of 600 dollars was accordingly raised by the people bringing a quantity of provisions which were sold to some whalers then in port, the king making up the balance of 174 dollars, being all the money he possessed; and M. Maruc departed in his own vessel for Tahiti, giving George an acknowledgement that he had no further claim on him. It is certainly to be regretted that there is no consular agent of any European power in these islands to whom such disputes might be referred, and who could give the King advice and assistance in forming his Government; which from his character, as well as his acknowledged authority, might be a tolerably strong one. Such an officer might also be of service in securing the succession of George's son the only means of keeping these numerous islands united and prosperous.

The few British in this group are generally well conducted, and no complaints were brought to me against any of them. Port Refuge, in Vava'u, being the best harbour, and the most resorted to by whalers, there are more English and Americans there than at the other islands. Several applied to me to be taken away; but as some of them were under sentence of labour on the public works, for desertion from their vessels, etc., I declined to interfere in such cases. They are, I was assured, generally well treated by the natives, who are (both Christian and Heathen) very well disposed towards the British. There can be little doubt the Christianity will, ultimately, become the religion of this people; but there does not seem to be much hope of a rapid progress in civilization. From the fruitful nature of their land, and the mildness of the climate, they have few wants un-supplied, and no stimulus to industry. The King, however, as mentioned before, is a very intelligent man, and several chiefs and others, educated by the missionaries, exhibit a tolerable share of ability.

[211] RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN POWERS: ST JULIANS ADVICE 1855

[Hawaii State Archives. Foreign Office and External Papers.
Hawaiian Officials Abroad. Dec, 1855.]

His Hawaiian Majesty's Commission to the
Independent States and Tribes of Polynesia.
Sydney 15th October 1855.

Sir,

1. In fulfilment of the promise with which my letter of the 26th June last was closed I have now the honour to offer to your Majesty a few suggestions as to the Foreign Relations of your Kingdom, as to the collection and expenditure of its Revenues and as to its Military defence.

2. The intercourse of nations with each other is governed by certain principles and customs which constitute what is called "International Law", I cannot attempt to define this international law within the space of a letter for it is a subject upon which many large Books have been written. Its chief - governing principles however are these:-

I. Every nation a community in which a government exists which is capable of preserving internal order and of guarding the interests and promoting the happiness of the people who live under its rule, is entitled to rank as an independent nation.

II. The rights of all nations are equal. Some of them are entitled to deference in account of their superiority in power and their advancement in civilisation; but no state, however powerful, has any right whatever to control the lawful proceedings of another, however small or weak it may be, unless with the full and free consent of such smaller state.

III. But it is only while a nation adheres to a just course of action that it is entitled to maintain intact these Sovereign rights. Should it infringe the rights of other nations or injure their subjects: Should it be guilty of any gross and continuous Acts of tyranny towards its own subjects or should it become plainly and unquestionably incompetent to manage its own affairs then other states have a right to interfere with it. In the great family of nations, each individual state is, to the whole, what each member of a community is to that community. It is entitled to perfect freedom as long as it acts honestly and equitably and respects the rights of others, but no longer.

IV. Contracts and agreements between nations for the purposes of mutual protection, for the regulation of trade or for any other matter as to which a clear and distinct understanding is requisite are made by means of Treaties. And when once a Treaty has been made each party must fulfil its stipulations with the utmost care and exactness. Any breach of faith in this respect is highly dishonourable. It is by entering into such Treaties that nations recognise the sovereign rights of their fellows and pledge themselves to an observance of those rights. Consequently it is desirable, especially in a young and small state, that such Treaties should be made with all the more powerful Sovereignities.

V. War is only to be resorted to in cases of extremity and when there are no other means of obtaining the desired end. There are but five just causes of war.

First to repel an actual and unjustifiable attack upon the nation:

Second to anticipate such an attack where it is known to be in contemplation by striking the first blow at the enemy:

Third to enforce compensation for any injury to the state or its subjects when it has been found impossible to obtain such compensation by peaceful negotiation:

Fourth to inflict punishment for any actual injury to the state or its subjects or to the great family of nations which does not admit of compensation (in this case, however, the punishment must be strictly proportioned to the offence and care must be taken that the innocents do not suffer for the guilty):

Fifth to aid in a just war a state with which the country thus aiding is in alliance. Any war which is entered upon for the mere purposes of aggrandisement or profit is so unjust as to warrant the interference of other nations not only for its suppression but for the punishment of the state which is guilty of such injustice.

3. It is the custom of nations to carry on their communications with each other and to guard the interests of their subjects through the aid of resident Agents; - such for

instance as Consuls. The resident agent of a sovereign power must be respected and aided in the fulfilment of his proper duties but he has no right whatever to interfere with the internal affairs of the country where he resides, and he cannot even exercise his own proper functions unless he has the permission so to do of the Sovereign or government of that country. But this permission is not to be withheld without good and sufficient cause; and once given it cannot be withdrawn unless the Foreign Agent is guilty of a gross abuse of his position or of a breach of the local laws. The safer and the most usual course as to any minor acts of misconduct by a Foreign Agent is to complain of him to the Government of the Country which he represents and to request his removal. The presence of these Foreign Agents is a great advantage to a young country because such presence is a complete recognition of its sovereignty, and because they facilitate amicable intercourse with the countries they represent. Consequently, although no nation has an absolute right to insist on the reception or recognition of its agents unless the right of appointing such agents has been mutually agreed upon, it is most unwise to resist their appointment or to impose any impediment whatever to the legitimate exercise of their functions. Great care however must be taken that they are not suffered to abrogate to themselves any powers which do not properly belong to them. A Foreign Agent may advise with the local government if he is consulted but his only duty is that of guarding the interests of his country and its subjects and of drawing attention to any case in which, in respect to that country or those subjects, there is any breach of a Treaty - obligation or of national assuage.

4. I should advise your Majesty to conclude treaties with all the Sovereign states which may be willing to enter into these compacts with you but to observe three precautions in every Treaty thus concluded:
 - I. Be careful to secure a full recognition of the independence and sovereignty of your states. According to national usage the mere description of yourself as a King or of your country as a Kingdom in the naming of the contracting parties is such a recognition.
 - II. See that there is a perfect equality of advantages: that nothing is exacted of your country and government for which is not an equivalent concession by the other counteracting party.
 - III. Allow no stipulation to be inserted which will give an exclusive advantage, - commercial or otherwise, to any one country so as to prevent you from treating, upon terms of perfect freedom and equality with other countries.
5. Your Majesty will find it very greatly to your advantage and to the advantage of your subjects to have agents of your own in all the countries with which you have intercourse, to which your subjects resort, or from whence a trade with your country is carried on. Such Agencies are, in fact, indispensably necessary if the country is to retain its Sovereignty and to rise in the scale of nations. Care however must be taken to secure the services of proper persons: of men who will look only to the interests of the government they represent and will allow no feelings of personal interest or sectarian prejudice to influence their judgement. You had better be without agents altogether than have agents who are not efficient.
6. Very much more might be said upon the subject of Foreign Relations which are always the most difficult things for a young country to deal with. But it is impossible to treat

otherwise than very briefly upon such a subject as this within the space of a letter. I will now therefore turn to the questions of Revenue and Expenditure. As to these I am not in a position to do more than to offer a suggestion or two upon general principles. It would require an intimate knowledge of your country, of its people and of its resources to submit any suggestions of a really practical character. Care should be taken that no taxes are imposed which are likely to act as a check upon industry and to impede, directly or indirectly the progress of the country. To derive any permanent income from the rent of land the amount charged must be strictly proportioned to the profits which those who hold it have a chance of obtaining, and the tenure must be such as to encourage the investment of capital and the application of industry to the improvement of the land thus held. To this subject I have already adverted in my letter of 25 April last (section 12) no imposts should be laid upon trade, direct or indirect, which would cause it to fall off. The mere passing advantages which might be derived from such a source would but ill compensate for the permanent depression of the country. It is far better that taxes should be paid in money than in "kind". Even when a considerable reduction is made in the amount of them to ensure this end it will still be found wise to do so. A revenue in cash can be easily collected easily secured and easily dealt with. Upon the same principle forced labor as a measure of taxation is very unproductive. It is far better economy to exact a small contribution in lieu of this labor and to expend its proceeds in doing the necessary work, paying those who are employed upon it and in making them work well. Small fees may be charged to those whose cases (in civil matter) are adjudicated upon by the Courts and in all cases of crime where fines are imposed these finds should go to the general Revenue. But care must be taken that the officers who are actually engaged in the administration of justice derive no personal benefit whatever from these fees or fines. For even if the possession of this interest in fees and fines did not render the judges actually corrupt, they would be open to the suspicion of corruption and tribunals thus suspected can never be efficient. If there is a scarcity of coin in the country some substitute for coin may perhaps be contrived, so as to avoid the great inconvenience of collecting the revenues in kind. An acquaintance with the country and its resources would probably point out other sources of income besides those I have touched upon.

7. But the great secret of efficiency in financial management lies in the keeping of the accounts. The very smallest sums collected or expended should not only be accounted for but recorded in writing by the proper officers so that any acts of negligence or fraud may be readily detected. And the system of account keeping should be so arranged that the various officers of the government may act as a check upon each other and that those at the head of affairs may be able to estimate with certainty and at any time the means at their disposal.
8. I now come to the question of Military defences. To an experienced commander such as Your Majesty it would be totally unnecessary even it were not, in the part of a stranger, presumptuous, to offer advice as to the conduct of military operations. Consequently, as in former portions of this letter I shall confine myself to a very few suggestions of a general nature.
 - I. It is imperatively necessary in order to ensure that vigor and decision which should characterise all military operations that the sole power of raising

- equipping and organising forces should remain vested in the King. I advise your Majesty never to give up any portion of this power. You may and must have officers of various grades to assist you, but these officers should derive their authority solely from yourself and not from any rights or supposed rights of leadership attaching to their social position. By thus retaining the entire power, the King can take care that the most important posts are filled by the best men and may make such changes in his appointments as circumstances may require.
- II. Tho gradations of military rank and the government of armed bodies should be regulated by fixed laws made under the King's authority, which laws should be acted upon in all cases without fear favor or affection, and without reference to any other consideration than that of ensuring the efficiency of this branch of the public service.
 - III. Experience, as your Majesty must well know, has shown that a small number of troops well armed, well organised and well trained are far more effective than a much larger number not possessed of these qualities. But that branch of military service in which good organisation is most conducive to success in a contest of any duration (although at the same time it is the most difficult to carry out) is that which provides for the proper maintenance of troops and for the regular and efficient supply of munitions of war.
 - IV. There are aids from science in the conduct of a war which are far more effective than the mere force of human courage. I do not mean artillery only, which, to be thoroughly efficient is costly and requires great skill in the use of it. There are war rockets and even simpler means of offence and defence of a similar character which are very formidable. In the construction and attack of fortifications, too, military science is often of far more service than mere force.
 - V. By adopting a fixed system of organisation and rendering the military service of the state, to a certain extent, a distinct service in which promotion is dependant solely upon competency the necessary amount of skill among the leaders will be, more likely to be secured, for they will naturally take pains to acquire that skill as the only means of making themselves distinguished
 - VI. Improvements in military science become necessary as a country advances in the arts or peace. There is then more to attract the avarice of a foe, while at the same time it becomes less easy to draw large bodies of men from their ordinary pursuits, without very seriously and permanently damaging the interests of the country.
 - VII. Although war is an awful thing and, as I have already pointed out should never be entered upon without just cause; still when there is such a cause it should be pursued vigorously and pressed to a successful issue with all possible speed.
 - VIII. But it should never be forgotten that unnecessary cruelty in war is not only hateful in itself but is regarded, by all enlightened men, as a mark of decided barbarism. And for any acts of this nature, although committed, perhaps, by a subordinate, an odium attaches not only to the leader of the forces but to the nation to which they belong.

With renewed assurances of the highest consideration and respect.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your Majesty's very obedient humble Servant.

(Signed) Charles St Julian
H.H.M. Commissioner & Consul General.

His Majesty
The King of the Friendly Islands.

[212] THE APPOINTMENT OF A BRITISH AGENT 1858

[Hoole to Bulwer Lytton, Wesleyan Mission House,
Bishopsgate Street Within. London. July 27. 1858.]

To Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton,
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

Wesleyan Mission House
Bishopsgate Street Within,
London, July 27th, 1858.

Sir,

I beg leave to call your attention to a Memorial addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary for the Colonial Department, dated Sydney, New South Wales, 4th May, 1858, and signed by Stephen Rabone, Chairman of the Executive Committee for the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, offering reasons against the appointment of Charles K, Julien Esq., to the office of the Consul of the British Government of Tonga, or the Friendly Islands.

The remarkable progress which has been made in morals and civilization in those islands, during the last thirty years, owing to the self-denying labours of the missionaries supported at great expense by this Society, may be admitted as a sufficient reason for the care of the Society as to an appointment which may affect the state of the native Government and Population.

I have therefore to request, on behalf of the Society, that you will admit a Deputation to wait on you from the Society to support the prayer of the Memorial, and afford any information which you may require.

I have, &c.
(Signed) Elijah Hoole, D.D.
Secretary of the Wesleyan
Methodist Missionary Society.

.....

Downing Street,
20th August, 1858.

Sir,

I am directed by Secretary Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo asking for an interview in support of a Memorial which had been addressed to him through the Government of New South Wales by the head of the Wesleyan Church in Australia remonstrating against the appointment of Mr C.K. St. Julian to the office of British Consul at Tonga.

Sir E. Bulwer Lytton regrets that the pressure of business at the close of Session and his subsequent absence from Town has prevented him from taking an earlier notice of your request:- but the principal cause of the delay has been his wish to await the result of a reference of the above Memorial to the Foreign Office:- and I am now to acquaint you that in a letter just received from that department it is stated that the Consulate of Tonga has been given by Lord Malmsbury to Captain Frazer.

I am &c.
(Sgd) Carnaven.

[213] APPEALS FOR RECOGNITION 1856-60

(i) *The Missionary Committee's Request 1859.*

[Hoole to Malmsbury, Wesleyan Mission House, London, February 2nd 1859.
Typescript copy. Palace Record Office, Nuku'alofa.]

To the Right Honourable The Earl of Malmsbury,
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

Wesleyan Mission House,
Bishopsgate Street Within,
London.
February 2nd, 1859.

My Lord,

The Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society had the honour a few days ago of waiting upon the Right Honourable Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Her Majesty Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, in support of a Memorial from King George Tupou of the Friendly Islands, praying Her Majesty to recognize His Government; when Sir Edward kindly promised to forward the Memorial to your Lordship's Department,

I have now to beg on behalf of the Committee, that your Lordship will permit a Deputation from their Body to wait upon you in reference to that Memorial and will inform me when it will be convenient to your Lordship to receive the Deputation.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Elizah Hoole D.D.,

Secretary Wesleyan Missionary Society.

(ii) The Committee Again Urges Recognition 1860.

[Hoole to Palmerston, Wesleyan Mission House, London, July 2nd 1860.
Typescript copy. Palace Record Office, Nuku'alofa.]

To the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, G.E.B.K.G.,
First Lord of the Treasury.

Wesleyan Mission House,
Bishopsgate Street Within,
July 2nd, 1860.

My Lord,

The Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society have recently received communications from the Friendly Islands through their General Superintendent of Mission at Sydney informing them of a further aggression by the French, under the influence of the Roman Catholic Priests, upon the Government and People of Tonga, with which they deem it to be their duty to acquaint Her Majesty's Government.

A correspondence which the Committee were permitted to have with Her Majesty's Government in 1843, together with documents which they had the honour of providing to Your Lordship's predecessor in Office, the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby will have informed Her Majesty's Government of the well grounded anxiety and alarm occasioned to the Government of King George by former proceedings of the Commanders of French Vessels of War, acting under the mitigation of the Romish Priests, and the documents which have more recently come to hand, and copies of which I have now the honour to transmit, greatly augment the anxiety felt by the committee in reference to the future welfare of a People reclaimed from barbarianism to civilization and Christianity through the labours of Protestant Missionaries, and to the continued existence of a Mission which has by the Divine Blessing been rendered instrumental in producing results so important to the cause of Humanity and Religion.

In behalf of the Committee, I have to request that the friendly offices of Her Majesty's Government may be exerted in favour of the King and people of the Friendly Islands, with the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, in such wise as may appear to your Lordship to be best calculated to save King George from further annoyance and the Mission from being destroyed.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) Elizah Hoole D.D.
Sec.

(iii) An Urgent Request by the Committee 1860c

[Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to Earl of Derby.
Typescript copy. Palace Record Office, Nuku'alofa.]

To the Right Honourable. The Earl of Derby, First Lord
of the Treasury etc, etc, etc,

The Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society respectfully submit to your Lordship's attention the following statements and observations.

1. George Tubou, King of the Friendly Isles, earnestly requests Her Majesty to enter into a Treaty of unity and commerce with him. His letter which, we are given to understand, is a spontaneous production, was written nearly three years ago; but, owing to a mistake of the merchant who was entrusted to convey it to Sydney, did not arrive there till a few months since. It is understood that a similar application was made at a former period, but failed through an error of the person they employed to write on the King's behalf, who requested him as wishing to cede his territory when he only desired, as now, to establish friendly relations with the Sovereign of Great Britain.
2. King George is the undoubted Sovereign of his people; and his rights are now recognised by all the groups which are included under the general designation of the Friendly Islands. He is the heir of a long line of Kings, and as a man, is worthy of his lineage. Commander Wilkes of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, and Captain Erskine of H.M.S. "Havannah", have expressed themselves favourably as to his personal qualities; the latter also states that he believes the King to be sincere in the profession of Christianity. And those who have had better opportunities of knowing him than these could possess, entertain a still more favourable opinion of him and report that with Advancing Years his intelligence, and capacity for government are still improving.
3. The people over whom the rules are estimated to be about 60,000 in numbers; and are a fine race, contrasting most favourably with the inhabitants of neighbouring groups, and disposed to peaceful industry. The Christian religion may now be regarded as established among them; being professed by most of the leading men, and by large numbers of the people, and generally taught in the schools to the rising generation. Their language has been reduced to writing, and the Holy Scriptures (in good part) the Liturgy, Hymns, Catechism, Histories, together with the Laws by which they are governed, and a few other works constitute the nucleus of a Native Literature. Commerce is yet in its infancy, but within the last three years about 5000 tons of cocoa nut oil have been exported to Sydney, and have formed a ready market. The amount of these and other valuable productions might be considerably increased.
4. Such is the Community, which now, by its lawful and recognized Head applies to the Queen of Great Britain, not for pecuniary assistance, nor for an alliance offensive and defensive, but for friendly recognition: and the Committee respectfully submit to your Lordship that the influence of a great empire could not be more worthily employed than in countenancing the efforts of a younger nation which has emerged from a state of barbarianism and peacefully seeks to take its place among the communities of the civilized world.
5. The Committee have no wish to complicate the relations of this Country with Foreign Powers, and are of the opinion that no such complication would arise from entering into a Treaty containing a Stipulation that Her Majesty would use her good offices to secure the maintenance of peaceful relations with other states. Such a Clause, as your Lordship is doubtless aware, has frequently found a place in similar treaties.

6. There are other substantial reasons which may be urged in favour of King George's request. In a few years if not months, the Panama route to Australia will probably become available, and the importance of keeping the main Nations on that line open to British Influence, is too obvious to be dwelt upon. The harbour of Vava'u is said to be one of the finest in the world, and under certain contingencies might prove invaluable. This is strongly felt by the colonies of Australia and New Zealand. The disposition manifested by France to extend her influence and multiply her possessions in the Pacific, not merely excites just apprehension in the native mind, but in judgement of many keen and reflecting observers both in the colonies, and at home, calls for some action would probably be more effective if taken in the form now brought under your Lordship's consideration; which, while it implies no menace would distinctly shew that the subject was not overlooked; and that the Government of England, though not disposed to commence or carry on a crusade on behalf of Protestantism, was at least, equally unwilling, to allow a weak but rising Protestant Nation to become the victims of a Crusade carried on by others.

The Committee therefore respectfully but most earnestly solicit your Lordship to recommend to Her Majesty that she would be graciously pleased to comply with the request of King George, so far as relates to entering into a Treaty of unity and commerce with him, in which a clause should be inserted by which Her Majesty would engage in case of difficulties arising between him and other Powers to use her friendly offices for the preservation of peace.

[214] ANXIETY ABOUT TONG'S POLITICAL FUTURE 1878.

[Friendly Islands District Minute Book, District Report for 1878.]

. . . . Every year in our Friendly Islands Mission seems to introduce us to a new era in our work - No doubt arising from the semi-civilized state of the people, and the new elements which are in consequence being continually introduced amongst the natives.

The history of Empires and of the dark races teach us that wherever the white man goes a war of races at once commences, and we fear Tonga will be no exception to the rule. Their present existence as a people, and independence as a nation, and also the position to which they have attained we believe are mainly attributable to the isolated position in which they have hitherto been placed - let this isolation once be removed and the Tongans will be numbered with those already gone.

The past year has been one of many difficulties - The Tongan Parliament has been held, and though not many changes have been made, yet its accompanying excitement, and the evident desire on the part of some to remove the old landmarks have unsettled the minds of many.

[215] BAKER'S LEADING ARTICLES AND THE GERMAN INTEREST

[For Private Circulation only. Resume of Enquiry in re Tongan Mission Affairs. October, 1879. Mr A.P. Maudsley, H.B.M, Vice Consul v. Rev S.W. Baker. Auckland. Extracts from the Tongan Times, February 19, 1876, p.23.]

We have often been struck with the fact, notwithstanding the great German interest in these and adjoining islands, that hitherto Germany should have taken so little interest in the great German commerce of the South Seas, for it cannot be denied that more than three-fourths of the commerce of these island is in the hands, directly or indirectly, of the German merchants, and especially that of the world-wide-known firm of J.C. Godeffroy & Son.

.....

With regard to the report of the 'Gazelle,' we have every reason to believe that its report will be favourable. By favourable we mean that it will end in a treaty of recognition of Tonga by the great German Empire. We are not amongst those who believe that Germany has any sinister views with regard to Tonga, Samoa, or any other of the islands of the South. They may, perhaps, want a coaling station in one island or other, the same as they have in China, but such cannot be interpreted as annexation. Should the German Empire make such a treaty with Tonga, we doubt not but what it will be the stepping stone of the acknowledgement of Tonga by other great Powers. If so, the 15th of December will be one of the red-letter days in the historical calendar of the Friendly Islands.

.....

We believe that there is a great history for the future of Tonga, if great can be properly applied to these small islands. We believe there is no reason to fear that whatever may be the future policy of England with regard to the South Seas, she will ever annex Tonga without the consent of the Toguese. And all who know Tonga know right well that every Tonga man would rather die than be governed by a foreign Power. But as Great Britain has given the Gospel and the Bible to Tonga, and all their attending blessings, we trust she will finish the good work she has commenced, and acknowledge Tonga before long as a nation and a people whom she has been the means of raising from the depths of barbarism, heathenism, and superstition. Such, we believe, will eventually be the case, that Tonga will be acknowledged by the great Powers as a nation, and we trust Great Britain will not be the last to do so.

.....

German man-of-war 'Gazelle' - On the 15th of December last, H.I.G.N. corvette 'Gazelle' came to an anchor off Maofaga; being the first German man-of-war that has ever visited these shores. On the following morning the commander of the corvette, Baron von Schleinitz, accompanied by his aide-de-camp and the German Consul, Th. Weber, Esq., paid his official visit to King George; the Rey. S.W. Baker being requested to act as interpreter. We presume that we are not at liberty to give publicity to what transpired on that occasion; suffice it to say, that the Baron kindly invited the King to visit the man-of-war, which invitation His Majesty was pleased to accept.

On the following day at two o'clock, the King, accompanied by his aide-de-camp and Th. Weber, Esq., the German Consul, and Rev. S. W. Baker, went on board the man-of-war, in His Majesty's barge, . . . With regard to this official interview we must again be silent; but we believe we are at liberty in saying that the result of this visit to the man-of-war will be the acknowledgement of Tonga as a nation by the German Empire, and a treaty between Germany and Tonga.

[216] BRITLIN DECLINES TO RECOGNIZE TONGA 1876.

[Meade, R.H., Colonial Office to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Colonial Office. August 1876. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Sir,

I am directed by the Earl of Carnarvon to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd. inst. forwarding a Despatch addressed to the Lord Commander of the Admiralty by Commodore Hoskins on the subject of his visit to Tonga.

I am to request that you will inform the Earl of Derby as regards the Commodore's recommendation that official recognition should be accorded to the Government and Constitution of Tonga that His Lordship is of the opinion that the information possessed by H.M, Government respecting the condition of the Friendly Islands and the power of the King to maintain order and good government under the form of administration now established is not such as would justify such a step and further that the present would not seem to be a fitting time for considering any such proposal inasmuch as a (new) Order of H. M. in Council is to be issued which will give the Governor of Fiji as High Commissioner jurisdiction over the British population of this group.

I am etc.

signed R. H Meade.

[217] GERMANY RECOGNIZES TONGA: TREATY RATIFICATION 1877

[Ko e Bo'obo'oi. No, 13. Vol.11. November 1877.
English translation by Tupou Posesi Fanua.]

NEWS

On the 31st of October the Treaty between Germany and Tonga was confirmed.

At 10.a.m. the Chairman Uiliami Tungi went on board the Man-of-War from Germany, "Akouta" as representative of His Majesty King George, the King had requested Mr Baker to go on board with him to be his interpreter and so they went on board. When they arrived on board they were greeted in the stern and they were taken to be seated on chairs by the table. Mr Webb then got up and said His Majesty King William, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia this Treaty that I bring has on it the shield of His Majesty and also his name and also signed by the Minister of the Government of Germany, and it is worded like the Treaty that was made here last year on the 1st of November, so I am handing it to you the representative of His Majesty King George, so that it will be possessed by the Government of Tonga.

The representative of His Majesty King George (Uiliami Tungi) got up and said, "This Treaty has been signed by His Majesty King George of Tonga and has caused his shield to be put on it and it has also been signed by the Premier of the Government of Tonga and this Treaty is the same as the Treaty that was made here in Tonga last year on the 1st of November and it has been done in the Tongan language and I hereby present it to the Representatives of King William, Emperor of all Germany and Prussia in exchange with the

Treaty of Germany that Tonga may keep.

Then Mr Webb said this is the Document of the evidence of this exchange and it has been written in English and German language and I hereby declare that the meaning of the written words in English and German are the same and I request Mr Baker to translate it into the Tongan language. After this the Chiefs of both sides saluted each other and broke up. The German Treaty's cover was beautifully made of European Velvet and gold.

This is what was in the document:

We whose names appear below met together today to exchange the Treaty of Friendship which was made between Germany and Tonga on the 1st of November, 1876.

Because it was clear that the documents of receipts for the Treaties were right, these documents were written in English and German.

It was made on board the German Man-of-War the "Adouta" in the port of Nuku'alofa on 31st of October, 1877.

Mr Webb - the Consul and agent of the King of Germany.

Mr Asenifelu Captain of the "Akouta" and representative of the King Gemany

Uiliami Tungi - Chairman of the Legislative Assembly and representative of
King George of Tonga.

Mr Baker (Interpreter)

The next day the German Consul went ashore and the Man-of-War fired a Consular salute and he came with the Captain of the Man-of-War and its officers, they all came ashore and into the King's residence and His Majesty waited for them with his Aide-de-Camp Tuku'aho and Prince Unga and the Legislative Assembly Chairman Tungi and Uelingatoni Ngu the Governor of Ha'apai and Vava'u and T. 'Ahome'e and other chiefs.

And the Consul and Captain and officers came and after they paid their respect to each other, the Consul took a letter from King Uiliami Emperor of all Germany to King George of Tonga and it was worded like this:

William,

By God's mercy, King and Emperor of Germany and Prussia To His Majesty King of Tonga.

My Love,

Your Majesty kindly wrote to me on the 3rd of November last year thanking me for the Treaty of Friendship between Germany and Tonga.

And because I heartily wish in my heart that it may stand forever and bound us closer and also the roads of friendships may forever be alive between these two countries, that is why I hereby declare that my country shall always endure to help it along.

May God protect your Majesty in his ever ready mercy and with love too.

I am

Your true friend

William

Berlin,

April 4th, 1877

When this letter was received King George answered it. Tupou (the King) said

His Majesty requested that his sincere grateful thanks be sent to King William Emperor of Germany, for the confirming of the Treaty of Friendship.

And His Majesty said, he wishes to express his gratitude, because of the Treaty between Germany and Tonga being confirmed, today has acquired the standard of a Government, a Government belonging to the family of Governments and it was true that it was the smallest country amongst them and although it is the smallest, but the essential thing is that it belongs to the family of the Governments. So it is a full country today and later on we will discuss the many good things that Germany has done for Tonga, which amongst them the most important is that it has lifted up Tonga to the standard of the other countries.

And His Majesty said, "May this our new friend not expect from Tonga any great things yet, for Tonga has only just set sail as a Government, but we promise that Tonga will not stand still but will run in the race that is going on, and that they will try to progress in knowledge and good behaviour so that Germany shall not be embarrassed that she had laid the path for Tonga.

It may be that Tonga will make other treaties with other countries, but Tonga will not forget Germany who made the first Treaty with Tonga.

And His Majesty expressed his gratitude for the letter of greetings that His Majesty King of Germany wrote to him, because that he should be so kind as to write such a long letter, for his Majesty remembered that he was the smallest amongst them.

His Majesty King of Germany wishes that they should be called His Assistant Kings.

And His Majesty said may it be remembered that he was an old man, and if it was undignified the expression of his happiness the reason for his happiness because he has been so good to spare his life for this day, that he was called King by one of the great Kings of this world and that he will always pray that the Lord will bless Empire of Germany and may he live forever.

After this the consul, Captain and Officers of the Man-of War left.

The next day His Majesty King George went on board the man-of-war and the ship fired a Royal Salute to salute him.

[218] INITIAL AGREEMENT WITH BRITAIN 1879

[Western Pacific High Commission Archives, Suva. Miscellaneous Papers relating to Tongan Affairs. See the Section on Treaties and Agreements for the text of this initial agreement.]

Maudslay to the High Commission Western Pacific.
22/2/1879.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No.12 of 22 January, I have the honour to inform you that only two cases have come before me as a Deputy Commissioner, during my residence in Tonga - I trust to be able to hand you reports on these cases in course of a few days.

2. I have not yet received any Communication from Lord Salisbury with regard to the agreement I have entered into with the King of Tonga, which agreement. I trust will form the basis of a permanent Treaty. I will not fail however, to furnish you with the earliest

information on the arrival of despatches from the Foreign office.

Alfred P. Maudslay
H.B.M. Act Consul General & Deputy Commissioner.

P.S. I have the honour to enclose a copy of the agreement with King of Tonga.

A.P.M.

[219] BRITISH FEAR OF GERMAN INFLUENCE

(i) *The Opening of Parliament 1880*

[Western Pacific High Commission Archives Fiji. Blyth to the High Commissioner. 3/7/1880.]

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to report that the Tongan Parliament was opened by King George in person on Saturday 24th Ultimo.

The German ship of war "Hyena" had arrived on 18th bringing Captain Zempsh? the German Consul General, who with the Captain of the vessel, and two of the officers, was present. A place was assigned to me below them all.

* * * * *

It is commonly reported that Mr Baker will visit Europe shortly in his official capacity, that he will use the influence of his new position to strengthen the German power in these waters; and that if the independence of the Tongan church can be achieved and Mr Baker constituted is Head, his personal ambition will be so far gratified.

(ii) *German domination of Samoan Affairs 1879.*

[H. B.M. Acting Consul General A.P. Maudslay to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Nasova, Fiji, April 29th, 1879. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Nasova, Fiji.

29th April 1879.

My Lord,

In my despatch No 17 of April 1879, I have forwarded to Your Lordship a copy of the Treaty entered into between Germany and Samoa.

2. It is I fear almost useless at this date to offer any comments on the provisions of the Treaty, as owing to the delays in the communication between Samoa and Fiji, a copy of the Treaty has probably reached Your Lordship as soon as it has reached me.

3. The most important points, however, are the prevention of any legislation by the Samoans affecting German Subjects without the permission of the German Government. The granting of a Naval station to Germany in the harbour of Taluafata. The security of a good title to all lands purchased by Germans and the immediate ratification of the treaty by the Samoans, whilst the German Government is allowed two years for consideration before the Treaty need be ratified on its part.

4. Previous attempts to settle the Samoan difficulties have not proved very successful; the attempt to form a mixed native and white government, such as existed for a time in Fiji, was a complete failure and ended in Civil War, this was followed by Sir A. Gordon's proposal of an arrangement which would have ensured a strong native Government subject to the advice and direction of the Foreign Consuls in matters affecting foreigners.

This proposal was not accepted by the natives and was followed by the conclusion of a treaty with America which Your Lordship has set aside and which has already passed into a bye-word amongst the natives themselves.

5. This is now followed again by this somewhat similar treaty with Germany ratified by a Government, which is in even a weaker condition than when Sir A. Gordon attempted to deal with it, and already repudiated by the Tuamasaga (Malietoa's) party who refused obedience to the Government and who will probably soon be in power themselves.

6. It would no doubt have been inexpedient on the part of Germany to have concluded a treaty without recovering for itself a controlling power over any legislation affecting German subjects in fact no Foreign Government could consent to its subjects being harassed by ill-devised laws made by such a weak and unstable Government as that of Samoa, if indeed it is worthy of the name of Government at all; but this provision with regard to Legislation in addition to the clause which apparently secures a good title to all Lands claimed by Germans will render all native Government impossible.

The natives are not in a position to negotiate with three foreign Governments, for England and America must also be considered, about laws and taxation which must be acceptable to all of them before they can be enforced, and they are not likely to make laws for themselves from which Foreigners are free. In fact the treaty is no assistance to the native race whatever; and gives to Germany all the advantages without any of the responsibilities of Government, and puts the natives at a great disadvantage in disputes concerning the ownership of land and yet leaves the temptation of selling more land still open to them and makes it almost a certainty that in a short time they will be ousted from the soil and die out.

8. German interests in Samoa are, in the main, the interests of the South Sea Trading Co, (Godeffroy.) & the private land speculations of its manager Mr Weber the Imperial German Consul; and this leads me to think that it is possible that the treaty has been concluded in its present form merely to give two years, for the company and Mr Weber to gain possession of and occupy the lands which they lay claim to, so that even if at the end of two years, the Treaty is not ratified by Germany, they will have firmly established themselves, and the natives will be at a great disadvantage in reclaiming any land which they may-consider unfairly taken from them.

9. That to the white residents in Samoa the present state of affairs is insupportable, the Consular Correspondences of the last three years must clearly have shown and the German Treaty will, I feel sure do little to mend matters. It does not put an end to native dissensions and the unlimited land speculation which is the root of all the trouble.

10. I trust that this may reach Your Lordship before any instructions are sent out to me with regard to the negotiations of a treaty between H.M.'s, and the Samoan Government. For a treaty to be of any advantage to the British Residents it would require the continual presence of a Man of War or of some armed force to enforce its provisions and the enforcement of such conditions those obtained by Germany, with no provision for the Government of the natives themselves or the regulation of land sales, merely means the

extinction of a very fine race of people for the benefit of a few speculators.

11. I regret that the very few minutes at my disposal before the departure of the mail steamer prevents my writing more clearly on the subject and touching on the most important question of the labour supply to the Germans plantations.

12. Every previous attempt at a settlement of Samoan difficulties has failed and the only satisfactory settlement, I feel sure, would be the cession of the islands to a foreign power.

The natives would undoubtedly prefer to see the British Flag hoisted there, and at the present time two-thirds of them would I believe gladly welcome it. But the German interests in Samoa are undoubtedly so much more extensive than those of Great Britain, and their objection to British occupation appears to be so strong, (although this has ceased to a great extent during the last few months and would I believe altogether disappear if the company saw its way to Coolie immigration under an English Government,) that I trust the German Government may be induced to take possession of the islands, and thus give that security to the property and lives of British subjects, which the sovereignty of a Great Power will ensure.

I am, etc.,

Alfred P. Maudslay.

H.B.M. Actg Consul General.

The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs.

[220] CONCERN OVER A GERMAN SECRETARY TO THE KING 1879

- (i) [Lord Russell to the Marquis of Salisbury. Berlin May 9th, 1879.
MSS copy. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Berlin,

May 9/1879.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship despatch No. 17 consular of the 6th inst., enclosing copy of Sir Arthur Gordon's report of the 28th ult. stating that there is reason to believe that the Emperor of Germany may be asked to select a person for the post of Financial Secretary in Tonga.

In obedience to your Lordship's instructions I called on M. de Bulow and explained the matter unofficially and privately to His Excellency. I am happy to say that our conversation resulted in a complete and cordial agreement. M de Bulow assured me that the German Government viewed the proposal in the same light as your Lordship and Sir Arthur Gordon and that the Emperor had already been advised not to act upon Mr Weber's suggestion but to decline the King of Tonga's request to select a German Secretary for him.

The German Government, M. de Bulow said, desired to consolidate the cordial understanding already established with Her Majesty's Government in regard to their common interests and had with that view appointed a new Consul-General in the place of Mr Weber, who would be instructed to establish the most cordial and intimate relations with the British authorities in Polynesia.

I have etc.

(Signed) O. Russell.

- (ii) [Lord Salisbury to H.M. Charge d'Affairs in Berlin, Foreign Office, June 25th 1879. Copy enclosed in Confidential despatch of Sir Julian Pauncefote to Sir Arthur Gordon. 25th June, 1879. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Sir,

With reference to my despatch to Lord O. Russell, No.21 Consular of the 27th ult: I have to state to you that in the course of a conversation which took place between Count Munster and myself on the 14th inst., allusion was made the question of the nomination of a German as Secretary to the King of Tonga. I pointed out again to Count Munster that Tonga was too near to Fiji to make the predominance of any foreign influence tolerable to the English Government, and I expressed the hope that the German Government would abstain from pressing on the possessions of H.M. too closely at that point. In this view of policy Count Munster appeared entirely to concur, as he said there was plenty of room in the Pacific for both Governments.

I am etc.

(signed) Salisbury.

[221] THE QUESTION OF AN EXEQUATUR

[Lord Salisbury to Count Munster. Foreign Office 27th June 1879. Copy enclosed in letter from the Foreign Office 18th June 1879 to Sir Arthur Gordon. Archives of the western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

The Marquis of Salisbury presents his compliments to Count Munster, and, with reference to his Memorandum received on the 27th ult: respecting the grant of an Exequatur to Herr Sahl as Consul for the King of Tonga at Sydney, has the honour to inform His Excellency that Sir Arthur Gordon H.M. Consul General for the Western Pacific, who is about to return to his post after leave of absence in England, has been instructed to visit Tonga shortly after his return, and when the relations of this country with the Government of those islands have been placed on a settled basis, any request which may be made by the King of Tonga for an Exequatur for Herr Sahl will be fully considered by H.M. Government and the King duly informed of the result.

[222] BAKER AND THE GERMAN INFLUENCE : HIS DEFENCE

[For Private Circulation only. Resume of Enquiry in re Tongan Mission Affairs. October, 1879. Mr A.P. Maudslay, H.B.M. Vice Consul V. Rev. S.W. Baker. Auckland 1879, pp.4-46.]

The charge is - The appointment of a secretary to the Government; offering the appointment to Mr Trood, and afterwards endeavouring to get a German appointed on the nomination of the Emperor of Germany. That a treaty was concluded with Germany almost entirely by Mr Baker's management and influence, by which considerable advantage was granted to Germany, including a tract of land as a coaling station in the best harbour in the group.

With regard to Mr Trood - It was just before I was sailing for the Niuas, I believe, last year, that I went down to the King about several Church matters, and amongst other things a conversation turned upon the secretaryship of the Government. His Majesty remarked, "I wish we could get a man like Mr Trood; one that is attentive to the lotu," or something to that effect. I was not authorised to: see Mr Trood, nor did I ask permission to speak to Mr Trood; but I made it my business to see Mr Trood, and as far as I can remember I said something to this effect:-

Mr Trood, I have no authority to speak to you - mentioning my conversation with the King - and I told Mr Trood I had no authority to offer the secretaryship to him, but most likely he would be offered it I thought.

Mr Trood wrote me about it, and as far as I can remember said he could not consider the matter until he was offered it by the Government. If Mr Trood had thought I had offered it to him, or had power to do so, he most certainly would never have sent such a reply as that; and the very fact of Mr Trood having written thus proves that I had no official connection with the Government.

I also remember Mr Trood's saying, whether the same day or a little afterwards, I cannot say, I don't remember when; but that if he took it he must have £500 per year and a house, and because his Majesty thought they could not give such a large salary that, as far as I know, was the only reason why Mr Trood was the not appointed.

But I must confess I surely have as great a right as Mr Maudslay to give advice to his Majesty as to the appointment of a secretary, which, however, this case I had very little to do with.

But the very fact of my taking any interest in Mr Trood's getting the secretaryship, who is an Englishman, is proof positive that I did not go against British interests in the matter,

I now refer to the charge of endeavouring to get a German appointed on the nomination of the Emperor of Germany.

His Majesty King George says:- "With reference to the letter to the Emperor of Germany, to bring a secretary, Mr Baker did not speak about it or express his opinion, or influence me. It was my own wish."

The only remark that I will make is, that I can affirm to the correctness of his Majesty's statement.

I may here add that his Majesty affirmed, in the presence of Rev J.B. Watkin, to the truth of the statements made in his letter, and that they were his statements made in his letter, and that they were his statements and it was his signature.

I will now refer to the coaling station,

His Majesty, in his letter, says:- "Mr Baker had nothing whatever to do in the obtaining by the kingdom of Germany the lease of the coaling station in Vava'u. Before Mr Baker knew about this matter, the Premier and I had decided about it, and therefore he did not persuade us to have anything to do with it in any one thing."

Uiliami Tugi, the Plenipotentiary, says:-

2. "When the clause in the treaty referring to the coaling station in Vavau was come to, the two representatives of Germany stated 'We shall say nothing about this, for it has been decided by the Premier.'"

3. "And when I went on shore, his Majesty informed me it was true 'I have said they should have Lotuma.'"

I positively and solemnly affirm that the first I heard about a coaling station being granted to Germany in Vavau was on board the German man-of-war "Hertha," and that as proved by the evidence of his Majesty and Uiliami Tugi, was after the coaling station had been granted.

I now come to the treaty.

The charge is, that a treaty was included with Germany almost entirely by Mr Baker's management and influence, by which considerable advantage was granted to Germany, including a tract of land as a coaling station.

The point I wish first to refer to is: That considerable advantage was granted to Germany (mark what it says), including a tract of land as a coaling station.

We will leave the coaling station out of the question for the present.

Will Mr Maudslay be kind enough to inform the Enquiry what that considerable advantage was and is, that what was granted to Germany?

I must confess I cannot see what advantage has been granted to Germany by the treaty, excluding the coaling station. I see no advantage whatever in any way or anything else Germany has got through the treaty - no commercial advantages - the only thing is, it has conferred honour on the Emperor William, in being so condescending as to acknowledge King George (a Tongan native) as a brother king, and in raising his people to a position amongst the nationalities of the world, but that considerable advantage has been granted to Germany by the treaty, I challenge Mr Maudslay and the whole world besides to prove - there is none - and the treaty Tonga has made with Germany, excluding the coaling station, she would only be too glad to make to-morrow with any great Power.

That I advised his Majesty to make a treaty with Germany, and advised him to ask Baron Von Schleinitz to use his influence to obtain one, I admit it - and did I do wrong? - and though I am prepared to acknowledge though my sympathies are more with Germany than with any other great Power, after our own beloved country - am I hence to be denounced as a traitor - I say, No.

What then is my position today, in consequence of the action taken by a young man who had not been three months in the land - interfering in matters altogether beyond his jurisdiction - meddling with Church usages and customs which have been adopted for years - listening to idle talk-trusting to such witnesses as Kubu and Mr Hanslip, who as Tuuhe toka informs me, in other words, in a letter dated 9th of October, 1879:

"Refuses to comply with the laws of Tonga."

Mr Maudslay brings these charges against me.

However, I appeal not only to this enquiry, and my Conference, for I have not been degraded simply in the eyes of my brethren, but of the whole world; and I appeal to the world wherever civilisation is to be found to pronounce their verdict whether or not I am

guilty of the charges brought against me; whether it is true I have been guilty of falsehood, been unfaithful to my trust, or a traitor to my country. And I fear not what the verdict will be, though my heart is pained being removed away in this way, after almost 20 years service in the Islands; yet I feel I can confidently leave the matter with a clear conscience to the judgement of my brethren, and of my fellow-citizens, and in the hands of God.

[223] BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS TONGA

[Lord Salisbury to Sir A.H. Gordon, London No.8, 4th July 1879. General instructions concerning Tonga. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

No.8.

Foreign Office.
July 4th 1879.

Sir,

As you are about to return to your post I think it advisable to give you some general instructions in regard to the relations which Her Majesty's Government would wish to exist with the King of Tonga.

On account of the geographical position of Tonga with respect to the Fijian group of islands, and of the intimate connection between the inhabitants of Tonga and Fiji, the King of Tonga exercises considerable influence within Fiji. It is therefore very important that the relations between Her Majesty's Govt, and the Govt. of Tonga should be of the most satisfactory description, and in fact of a more cordial nature than the relations of any other Power. Her Majesty's Government wish you to use your best efforts to produce such a result and to impress upon the King of Tonga that as his country is affected by the political interests of Great Britain more largely and more intimately than by those of any other country, Her Majesty's Govt., while deprecating any desire to gain exclusive privileges in Tonga, consider that he should be prepared to listen to their wishes as expressed through you, with especial favour; and you will point out to him that Her Majesty's Government could not view with indifference any steps taken by him which might directly or indirectly confer on any other European power a preponderating influence in the affairs of Tonga.

On the other hand you will assure him of the readiness with which Her Majesty's Govt. will at all times receive any representations which he may have to make to them.

You will inform him of the satisfaction felt by Her Majesty's Government at his having consulted with you, before you left the Pacific, as to the appointment by him of an English Secretary; and you will bring to his notice the substance of the despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, of which a copy is enclosed, showing that the German Govt. have no wish to nominate a German subject for such a post, as he appears to have at one time believed to be the case.

I have also to request you to take an opportunity of conferring with him respecting the issue of an Exequatur to the Tongan Consul at Sydney, and to report to me your opinion as to the advisability of this step being taken. I should wish you to remark on the fact that an application has been made on this matter through the German Govt. and to explain that Her Majesty's Government could not in any case have acted on an application made in such a manner, the proper channel of communication between him and Her Majesty's Govt, being through Her Majesty's Consul-General or the acting Consul-General in the Pacific.

You will be furnished with the draft of a Treaty which Her Majesty's Government wish should be concluded with the King of Tonga, and the necessary full powers will also be given to you. The Treaty when concluded will of course supersede the agreement made with the King by Mr Maudslay.

I am
Sir
Your most obedient
humble Servant,
Salisbury.

[224] BRITISH CONCERN OVER GERMAN INFLUENCE 1880.

[James Blyth, K.B.M. Commissioner and Vice Consul
to H.B.M. High Commissioner. British Consulate, Tonga, 19th June 1880.
Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

Tonga
No.9.

British Consulate, Tonga.
19th June 2880

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to report that since my arrival here on 21st Feb., little worthy of note has occurred.

The few trivial cases that have come before one as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul, have been arranged amicably out of court. The general business of the country has been at a stand still owing to the mourning for the death of David Uga, the King's son and appointed successor, or rather to the delay in the bringing the body here: in other words, to the detention of the body in New Zealand by the Rev S.W. Baker to serve his own interests.

During six months the whole country has been waiting with the full knowledge that had Mr Baker been able to come himself or been willing to allow the body to be sent without him, it could have been here in January.

It was not till Tuesday, the 30th ultimo that the German ship of war "Nautilus" Capt, Chuden arrived here with the body, accompanied by Mr Baker and Tuhitoka, Minister of Police, and on Monday the 7th instant she steamed out again for "Uiha" the appointed place of burial (of the Tubou family) in Haabai. The body was not landed here at all. During the week over which the "Nautilus" remained here boats were employed laying down buoys to mark the entrance to the passage, and on one day there was a state presentation of gifts, native fashion "to the man of war."

On Tuesday, the 8th at 4 a.m. His Majesty King George, sailed for Uiha in the schooner "Tubou Malohi" accompanied by the Rev J.B. Watkin and 170 Tongans. I had an invitation to go in the same vessel, from the King, but preferred following the same evening by the sch. "Caledonia" which I chartered expressly. We sailed into Uiha very early on the Morning of Thursday the 10th, and landed at 8 o/c, a.m. My mata ni vanua having announced my arrival I was at once conducted to his Majesty's presence. King George said that he was greatly pleased to see us present at his son's funeral, and after the usual ceremonies and "faikava" we returned to the quarters assigned to us by the King which were most comfortable, and during our two days stay we were most hospitably entertained.

The British Consulate party consisted of myself, Mr Symonds, Dr Beg and Daniela Toa (my mata ni vanua) and servants. The funeral took place the same day (10th) at 5 p.m. in the presence of over two thousand Tongans.

King George, of Tonga, in staff uniform, with his grandson Gu, and A.D.C. stood at the right of the coffin, and the ministers (Junia, Tugi &c) stood behind the King. Our position was by invitation, on the King's right hand, next to Gu. The members of the Upper House stood opposite, on the left of the coffin, and next to them, on their left the foreign traders.

After a tedious delay of half an hour, Capt, Chuden landed with forty five marines under command of the first lieutenant and took up a prominent position in a clear space left at the head of the coffin. The second lieutenant and the doctor, accompanied by the Revs, Baker, Watkin and Oldmeadow, with two or three native brethren, completed the German party.

They all assembled together on the shore, walked up to the stand together, and together proceeded to the grave.

The Burial Service was read by Messrs, Watkin and Oldmeadow, and Mr. Baker delivered a long address (in Tongan) in justification of his own conduct. He said some thing also about the later hours of the deceased, then the Germans led the way to the grave (50 paces off) the body was lowered to its last resting place, the usual valleys fired, and we all dispersed.

The Ceremonies were marked by the greatest solemnity and decorum. They were also marked by the ostentations prominence given to the Germans. As all the arrangements, however, were made by Mr Baker, it is only what might have been expected. On the day following (11th) I went to the King to take leave.

After a few words in polite acknowledgement of the way in which His Majesty's commands for our comfort in Uiha had been carried out, I reminded the King that on my arrival I had presented three letters from your Excellency and as I should probably go back to Fiji before His Majesty returned to Nukualofa I should be glad to know what answer I was to take back with me, in regard (1) to the Secretaryship, (2) the Doctor and (3) the Financial report. I added: it is well to be clear about the money owed by Tonga, and whether or how far, Government is or has made itself responsible for debts contracted by its servants! (as eg. Governors of provinces, and I used the expression "vakataudeitaka na mo'ua").

The King replied very graciously to the first part of my remarks, and then continued "it is right that you should take back an answer to the Governor, and it is right that I should be prepared with my answer, but it is my wish that my Parliament should meet first to consider well all these things, which will not be until the food is ripe next year (June). When we have decided what we shall do I shall myself write to the Governor and tell him."

His Majesty then led the conversation to general matters and shortly afterwards I took my leave formally.

.....

If I may venture an opinion at present I should say that the King is at heart well affected to Great Britain, and more particularly to the good influence exerted by your Excellency, but that he fears to do anything to offend the Germans, partly as it has been impressed on him that he has in some way committed himself by promises, and partly from his inability at once to shake himself free of these advisers.

All, I think, will yet go well, but it is certain that Mr Baker will leave no stone unturned to secure for himself a permanent footing in the Govt. of Tonga.

The report is that he is to be made "minister". It is also said that he is to reside for a

year at Auckland. His name looms largely in this despatch, unavoidably, for his personal influence with the King and his Grandson, Gu, (but with these only) is very great and is not exerted in amity to his own country. On the contrary his object seems to be to foster distrust and jealousy of any influence or power other than that of the Wesleyan Mission, ie, his own. The people are not with him and they do not profess to understand his missionary - political ideas for them, but they are loyal to their King. A great many rumours are current but I cannot deal with rumours and I do not judge it wise or prudent to notice them, or give the people to understand that my course is shaped by Mr Baker's -

When, however, any chief refers to the subject of Your Excellency's views with regard to Tonga, I quote your Excellency's own words "that is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that Tonga should be independent prosperous and contented." and I think a confidence exists that it is so.

I have etc.

(Signed) James Blyth

Deputy Commissioner & Vice-Consul.

[225] RECOGNITION OF "THE LEAST AMONG THE KINGDOMS OF THE WORLD" 1882

[Tonga Government Gazette. Vol.2, No.2, October 25th 1882]

HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

The treaty with Great Britain has just been ratified, but it would be useless for me to express the pleasure of my mind in the ratification of the said Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain, and that Great Britain has acknowledge us as a Kingdom. I have requested Sir A. Gordon to take my words and thanks to Queen Victoria, in that she has been graciously pleased to ratify the said Treaty and also because of the love that is manifested to myself and my land, which is the least among the Kingdoms of the world.

It is also right for me to express the pleasure I had in the visit of Sir Arthur Gordon to Tonga, and especially the assistance he rendered my Government; and also his adjusting the circumstances of the residing together of the British residents and Tongans in our land.

I was also pleased at the visit of the German Consul General and I thank him for the kind assistance he has rendered also to my Government and also because of the continued love of Germany to Tonga.

You will also be pleased to learn that my Premier is at present negotiating with other Kingdoms for the purpose of making Treaties with those Kingdoms.

SPEECH AT CLOSE OF PARLIMENT.

With regard to the laws which you have deliberated upon, my mind is pleased, especially the regulations that we have regard to the reverence to the Chiefs and the Tonga customs. Some will say we are retrograding, but such is not my opinion, I believe that if the language end customs of any land are lost, that land will be lost to another people.

I therefore rejoice in the Tongan matters you deliberated upon, and as we have become a recognized government if there be anything in foreign lands which will be useful to us, it is

right for us to desire to get it, but it is also right if there is any Tongan custom which is a useful, for us to preserve it.

In your separating, I trust each one will try to be useful to Tonga, and for this to be your language and the character of your work, "Tonga for Tonga"

D. TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

[226] TREATY WITH FRANCE 1855.

[West, Thomas. Ten Years in South Central Polynesia: Being reminiscences of a Personal Mission to the Friendly Islands and their Dependencies. London, M.DCCC. LXV, pp.388-389.]

CONVENTION between Tubou, King of the Tonga Islands, on the one part, and M. Du Bouzet, Commander-in-chief and Governor of the French establishments in Oceanie, in the name of His Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, on the other part.

- I. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Tubou, King of the Tonga Islands, and His Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.
- II. The Catholic religion is declared free in all the islands under the King of the Tonga Islands. The members of that communion shall have all the privileges accorded to Protestants.
- III. All natives of the Tonga Islands banished or deprived of their property on account of religion, shall be at liberty to return to their homes, and their land shall be restored to them, and they shall be allowed to cultivate it with all freedom.
- IV. The French, of whatever profession they may be, located within the Tonga Islands, or who shall come to reside there, shall be protected in an effectual manner by Tubou, in their persons and property.
- V. This protection shall be extended to French ships and their crews; the assistance of pilots shall never be refused; and, in case of wreck, the chiefs and inhabitants of the districts shall take them succour, and protect them from pillage. The salvage indemnity shall be regulated amicably; and, in disputed cases, by arbitrators chosen by the two parties.
- VI. French ships shall not in any case be liable to higher anchorage, and pilot dues, or other charges, than other nations.
- VII. The subjects of Tubou shall have a right in all French possessions to the advantages accorded to the French in the Tonga Islands.
- VIII. The present convention shall be communicated to the chiefs and people of the Tonga Islands, and published in all the islands.

Drawn up and signed in four despatches at Tongatabu, in the two languages, by the contractants, January 9th, 1855.

[Note: A translation of this treaty is also to be found in the Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission Suva. However West's translation was preferred as being more accurate. To quote one example. The expression in French "les privileges accordés aux Protestants" is translated in the Western Pacific Archives copy as "all the privileges granted to the people of the Wesleyan Church" whereas West's translation is "all the privileges accorded to Protestants."]

[227] THE TREATY WITH GERMANY 1876

[Tonga Government Gazette. Vol.2, No.17. Jan. 10th 1883]

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY THE GERMAN EMPEROR, KING OF PRUSSIA, ETC, ETC, IN THE NAME OR THE GERMAN EMPIRE, AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF TONGA.

His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia, etc, etc, in the name of the German Empire, of the one part, and the King of Tonga on the other part, being desirous to maintain and strengthen mutually their relations and interests, have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Friendship. For this purpose they have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia, etc, etc, the Captain (Zur See) Earnst Wilhelm Heinrich Hugo Edward Knorr commanding His Majesty's ship ("Hertha") owner of the Iron Cross of the 2nd Class and Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle 4th Class; and Theodor August Ludwig Weber, Esq. His Imperial Majesty's Consul for Tonga and Samoa, and His Majesty the King of Tonga: Uiliami Tungi, President of the Legislative Assembly of Tonga; and the Rev. Shirley Waldemar Baker, Wesleyan Minister, as interpreter, who after communicating to each other their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. There shall be peace and perpetual friendship between the states of the German Empire of the one part and Tonga of the other part, also between their respective rulers and people without distinction of persons and places.

ARTICLE 2. The subjects of both contracting parties shall have in both countries the most perfect and perpetual protection for their persons and property. They shall enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges - as native subjects. Tongans in Germany and Germans in Tonga shall be exempted from all political offices and military services by land or water, and from all similar corresponding services, also from all war contributions, forced loans, military requisitions, or services of whatever kind they may be. Furthermore they shall not in any case be subject in regard to their moveable and immoveable property to any other charges, taxes, or assessments than those which are demanded from native subjects or from subjects of the most favoured nations. Tongans who reside or sojourn in Germany and the Germans who reside or sojourn in Tonga shall enjoy perfect liberty of conscience and religious worship, and the respective governments shall not allow them to be molested or annoyed or disturbed on account of their religious faith, or on account of the celebration of Divine Service in private houses, Chapels, churches, or other places used for the purpose of Divine Service, always observing the religious propriety and due respect of the laws manners and customs of the country. The subjects of both countries shall also have the privilege of burying their countrymen if they die in Germany or Tonga, in suitable and convenient places which they may establish and maintain for that purpose with the consent of the local authorities, and in no case shall their burial services in accordance with their religious customs be disturbed or the graves damaged or destroyed.

ARTICLE 4. There shall be reciprocal full freedom of commerce between all the dominions of the German States and all the dominions of Tonga. The subjects of the two High Contracting Parties may enter with their vessels and cargoes into all places, ports and waters of Germany and Tonga with all safety. The Tongans in Germany and the Germans in Tonga shall enjoy, in this respect, the same liberty and security as native subjects.

ARTICLE 5. There shall also be reciprocal liberty for the ships of war of the two High Contracting Parties to enter into all pieces, ports and waters within the dominions of either party, to anchor there, and to remain, take in stores, fit and repair, subject to the laws and regulations of the country. In order to facilitate the accomplishment of these objects in his dominions and especially to aid in the establishment of a coaling station in his dominions, the King of Tonga grants (leases) [nō fonua] the German Government all rights of free use of the necessary ground at a suitable appropriate place in the Vavau group but always without prejudice to the rights of the sovereignty of the King of Tonga.

ARTICLE 6. Subjects of each of the two High Contracting Parties may with full liberty reciprocally proceed to any and every part of their respective territories and may reside there and undertake voyages and journeys, carry on commerce wholesale or retail, and fix the price for merchandise and produce or other articles of any kind, whether imported by them or intended for export; - further particulars with regard to their mutual relations of commerce being reserved for a special treaty of Commerce and Navigation. They may furthermore rent land and grounds, and use and cultivate them with full liberty: they may erect houses, warehouses, and stores as they may desire on such rented land or grounds and also buy, rent and occupy such houses, warehouses, and stores. In all these cases the subjects of both states have to observe the laws and regulations of the country, but in no case shall they be subject to any general or local contributions; assessments or obligations, of whatever kind they may be, but those which are imposed upon the native subjects. And any taxes, dues, charges, and other obligations which may be enacted by the laws of the country with reference to any government deeds of leases of grounds or lands, besides the rents agreed upon, shall have effect only with regard to the ordinary sale taxes, licences and road repairs, whilst any respective extraordinary charges, or assessments are reserved for a special agreement between the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 7. In as much as a separate treaty or respective arrangements was mentioned in the proceeding article having reserve with a view of further strengthening and promoting the mutual relations of the High Contracting Parties, it is also reserved, for the same object, hereafter to regulate as deemed necessary the legal and civil (marriages) position of the subject of each state and of those who share their protection during their stay, in the dominions of the other party, and also the rights competencies, and obligations of mutual consular representation by the conclusion of a separate Consular Treaty between the two High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 8. Each of the two High Contracting Parties hereby agrees not to rent in his Dominions any monopolies, indemnities, or real privileges, to the disadvantage of the commerce, the flag, or the subjects of the other nation.

ARTICLE 9. The two high Contracting Parties agree to grant each other reciprocally with reference to preceding articles, as many rights and privileges as may be granted in future to the most favoured nations.

ARTICLE 10. The present treaty shall come into force and become valid from the day of the signing of the same. reserving that the same become invalid, in case its ratification on the part of the German Government, shall not take place within the space of one year from the

date of its execution.

ARTICLE 11. The present Treaty consisting of the eleven articles shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged at Nuku'alofa within the space of twelve months.

In witness thereof the Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and sealed the same respective with their Seals.

Done at the harbour of Nuku'alofa on board His Imperial German Majesty's ship "Hertha" this 1st day of November One Thousand eight hundred and seventy six

(signed) E. Knorr
Th. Weber.

Viliami Tungi
Shirley W. Baker (Interpreter)

[228] THE INITIAL AGREEMENT WITH BRITAIN 1878

[Western Pacific Commission Archives, Suva. No.43 item 10]

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

1.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty and those of His Majesty the King of Tonga.

11.

There shall be accorded to British Subjects residing in Tonga all privileges now possessed by; or which may be hereafter accorded to, the subjects of any other foreign nation, nor will His Majesty the King of Tonga grant to any other sovereign or state powers, authority or privileges in Tonga in excess of those awarded to Her Britannic Majesty.

111.

Cases whether criminal or civil arising between British Subjects resident in Tonga shall be judged in the High Commissioners' Court only, and at the request of Such Court it shall be lawful in such cases for the supreme Court of Tonga to require the attendance of witnesses, whether natives or foreigners, which summons shall have the like authority as if issued in cases judged by the supreme Court of Tonga.

1V.

Her Britannic Majesty and the King of Tonga mutually engage to surrender under the condition of the laws of extradition, actually existing at any time in either country, respectively, persons convicted of or charged with the following crimes:

Murder or attempt to murder.

Theft.

Fraudulent Bankruptcy.

Forgery.

Conspiracy.

V.

This agreement shall remain in force until the ... day of September 1878 unless previous to that date its terms are embodied in a Treaty between her Britannic Majesty and the King of Tonga.

[229] THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP 1879

[Print copy in English and Tongan –
Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

TREATY of Friendship, &c., between Her Majesty the Queen of
Great Britain and Ireland and the King of Tonga.

Signed at Nukualofa, November 29, 1879.

.....
[Ratifications exchanged at Nukualofa]

* * * * *

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of Tonga, being desirous to maintain and strengthen the relations of friendship which happily subsist between their respective dominions and subjects, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and have, therefore, named as their Plenipotentiaries:

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.; the Honourable Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner and Consul-General for the Western Pacific, Governor of Fiji; and Alfred Percival Maudslay, Esquire, one of Her Majesty's Deputy Commissioners for the Western-Pacific; and

His Majesty the King of Tonga, &c.; Wellington Tubou Malohi, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of the Second Class, Governor of Vavau; and George Fatafahi, Governor of Haapai;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:-

ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, her heirs, and successors, and His Majesty the King of Tonga, his heirs and successors, and between their respective dominions and subjects.

ARTICLE II.

His Majesty the King of Tonga engages to grant to no other Sovereign or State any rights, powers, authority, or privileges in Tonga in excess of those accorded to Her Britannic Majesty.

The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall always enjoy in Tonga and Tongan subjects shall always enjoy in the territories of Her Britannic Majesty whatever rights, privileges, and immunities, they, now possess, or which are now accorded to the subjects of the most favoured nation; and the like privileges, shall be equally enjoyed by Tongan subjects in the territories of Her Britannic Majesty; and no rights, privileges, or immunities shall be granted hereafter in Tonga to the subjects of any foreign State which shall not equally and unconditionally be granted to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE III.

(a) If any subject of Her Britannic Majesty in Tonga is charged with a criminal offence cognizable by British Law, such charge may be tried by the Court of Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific Islands.

(b) If any subject of Her Britannic Majesty in Tonga is charged with an offence against the Municipal Law of Tonga not cognizable as such under British Law, he shall be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Tongan Courts, the proceedings of which shall be conducted in public, and the records of which shall be public and accessible.

(c) If any subject of Her Britannic Majesty in Tonga is charged with a criminal offence cognizable as such both by British Law and the Laws of Tonga, the party charged may elect whether he will be tried by a Tongan Court or by the Court of Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner.

(d) Every civil suit which may be brought in Tonga against any subject of Her Britannic Majesty in Tonga shall be brought before and shall be tried by the Court of Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner.

(e) Every summons or warrant to appear as a witness before the Court of Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner, issued in accordance with British Law, and directed to a Tongan subject, shall, if possible, be endorsed by Judge of the Supreme Court of Tonga, and when so endorsed, shall have the same authority, and may be enforced in like manner, as if issued by the Supreme Court of Tonga, but when it shall be made to appear to the Court of Her Majesty's High Commissioner that the delay required to procure such endorsement might lead to the escape or removal of a material witness, such summons or warrant may be issued by the Court without such endorsement, and shall have the same authority, and may be enforced in like manner, as if such summons or warrant had been directed to a subject of Her Britannic Majesty.

(f) The expression "British Law" in this Article includes any Regulations duly made and issued by Her Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific Islands for the government of British subjects within his jurisdiction.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty agrees to surrender to His Majesty the King of Tonga any Tongan subject who, being accused or convicted of any of the under-mentioned crimes, committed in the territory of the King of Tonga, shall be found within the territory of Her Britannic Majesty.

The crimes for which such surrender may be granted are the following:-

- Murder, or attempt to murder;
- Embezzlement or larceny;
- Fraudulent bankruptcy;
- Forgery.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall come into force and effect from the date of the signature thereof, but shall again become null and void if not ratified within the prescribed period.

ARTICLE VI.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Nukualofa within: twelve months from the date thereof.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Nukualofa, the twenty-ninth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine.

L.S. UELIGI TONI TÜPOU MALOHI.

(L.S.) ARTHUR GORDON.

L.S. JIAOSI FATAFEHT.

(L.S.) ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY. .

[230] TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 1886

[Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States of America and the King of Tonga. Typescript copy, Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

October 2, 1886.

The United States of America and the King of Tonga, naturally desirous of maintaining and strengthening their relations and interests, have resolved to conclude a Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, and to this end have empowered as their representatives: The President of the United States, George H. Bates, Special Commissioner of the United States to Tonga; and His Majesty the King of Tonga, the Rev. Shirley Waldemar Baker, Premier of the Kingdom of Tonga; who, after producing to each other their respective powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual peace and amity between the United States of America and the King of Tonga, his heirs and successors.

ARTICLE II.

The citizens of the United States shall always enjoy in the dominions of the King of Tonga, and Tongan subjects shall always enjoy in the United States whatever rights privileges and immunities are now accorded to citizens or subjects of the most favoured nation; and no rights, privileges, or immunities shall be granted hereafter to any foreign State, or to the citizens or subjects of any foreign State, by either of the high contracting parties, which shall not be also equally and unconditionally granted by the same to the other high contracting party, its citizens or subjects; it being understood that the parties hereto affirm the principle of the law of nations: that no privilege granted for equivalent or on account of propinquity or other special conditions comes under the stipulations herein contained as to favoured nations.

ARTICLE III.

Citizens of the United states in Tonga, and Tongans in the United States may visit, sojourn, and trade in any part of the respective jurisdictions, and rent, occupy, and improve lands, and erect dwellings, offices, and warehouses thereon, subject to the law and regulations of the country, which shall, however, in no case, except of employment as labourers, be more restrictive than those imposed upon the citizens or subjects of the respective country, or upon the citizens or subjects of the most favoured nations.

ARTICLE IV.

There shall be reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation between the United States and the Tonga Islands, and no duty of Customs or other impost shall be charged upon any goods being the produce or manufacture of one country, when imported therefrom into the other country, other or higher than is charged upon the same, the produce or manufacture of or imported from any other country.

ARTICLE V.

No other or higher duties or charges on account of harbour dues, pilotage, quarantine, salvage in case of damage or shipwreck, or other shipping charges shall be imposed in the dominions of the King of Tonga on vessels of the United States, or in the United States on Tongan vessels, than are imposed on vessels belonging to the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE VI.

The ships of war of either of the high contracting parties may enter all ports, places, and waters within the jurisdiction of the other, to anchor and remain, take in stores, refit and repair, subject to the laws and regulations of the country. To enable this privilege to be carried out in his dominions, the King of Tonga agrees to secure to the Government of the United States by lease at nominal rent, with covenants of renewal, all rights of free use of necessary ground in any harbour of the Tonga Islands which shall be mutually agreed upon, for the purposes of establishing a permanent coaling and repairing station, the rights of Tongan sovereignty therein being fully reserved and admitted: and in selecting a station for this purpose due regard shall be had for any similar concession which the King of Tonga may have granted by Treaty to any other Government.

ARTICLE VII.

All steam vessels which may be employed by the Government of the United States in the

carrying of their mails in or across the Pacific Ocean shall have free access to all parts of the Tonga Islands, and shall be there subject to no harbour or pilotage dues: provided that no vessel be entitled to such exemption except upon condition of carrying free of charge the Tongan mails to ports of destination and call of such vessels.

ARTICLE VIII.

The whaling or fishing vessels of the United States shall have free access to the ports and harbours of Tonga, and in the ports of entry thereof shall be permitted to barter and trade their supplies or goods for provisions for the use of their own vessels and crews, without being subject to the law relative to trading licence, and shall be subject to no port or harbour dues or pilotage whatever: but this privilege of barter and trade shall not include the supplying of spirituous liquors and arms and ammunition to the Tongans. And such whaling or fishing vessels shall, after having entered any port of entry in the Tonga Islands, be at liberty to anchor off any island or reef thereof, for the purpose of whaling or boiling down, provided such vessel does not anchor within the distance of three nautical miles from any inhabited town; but nothing in this clause shall be so construed as to permit infringement of the quarantine laws of the dominion of the King of Tonga.

ARTICLE IX.

All citizens of the United States residing in the Tonga Islands, and Tongan subjects residing in the United States, shall be exempted from all compulsory military service, whether by sea or land, and from all forced loans, military requisitions, and quartering of troops. They shall, moreover, not be compelled to pay any other or higher taxes, or licence fees, or personal dues of any kind, than are, or may be, paid by the citizens or subjects of the high contracting party levying the same.

ARTICLE X.

Should any member of the Ship's Company desert from a vessel of war or merchant vessel of either of the high contracting parties while such vessel is within the territory or jurisdiction of the other, the local authorities shall render all lawful assistance for the apprehension of such deserter, on application to that effect made by the Consul of the high contracting party concerned: or if there be no consul, then by the master of the vessel.

ARTICLE XI.

Each of the high contracting parties may appoint consuls, vice consuls, commercial agents, and vice-commercial agents for the protection of trade, to reside in the territory of the other high contracting party; but before any consular officer appointed shall act as such, he shall, in the usual form, be approved of and admitted by the Government of the country to which he is sent; and all such consular officers shall enjoy the same privileges and powers with those of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE XII.

Consuls and consular representatives of the United States in Tonga shall have all jurisdictional rights over civil and criminal matters concerning their own citizens and vessels in conformity with the statutes of the United States and the law of nations, and they may call upon the authorities of Tonga for aid in making arrests or enforcing judgments; and the citizens of the United States charged with committing offences against, shall be amenable

only to the consular jurisdiction, and shall be punished according to the law of the United States; and Tongans charged with committing offences against citizens of the United States shall be tried by Tongan Courts, and punished according to Tongan law. Claims of a civil nature against citizens of the United States shall be cognizable only in the consular jurisdiction, and Tongan Courts shall be open to citizens of the United States to prosecute such claims against Tongans according to law; provided that citizens of the United States, charged with violations of laws and regulations of Tonga, relating to customs, taxation, public health, and local police not cognizable as such under the laws of the United States, shall be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Tongan Courts, upon notice to the nearest United States consul or commercial agent if there be one resident in Tonga; who shall have the right to be present at the trial, and to direct or provide for the defence of the accused. The proceedings at all such trials shall be public, and the records thereof shall be public and accessible.

ARTICLE XIII.

Perfect and entire freedom of conscience and worship, with right of sepulchre according to their creed, shall be enjoyed by citizens or subjects of either of the high contracting parties within the jurisdiction of the other.

ARTICLE XIV.

This treaty shall become effective upon promulgation, and shall continue in force for ten years and thereafter until one year, shall have been given by one of the high contracting parties to the other of its desire to terminate the same; save and except as to article VI, - relating to the establishment of a coaling station -, which shall be terminable only by mutual consent.

ARTICLE XV.

This treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Nukualofa as soon as possible. This treaty is executed in duplicate, one copy being in English and the other in Tongan, both versions having the same meaning and intention, but the English version shall be considered the original, and shall control in case of any variance.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty, and thereunto affixed their respective seals.

Done in the harbour of Nukualofa, in Tongatabu, on board the United States Steamer "Mohican", this 2nd day of October, in the year of our Lord 1886.

-Seal. - Geo. H. Bates.

- Seal - Shirley W. Baker.

[231] THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP 1900

[A Revised Edition of THE LAW OF TONGA -comprising all Laws, Acts, and Ordinances in force on the 1st Day of January, 1929. Prepared under the authority of the Laws Consolidation Act, 1927. By William Kenneth Horne, Chief Justice of Tonga. Government Printer, Nukulalofa, Tonga. 1929.]

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND TONGA

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and His Majesty the King of Tonga, being desirous of strengthening the relations of amity between their respective States, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose and have named as their Plenipotentiaries: Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Basil Home Thomson, Esquire. And His Majesty the King of Tonga, Jiaoji Fatafehi Tui Belehake. Who after having communicated to each other their respective Full Powers have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the King of Tonga agrees that he will have no relations of any sort with foreign powers concerning the alienation of any land or any part of his Sovereignty or any demands for monetary compensation.

ARTICLE II.

Her Majesty will at all times to the utmost of her power take whatever steps may be necessary to protect the Government and territory of Tonga from any external hostile attacks; and for this or similar purposes Her Majesty's office shall at all times have free access to the waters and harbours of Tonga; and the King of Tonga hereby agrees to lease to Her Majesty a suitable site or sites in any harbour or harbours in Tonga for the purpose of establishing a station or stations for coaling and repair of Her Majesty's ships, and for the erection on any military works or fortifications which may be necessary for desirable for protection of such stations, and will at all times to the utmost of His power cooperate with and aid Her Majesty's naval or military forces in the defence of such station or stations if requested so to do by Her Majesty's officers.

ARTICLE III.

Her Majesty will appoint a suitable person to act as British Agent and Consul in Tonga, who will be the authorized medium of all communications between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Tonga. And His Majesty the King of Tonga may appoint his Representative to conduct such negotiations. The Agent will not interfere in any way in the internal affairs and administration in matters where the interests of British subjects or foreigners are not concerned, but will at all times be ready to advise the King and his Government in any matter as to which they wish to seek his advice, and exercise the jurisdiction vested in Her Majesty by Article V of this Treaty until such time as other arrangements may be made by Her Majesty in that behalf.

ARTICLE IV.

And whereas His Majesty the German Emperor has by Article II of the Convention between Great Britain and Germany, signed at London on the fourteenth day of November last, renounced in favour of Great Britain all the rights of Germany over the Tongan Islands, including the right of extra territoriality in the Said Islands, and it is desirable, in order the better to enable Her Majesty to fulfil her obligations under this Treaty, that Her Majesty should have and exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction over all subjects of foreign Powers in Tonga, His Majesty the King of Tonga agrees that Her Majesty shall have and exercise jurisdiction as defined in Article five of this Treaty in the case of the subjects or citizens of all foreign Powers in Tonga.

ARTICLE V.

The jurisdiction to exercised by Her Majesty in Tonga shall extend to the hearing and settlement of all claims of a civil nature against British subjects or foreigners, and against British or foreign vessels by whomsoever preferred, and to the trial and punishment of all offences and crimes of which British subjects or foreigners may be accused in Tonga, except as here-inafter provided. All such cases, whether civil or criminal, shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of "The Pacific Order in Council, 1893" and of any Order amending the same so far as applicable. The authorities of Tonga shall at all times to the utmost of their power, when called upon by the British Agent, render aid in making arrests or in enforcing judgments in pursuance of this jurisdiction. Provided that British subjects and foreigners charged with violations of the Laws and Regulations of Tonga relating to Customs, taxation, public health, and local police not cognizable as such under the provisions of "The Pacific Order in Council, 1893" shall continue to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the Tongan Courts. The proceedings at all such trials shall be public and the records thereof accessible.

ARTICLE VI.

It is agreed that the Treaty of the twenty-ninth day of November 1879 between Her Majesty and His Majesty the King of Tonga shall be considered to be abrogated in so far as it may be inconsistent with the provisions of this Treaty.

ARTICLE VII.

The present Treaty shall come into force and effect from the date of signature thereof but shall again become null and void if not ratified within the prescribed period.

ARTICLE VIII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Nukualofa within twelve months from the date thereof.

Done at Nukualofa this eighteenth day of May, 1900.

This Treaty was ratified at Nukualofa on 16th February, 1901.

E. TONGA IN THE BALANCE: THE ANNEXATION QUESTION.

[232] THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES CASE FOR BRITISH ANNEXATION OF PACIFIC ISLANDS 1883

[Intercolonial Convention in Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (New Zealand). A-J. A-3. 1884. pp. 128-135. General Assembly Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

INTERCOLONIAL CONVENTION

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE ANNEXATION OR PROTECTORATE OF
NEW GUINEA AND THE WESTERN PACIFIC ISLANDS

The Agents-General for New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, and Victoria,
to Lord Derby.

My Lord,

London, 24 July, 1883.

In accordance with the desire expressed by your Lordship on the occasion of our recent interview with you, we purpose now to place before your Lordship in writing the representations which we then submitted to you on the annexation or protectorate of the Western Pacific Islands and the eastern portion of New Guinea.

It is no doubt well known to your Lordship that during a period now extending over more than thirty years, the Australasian Colonies have one after another pressed upon Her Majesty's Government the expediency of bringing the islands of the Western Pacific within the dominion or the protection of England; and we feel assured that the whole question will appear to your Lordship invested with a graver aspect, when for the first time the Governments of nearly all the Dependencies of England in Australasia come before Her Majesty's Government to make a united remonstrance against the present state of affairs in the Western Pacific, and to ask from the Imperial authority the adoption of such a definite policy and purpose as they believe is essential to their future well being.

It is true that fear of foreign intervention has been the immediate cause of this concerted action on the part of the Australasian Governments; and this, we understood, seemed to your Lordship hardly adequate to justify a strong sense of present danger. We can assure you that our Governments would receive with a sense of great relief your Lordship's assurance that there is no foundation for our fears. But it is not only the apprehension of immediate foreign intervention that has influenced our Governments, nor would its removal change their opinion as to the necessity for making it impossible in the future. Other powerful reasons bring them together to urge upon the Imperial Government the necessity of a policy different from the one that has been pursued in the past: the conviction, indeed, that the state of things in the Western Pacific has at last become intolerable. We feel that we ought not to say this without an attempt to trace the course of events that have led to so grave a declaration.

It was in 1848 that Sir George Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, first called the attention of the Imperial Government to a "species of trade in the native inhabitants which had commenced in the Pacific," and to the danger of foreign annexation, pointing out the necessity of providing against these in time. For many years successive appeals of the same

kind, and from one Colony after another, were made to Her Majesty's Government to interfere. In the meanwhile, the constant repetition of outrages in the Pacific had become such a scandal to civilization that the Imperial Government resolved to make a vigorous attempt to repress them. The Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, which had been in existence in various forms since 1828, and the Pacific Islanders Protection Act of 1872, had proved insufficient to meet the increasing difficulties of the case. At last, in 1875, two Acts of Parliament were passed, amending the former law, defining more clearly the powers and jurisdiction of Her Majesty in the Pacific Ocean, and creating the office of High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. These were followed, two years after, by the promulgation of the "Western Pacific Order in Council of 1877," which established the High Commissioner's Court, with elaborate provision for the government of the Western Pacific: and the new Colony of Fiji, which had meanwhile been created in 1876, became the centre of the High Commissioner's operations.

The humane intentions of the Imperial Government in these measures have always commanded the respect and sympathy of the Australasian Colonies; and if it had ever been possible to give them real effect, we should not be addressing your Lordship today; but there was an inherent difficulty, the result of which could hardly have been foreseen at the time, but which was certain to paralyse every endeavour to confer the benefits of law and order on the vast region, stretching from New Guinea across the Pacific Ocean, which those measures embraced. The Act of 1875, which created the office of High Commissioner, only empowered Her Majesty to "exercise power and jurisdiction over her subjects" within the islands, and expressly declared that nothing in the Act or in any Order in Council under it should "extend, or be construed to extend, to invest Her Majesty with any claim or title whatsoever to dominion or sovereignty" over the islands, or to "derogate from the rights of the tribes or people inhabiting them, or of their chiefs or rulers, to such sovereignty or dominion." And although the powers of the Order in Council were apparently extended so as to include foreigners in a few specified cases, they were practically restricted to British subjects only, for no foreigner could be brought under the High Commissioner's jurisdiction unless he could produce "the consent in writing of the competent authority on behalf of his own nation," a condition which, from the nature of things, could seldom if ever be fulfilled.

.....

But if there was serious trouble by reason of there being no jurisdiction over foreigners, another trouble was growing up even more serious because there was none over natives. So far from outrages diminishing after the Order in Council was promulgated they increased.

.....

Remedies which were suggested

It is no wonder that such a state of things should have caused serious anxiety to Her Majesty's Government, or that the Secretary of State should have desired the High Commissioner to advise what was now to be done. That the Order in Council had failed was evident; "an acknowledgment," says Sir Arthur Gordon, "that the present system is a failure, and the consequent repeal of the Order in Council would have the merit of simplicity." But the question was what should be put in its place. Lord Kimberley sent a despatch to the Governor of Queensland, saying that it was contemplated to invite the naval powers to agree to the appointment of a Joint Commission for considering the measures which should be taken for the regulation or the labour traffic, the trade in firearms, and the prevention and punishment of outrages of all kinds, under the sanction of a Convention between Her

Majesty's Government and the other Powers. The Queensland Government immediately expressed their willingness to co-operate with the Imperial authorities for such a plan. The High Commissioner expressed his own concurrence. "Some sort of international agreement," he said, "seems to me to form an essential part of any satisfactory arrangement." He then went on to make several recommendations for improving the existing system, one of which was that the judicial powers conferred by the Orders in Council should be so extended by Act of Parliament as to render offences committed by natives against British subjects equally cognizable with those committed by British subjects against natives. But it would evidently have been useless to assume jurisdiction over the native people and continue to except foreigners. Nor did the High Commissioner shrink from admitting this. "To obtain," he said, "the power of dealing satisfactorily with the misdeeds of other whites than Englishmen, or of punishing attacks upon them, an international agreement, having the sanction of a treaty with France, Germany, and the United States, would be necessary. Such an arrangement would probably involve the substitution for the High Commission of a mixed Commission similar to the old mixed Commission Slave Trade Courts." And Sir Arthur Gordon then went on, with perfect truth, to touch the real kernel of the whole matter. "It should be borne in mind," he said, "that the punishment of outrages, though at present forced into prominence, is not the only the most important matter which has to be dealt with in these seas;" and he reminded the Secretary of State that the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner and his Court was one "primarily created to bring law, both civil and criminal, within the reach of British subjects far from all other legal tribunals, to check aggressive lawlessness, and to regulate the growth and development of British settlements in the Western Pacific." This was wise language. But when such recommendations were made, it was difficult to escape the logical conclusion from them. Once let it be admitted that the Imperial Government can pass an Act such as was advised by the High Commissioner, and is there anything but the thinnest veil left between that and the assertion of the very right of "sovereignty or dominion" which it was the purpose of the Act of 1875 to forbid?

It would not be fair if we did not refer to other remedies which were suggested by the High Commissioner. Early in 1881, after reciting the causes for the increased frequency of murder of Europeans by natives in the Western Pacific, Sir Arthur Gordon referred to two ways by which they could be prevented in future. "One is," he said, "that which I know on good authority was seriously contemplated by Her Majesty's Government some years ago, - the establishment of a strong chartered Company possessing an exclusive right to trade. Another course would be to limit the protection given for trading operations, to those carried on at certain specified localities." But Sir Arthur Gordon even then allowed that the time for any scheme of a chartered Company had passed; and last year he proposed another plan to improve the working of the existing High Commission, the leading features of which, in addition to extending his jurisdiction by a new Act of Parliament, were the appointment of three Deputy-Commissioners, the conferring of Deputy-Commissioners' powers on naval officers in command of H.M. cruisers, and the permanent employment of a vessel; not a man-of-war, in the service of the Commission.

Whatever might have been the recommendations some years ago, in favour of granting an exclusive right of trading in the Western Pacific to a chartered Company, we entirely agree with Sir Arthur Gordon that the time for any such scheme has long gone by. An elaborate plan was devised in 1876 by Sir Julius Vogel, then Premier of New Zealand, and the present Premier of that Colony, Mr Whitaker, for the establishment of a great trading

Company for the Western Pacific; but it fell to the ground, as any scheme of the kind now proposed must inevitably do. There are no circumstances in the Pacific similar to those which were held to justify the granting of a Royal Charter, in November, 1881, to the North Borneo Company; on the contrary, there are circumstances essentially adverse to any plan of the kind. But even if there were not, we may point to two things which alone ought now to dismiss it from consideration. In the first place, it would always have been futile to imagine that any grant of exclusive rights of trade to a company would be effectual even in the case of British traders; not only would they have traded in spite of it, but at no time after the promulgation of the Order in Council could any such exclusive grant have been made without grave injustice to them; while, as regards foreigners, such a right would not have affected the French, German, and American traders; and if it was not to be respected by everybody, it must necessarily fail as a remedy. There are already French Companies established in New Caledonia, whose operations extend over many of the islands, and there will certainly be several others. By what process could these Companies be prevented from trading? The slightest attempt to do so would show how the question ever comes back to the same point; to the exercise, namely, of rights of "sovereignty and dominion." But in the second place, we feel sure that your Lordship will allow that, in any scheme for giving a chartered Company exclusive rights of trade, the interests and the wishes of Australasia could not be left out of consideration. Now, the exclusive right to trade could not exist for a moment in the islands without some right to govern; and the Governments of Australasia could not be expected to acquiesce in any right of government being transferred from the Imperial authority to any other authority than their own.

Trade.

We have endeavoured to trace the events which have gradually but surely been pressing with ever increasing force for a new policy on the western Pacific question. We now turn from those to a matter just as pressing, namely, the constantly growing trade of all that region.

At the end of 1884 Commodore Wilson collected from the various Customs officers some valuable returns of the commerce between the Australasian Colonies and the Western Pacific Islands; from these we have taken out the following evidence of what the trade amounted to in the ten years from 1871 to 1880:-

Colony.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Value:-		
			Imports.	Exports.	Total.
			£	£	£
New South Wales	1,305	395,391	2,147,858	2,725,227	4,873,085
Victoria	187	67,725	162,095	110,647	272,742
Queensland	320	47,390	2,899	83,800	86,699
New Zealand	908	349,681	705,223	548,187	1,253,410
	2,720	860,187	3,018,075	3,468,861	6,486,936

The Commodore did not merely point out how large was, even at that time, the value of this trade: he said significantly that has yet the sources of trade may be said to be in their infancy." He might have added that these Customs returns only included, of course, the British trade, and took no account of foreign traders: if the French, German, and American trade could have been added, the total would have amounted to a much larger sum than

6½ millions. It is needless for us to point out that the greater part of the produce of the Western Pacific only passes through Australia, and really comes to England. That this produce will greatly increase is beyond doubt. The whole trade, indeed, of the Pacific is destined to undergo a great change whenever the Panama Canal is made. It is then that will be seen the foresight of France in establishing herself at Tahiti and the Marquesas: and the Navigators, with the splendid harbour on Tutuila Island, will come into a new importance, while the Fiji group will become the nearest colony of England in the Pacific.

The pearl-shell and beche de mer fisheries alone amount to nearly a million sterling annually. The growth of sugar plantations is equally remarkable. Probably £1,000,000 has been spent in Queensland alone in creating sugar estates where only a few years ago there was nothing but the wilderness: the actual produce of these estates is already 19,000 tons, and in three years will probably be 50,000 tons. The great importance of this to Australasia will at once be seen from the fact that in the single year 1881 sugar to the value of close of £2,700,000 was imported into Australia and Now Zealand, of which the import from Mauritius exceeded \$1,500,000. It is quite certain there will be a great extension of the growth of sugar in Queensland and Fiji, and in it a constantly larger amount of Polynesian labour is sure to be employed. Now the necessity of further regulations for the labour trade and traffic in firearms, by foreigners as well as our own people, is one of the things that have been most strongly pressed upon Her Majesty's Government by the highest Imperial officers, and by every authority of importance in the Colonies concerned.

The chief difficulty we have in referring to this is that no one in Australasia really knows how far the ground is clear of foreign claims, or to what engagements Her Majesty's Government is now committed. It is of the first importance to define with accuracy the political relation in which each group of islands stands to-day, whether to the Imperial Government or to any Foreign Powers. We therefore trust that we may ask your Lordship to enable us to place before our Government a full statement, of what claims have yet been made by foreign powers, and of the extent to which such claims have been recognized by Her Majesty.

The sense of uncertainty and insecurity which prevails in Australasia on this subject may perhaps be best illustrated by what has happened in the case of the New Hebrides. That group was originally part of the Colony of New Zealand, under the Charter of 1840. At some time, of which we are not aware, a rather vague understanding appears to have been come to with the Government of France that the New Hebrides should be relinquished as a possession of the Crown and their independence recognized. In 1878, upon reports coming to Europe of a French project to annex the group, the French Ambassador declared that his Government had no intention to interfere with the independence of the islands, and asked for an assurance that Her Majesty's Government would also respect it. Your Lordship, being then secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, informed the French Ambassador, with the concurrence of the Colonial Office, that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of "changing-the-condition of independence which the New Hebrides now enjoyed." Upon a remonstrance being made by Sir George Grey, then Premier of Now Zealand, the secretary of State replied that the New Hebrides were no longer within the limits of New Zealand, and that the Imperial Government had no intention of proceeding in the direction of a political Protectorate. In the Order in Council of 1877, the New Hebrides had (evidently by design) boon omitted from the islands specified by name; nevertheless, the High Commissioner understood that his authority extended over them, for he appointed Captain Cyprian Bridge, R.N., to be a Deputy-Commissioner there, and it was in that character that Captain Bridge

went down to the islands. Now we venture to ask whether it is quite certain that after Her Majesty had once been graciously pleased to include the New Hebrides in the boundaries of New Zealand, the mere fact of new boundaries being afterwards fixed for that Colony was sufficient to make the New Hebrides cease to be a possession of the Crown? At any rate, if they have ceased to be so, and there is an understanding between the Governments of England and France to respect the independence of the group, the least that can be asked is that English and French subjects shall be on the same footing there. But it transpired, in a debate in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 8th May, that a Company had been formed at New Caledonia, by a planter who had acquired 'des terrains importants' at Sandwich Island; and the Temps, only a few days ago, announced that a Company composed of colonists from New Caledonia had succeeded in "creating very important interests in the islands, had bought several of them, and had obtained large concessions in others whereupon that journal suggested that the "best method of procedure would be to grant to the Company rights similar to those recently accorded by the English Government to the North Borneo Company. We venture to ask whether the agreement, whatever it is, which exists between the two Governments, would allow of any grant of that kind being made by France?

Nor can the colonists feel secure against some sudden act on the part of France in annexing other islands whose independence may stand on, at any rate, no worse a footing than that of the New Hebrides. It is only a few years ago since Commodore Hoskins reported to the Admiralty that a French ship of war had been sent to the Chesterfield and Bampton Reefs by the Governor of New Caledonia, to proclaim those islands to be French territory, which was done with the usual formalities." But the Governor of New South Wales had already granted a lease of the islets for working guano deposits; and it had to be arranged that the deposits should be worked jointly by French and English Companies until the question of title was decided, as to which Sir Hercules Robinson had sent a telegram to the Colonial Office immediately on receiving notice of the annexation from the Governor of New Caledonia. Still less can the colonists feel any security against other acts of which they have already complained. Early in 1880 a schooner arrived at Auckland from New Caledonia, chartered by the French authorities, bringing eleven political offenders, and nine convicts for criminal offences. Sir John Hall, then Premier of New Zealand, immediately telegraphed to all the Governments of Australia, asking them to join in urging Her Majesty's Government to remonstrate with the Government of the French Republic against a repetition of that act. The Government of New South Wales stated that "batches of pardoned convicts from New Caledonia had on several occasions arrived there." The Agent-General brought the case before the Colonial Office, and Lord Kimberly requested the Foreign Office to move the French Government to discontinue any shipments of convicts from New Caledonia to New Zealand. But convicts have often escaped from New Caledonia in open boats, and landed on the Queensland coast; more than fifty who came to Queensland were afterwards extradited, besides many others known to be French convicts from Noumea.

Again, by a "Reciprocal Engagement" entered into between England and France, in 1847, respecting the Raiatea group of islets (to the leeward of Tahiti) both nations bound themselves "never to take possession of the islands, either absolutely or under the title of a protectorate, or in any other form whatever." But the French flag has been hoisted for three years on those islands, without, so far as we know, any consent or recognition having been over given by Her Majesty's Government.

Again, a scheme is being debated even now in France, which, if it is carried into

effect, will be more disastrous for the Pacific than anything that has happened since the creation of the penal settlement at New Caledonia; for it is nothing less than a well-matured design for transporting for life (transportation a vie) to New Caledonia, the Loyalty Isles, and the Marquesas Islands, great numbers of French habitual criminals (reculivistes et malfaiteurs d'habitude). Four proposals to this effect were before the French Legislature, one of them a bill brought in by the Government. They were all referred together to a Committee, which reported that the Minister of the Interior had accepted certain modifications, and that there was no further difficulty. In the debates in the Chamber of Deputies, the reporter of the project de loi (M. Gerville-Reache) stated that at least 60,000 could be sent to New Caledonia, and 23,000 to the Loyalty Islands. It was calculated that in the first year after the law came into force 5,000 convicts would be transported for life under it, and an official estimate was presented of the probable cost of sending these 5,000 to the Loyalty Islands and the Marquesas. It was said by the opponents of the measure that the number of convicts transported would be 100,000; this was denied; where upon it was asked whether since in the very first year 5,000 were to be sent, it could be expected that the number would not increase every year after. The class to be sent was officially described by W. Gerville-Reache as dangerous, steeped in vice, debauchery, and crime (homes dangereux, perdus de vices, uses par la dobauche, souilles de tous les crimes). These criminals were to be transported for life (la relegation consistera dans Vinternement perpetuel des candamnes); but were not to serve any term of punishment and were to be free on arrival (en resume, le transporte a son arrivee dans la colonie sera lebre.) The object was to rid France of them (en debarrasser la patrie). The Government was to support them at first till they could get work; if they would not work, they must live how they could (ils vivront comme ils pourrout). The projet de loi appointed New Caledonia and its dependencies, and the Marquesas Group, as colonies to which the re idivistes were to be sent; but it was openly proposed in the debate to include the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, and the Isle of The Comte de Lanjuinais said it had been talked of to send the convicts to the New Hebrides (on amit parle deuvoyer les transportes aux Nouvelles Hebrides). M. Richare Waddington, speaking officially as a member of the Committee, said that the title to the New Hebrides was not settled (il s'agit d'une question de propriete non encore de terminee), but that he thought the French title was good, and that the French flag might very soon be hoisted on the islands (je crois que notre titre de possession est serieux, et que dans un arenir tres rapproche le pavillon de la France pourra y flotter); adding, however, that in saying so he was speaking for himself and not for the government (en engageant ma resposibilite seule et non celle du government). Another speaker went further, and said that, in response to the supposed action of England in New Guinea, the New Hebrides would be seized by France (pour repondre a Angleterre, qui si andaeieusement vient de mettre la main sur la Nouvelle-Guinee, nous saurons a notre tour nous emparer des Nouvelles Hebrides). The Chamber of Deputies, after adopting most of the Government Bill, sent it back for revision to the Committee, who returned it with very little alteration. They estimated that in the first four years the number of convicts to be sent would be 20,000. The colonies to which the convicts might be sent remained the same, namely, New Caledonia and its dependencies, the Marquesas, an island called Phu Quoc, and Guiana. The Bill has passed the chamber, but is not yet before the Senate.

Your Lordship will not be surprised at our Governments urging that this scheme for making the Pacific Islands the receptacle for the dangerous classes of France, is one deserving the serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government. It is impossible for

Australasia to look without the gravest apprehension at the prospect of any proposal of the kind receiving the tacit acquiescence of England. What hope is there for the Pacific Islands, if a great nation like France pours into them vast numbers of her dangerous classes, not as convicts under penal servitude, but free the moment they land, so long as they do not return to France; or how can Australia and New Zealand be expected to hear with patience of such a law being passed? There have been rumours of some proposal by which the penal establishment at New Caledonia should be altogether given up by France, and the convicts transferred to the New Hebrides; the inducement being that New Caledonia would then be opened to settlement by free colonists. We do not deny that there would be an advantage in freeing New Caledonia from the curse of transportation; but the Bill before the French Chambers expressly retains New Caledonia as one of the places to which the recidivistes are to be sent; therefore, as to the New Hebrides, all the Colonies trust that full effect will be given to Lord Granville's assurance in the House of Lords a few days ago, that "both Her Majesty's Government and the French Government acknowledge in full the obligation which the understanding about the New Hebrides imposes upon both," and that the group shall not be allowed to pass in any way under the dominion of France.

Nor is it only with regard to French policy that there is, in the opinion of the colonists, cause for some apprehension. It is often said that Prince Bismarck has no desire to extend the influence of Germany to the Pacific; but what happened in the case of the Navigators group shows that idea to be a mistaken one. In the early part of 1880 a scheme was proposed in Germany for a great trading Company to take over the property of Messrs. Godeffroy. In a communication to the Imperial Under Secretary of State, Prince Bismarck laid down the conditions on which the Company was to receive a guarantee from the State of an interest of 4½ per cent on its capital, not to exceed 300,000 marks a year, and to be for twenty years. The Chancellor referred to "the interest which the state takes in the prosperity of German enterprise in the South Seas," and justified the financial assistance he proposed giving to the new Company, by reason of the Godeffroy firm having "got into difficulties which threatened the German South Sea trade with the loss of their factories and plantations in the Samoa Islands." A Bill to give effect to the Chancellor's proposal was introduced accordingly, but rejected by the German Parliament in April, 1880. Again, as recently as December last, the Royal Colonial Institute called the attention of the Colonial Office to an article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* strongly advocating the annexation by Germany of Eastern New Guinea. The answer was that neither Lord Granville nor your Lordship saw any reason for supposing that the German Government contemplated any scheme of the kind; but we venture to ask that a more definite assurance should be obtained from that Government, which can hardly refuse to recognize the vital character of the matter to every Colony in Australia.

Before leaving the subject of foreign intervention, we submit that it would be expedient to settle more clearly the extent to which the independence of the chiefs in the various islands is recognized, and their right to make treaties admitted. Where the treaty-right exists, is it quite certain that the Western Pacific Order in Council is in operation? For instance, the Navigators and the Friendly Islands are among those specified by name in the Order in Council; but we understand there is an English treaty with the "king" of Tonga; and in the case of the Navigators there is a treaty with Germany, which Prince Bismarck communicated to the Reichstag in 1879. And we believe a treaty of some kind was made between Samoa and the United States, giving to the States the exclusive right of using the fine harbour at Tutuila as a coaling and naval station, the U.S. frigate "Narra gansett"

thereupon saluting the chief's flag with fifteen guns; indeed, this treaty was afterwards the subject of a representation by Sir Edward Thornton to the Government of Washington. Again, several of the Powers have appointed Consuls to the Islands; Her Majesty has a Consul at Rarotonga, a Consul at Samoa, and a Vice-consul at Tonga, while Sir Arthur Gordon, the High Commissioner, is Consul-General for the Pacific Islands, the conduct of relation with native States and tribes being confided to him in that capacity, under the control of the Foreign Office. As there is nothing that can be called law administered by the native States and tribes, it is difficult to see how one day the same evil will not arise from conflicting consular jurisdictions as have been so powerfully described by Lord Dufferin in the case of Egypt.

The new policy proposed.

The two things we set ourselves to show were, first, that the Western Pacific Order in Council could never be made adequate to do what is wanted, with out assuming a jurisdiction hitherto forbidden by Act of Parliament; and secondly, that the fear of foreign intervention which has existed in Australia was not without warrant. For this purpose we have relied not on assertions of our own but on official records, and with hardly an exception have only spoken of events that have happened in the last three years.

If we have established these two points, then the Imperial Government can hardly reject the consequences, that the time has come when complete jurisdiction ought to be assumed by England over the Western Pacific, as the only means of meeting the difficulties which beset alike the Imperial and the Colonial Governments, and of averting evils which threaten Her Majesty's loyal subjects in all that region.

We have rejoiced to see that such a policy has already received the almost unanimous support of the English Press. Some opposition to it is perhaps only natural. We are sensible of the repugnance that exists to the idea of adding to the already vast responsibilities of England a new and admittedly immense charge like that of the Western Pacific Islands. Yet it is difficult for any one to avoid the conclusion that these islands, unless they are meanwhile lost by foreign annexation, will inevitably belong to England in the end. The same impelling power, not of mere desires but of events, which induced the Imperial Government to do at last in Fiji what they had so often refused, is constantly at work, and incessantly being renewed and strengthened, with regard to the Western Pacific. But it was not till Fiji had become the opprobrium of the Southern seas that Her Majesty's Government would interfere. Surely they will not now inflict upon Australasia the hard necessity of waiting till New Guinea also, and perhaps other islands, become Alsatis as dangerous as Fiji once was, scourges to the peaceable subjects of Her Majesty, and a disgrace to civilization. For it is vain to think that the trade and intercourse between Australia and New Zealand and these islands can be suppressed. Settlement both English and foreign is spreading in every direction, yet of safety for life and property there is none. The High Commissioner himself has shown that it is quite impossible to do what is wanted by any Order in Council capable of being issued under the Act of 1875: in other words, impossible to do it without assuming the very jurisdiction which it was the purpose of that Act to forbid. Nor would an International Convention do it, for a convention could only extend to the nationalities concerned, and could not embrace the natives. England could not claim, in a convention with Foreign Powers, any jurisdiction over the native tribes, without herself asserting over them the sane right of dominion as would be asserted by the

policy of the Colonies are urging upon your Lordship: nor could any convention be made at all, without first acknowledging that Foreign Powers possessed an equal right with England to exercise a right of dominion over natives, an acknowledgment against which every subject of Her Majesty in Australia and New Zealand would unite in making the strongest remonstrance.

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Imperial interest also concerned

So far we may perhaps be said to have urged only points that specially affect Colonial interests, or at any rate do not closely touch Imperial ones. This may be true so long as Europe is at peace; but the Imperial interest would spring up the moment any war broke out which involved England in hostilities with a European Power. The Imperial Government have called upon the Colonies to do their part in the defence of their own harbours, and our Governments have not only acknowledged they had a duty in that respect, but are doing their best to fulfil it. They feel that they have a right to ask in return that the task shall not be more difficult for them than the Imperial Government can help, and that they shall not be exposed to the creation of fortified naval stations and places d'armes in the Pacific, which should shelter an enemy's fleet and threaten their commerce, their coal measures, and even their safety. The nation will never permit that her naval supremacy in the Pacific shall be endangered; and it can hardly be contested that if France and other European Powers created new naval stations in the islands, the existing conditions in all that ocean would be changed, and everything relating to Her Majesty's Australian squadron assume a new aspect and a new importance.

Concert between the Imperial and Colonial Governments

But while we have thus represented what the Australian Colonies believe ought to be done by the Imperial Government, they are also ready to acknowledge what they ought to do themselves. Your Lordship stated in the House of Lords, that if anything was to be done, it must be done either by the Imperial Government itself, or by the Australian Colonies acting together in concert, or by the Imperial and Colonial Governments combined; and we assure your Lordship that our Governments will hail with the greatest satisfaction such an invitation to them to co-operate with the Imperial authority. There are two immediate ways in which the Colonies can give their co-operation: by contributing to the cost of the policy they are asking your Lordship to pursue, and by placing themselves in a position to act in union with each other and in concert with you.

As regards the first, whatever differences there were when Lord Carnarvon made his proposal of 1876, there are none now. The Victorian Parliament has already passed an address, assuring Her Majesty that Victoria will share in the cost of the policy which is being urged upon your Lordship; the Queensland Government has assured your Lordship of its readiness to do the same; and the other Colonies will also do their part. But it does not need for us to remind your Lordship that no Ministries can engage for the payment of indefinite sums, and that the assent of our Legislatures to grants of money must be expressed in the usual way. Permanent appropriation will certainly be necessary; and for this not only time is required, but consultation among the Governments, arrangement of the respective contributions of the Colonies, and the passing of the requisite votes; in the meanwhile, the first point for us to know is the amount which the Imperial Government would require to be provided for whatever action is contemplated by your Lordship.

As regards the other question of concerted action between the Imperial and Colonial Governments, your Lordship expressed your opinion to us at our interview with you in the clearest terms, and repeated it in the House of Lords. "If," you said, "the Australian people desire an extension beyond their present limits, the most practical step that they could take, the one that would most facilitate any operation of the kind, and diminish in the greatest degree the responsibilities of the mother country, would be the confederation of the Colonies into one united whole, which would be powerful enough to undertake and carry through tasks for which no one Colony is at present sufficient." The large question of Federation which your Lordship has here raised is one on which the Colonies have not made up their minds, and is one of too grave moment to be decided even under the sway of the strong feelings which now exist among them respecting the policy that ought to be pursued in the Western Pacific. But there is nothing to prevent concerted action at once with the Imperial Government for that particular policy and we acknowledge that your Lordship may justly require not only such concerted action, but joint engagements on the part of the Colonial Governments for the permanence and stability of the policy itself. This too requires time, consultation among our Governments, and probably legislation also - at any rate concurrent resolutions in the respective Colonial Assemblies. On the other hand, the Colonies will not imagine that your Lordship has invited them to a co-operation which is to be barren of results; and our Governments will feel assured that if they on their part; pass the requisite appropriations, and combine for that concert with the Imperial Government which is necessary for any policy to succeed, they may rely upon the policy itself being adopted, and effect being given at last to the wishes which they have cherished for more than thirty years. In once more urging these wishes or Her Majesty's Government, they have not come as suppliants for some light favour, but as Englishmen to whom their country has given a great destiny which must be kept from harm; desiring no new territories for themselves, but asking that the Queen's subjects may enjoy the blessings of peace and order where now the law has no terrors for the evil-doer; not seeking by a clearer policy to set new burdens on the English taxpayer, but willing themselves to bear its cost; and welcoming with gladness an invitation to be associated with the Imperial Government in a work which must assuredly be done one day, and can as certainly be best done now.

We have, &c.,
SAUL SAMUEL.
F. D. BELL.
THOMAS ARCHER.
R. MURRAY-SMITH.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Derby,
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies,
&c., &c., &c.

[233] NEW ZEALAND'S DESIRE TO EXTEND THE EMPIRE

(i) *The Annexation Debate.*

[New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. xlv, 1883, pp 7-9; l, 1884, pp 509-511.
Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand.]

PACIFIC ISLANDS ANNEXATION

Major ATKINSON. - I think it will not be necessary for me to trouble the House at any great length upon this question. There are very few of us, I think, but who believe that, both in the interests of the natives and in the interests of the colonies of the British Empire in these seas, British authority should be established all over the Pacific islands which are at present not occupied or protected by any foreign Power. That, I think, is almost a self-evident proposition. I think, were these islands to fall into the possession of any other Power, it is clear that great difficulties would certainly arise in years to come, and that they might arise almost immediately, because we know the foreign policy of many Powers other than the British Government is to attract trade to their own ports, and we might find ourselves really debarred from a large portion of the trade of these islands, which is fast growing and in the course of a few years will have a very large volume. Well, I take it that most of us believe in the civilization of our own country. I, at any rate, should like to see the civilization of the British Empire extended to these islands, rather than any other form of civilization from Europe. Were English authority established there, there can be no doubt that many evils under which the Natives are now suffering would be abolished. I regret very much that the Imperial Government should have asked us to share the expense of annexing these islands, because it appears to me that, if it is the duty of the Imperial Power to take possession of those islands and colonize them, it is clearly the duty of the Imperial Government to bear the expense. However, if we are asked to do this, I think, in the interests of the British people, and in our own interests, we should bear a fair share of the cost, and that is the reason why I propose the resolution to which I ask the House to agree. I beg to move the motion standing in my name.

Motion made, and question proposed. "That this House concurs in the recommendations contained in the following report of the Pacific Islands Annexation Committee:-

" The Committee to whom was referred the consideration of the question of the Pacific Islands annexation have the honour to recommend the House to approve of the steps taken up to this time by the Government, in conjunction with other of the Australian Colonies, to promote the establishment of British rule in certain islands in the Pacific, and consider that it is the duty of the British Government, under existing circumstances, to take steps for the establishment of its rule over all islands in the Pacific which are not already occupied by or under the protectorate of a foreign Power; and that, on annexation of any island taking place, care should be taken that provision be made for preserving the individual rights of the inhabitants; also that, in the event of the British Government making it one of the conditions of establishing its authority over any islands in the Pacific, it is hereby recommended that New Zealand, jointly with the Colonies of Australia, should contribute its fair proportion of necessary expense, calculated on the basis of European populations of the British colonies now comprised in Australasia, provided that the amount of such proportionate expenditure, when ascertained, does not exceed the means at the disposal of

New Zealand.

" 'The Committee have also the honour to recommend that the Confederation and Annexation Bill, with the amendment proposed by the Committee, be passed by the House, and that the papers named in the schedule laid by the Colonial Treasurer before the Committee, relating to the annexation of islands in the Pacific, together with such other papers relating to the subject as Government - can supply, be printed for the information of Parliament.' " – (Major Atkinson)

Mr MONTGOMERY. - I have very decided opinions upon this matter, and I differ very much from what the Treasurer has said. He says that, in the interest of the natives and of ourselves, we should colonize these islands; but is he aware that these islands are already - if he refers to the New Hebrides - quite full of people? The main island of the New Hebrides, Espiritu Santo, is no bigger than Stewart Island, and it has a population of ten thousand. But, from the way in which these islands are spoken of, one would think they were as large in extent as the middle island of New Zealand and as fit for colonization as some of the large plains of Australia. This is not so. These islands are full of people many of whom are cannibals. the climate is wet and un healthy. Leprosy and a great many other diseases peculiar to tropical climates are prevalent there. Then, it is said that if we annex these islands, or ask the British Government to annex them, we should bear part of the expense. I do not quite understand the position the Government wish us to take up. If this is to be done in the interests of humanity, then we should establish missionstations there; but I do not believe in talk which means combining piety with percentages - taking possession of the islands for the purposes of humanity and also for the purpose of getting trade. When we look around and see what our civilization has done for the various native races in countries of which we have taken possession. I question very much whether it would be greatly to the advantage of the natives for the British Government to take possession of these islands, especially if it would then become the main duty of the Government to look after the property of traders. I doubt whether we should improve the position of the natives either morally or physically. Does not the taking possession of these islands simply mean that we are to protect and maintain traders in the possession of whatever property they may acquire? If so, I leave out of consideration the moral aspect of the question, and look at the matter simply from the pounds-shillings-and-pence point of view, and I can only say I believe it would be a thoroughly bad bargain. More than that, we are going into a blind engagement when we agree to bear a portion of the expense. When the Government of this colony on a future day would be asked to bear the expense it might be a million or so, and we should either fail in our honour or spend very much more money than we can afford. If we are to bear any portion of the expense our share should certainly be limited; but why should we impose a liability on the taxpayers by going into the thing blindly., not knowing what the expense will be? I shall take a division upon this motion, although I dare say the majority will be against me. I do not think we should combine with the Australian Colonies to go to any expense whatever, and certainly we should not promise to incur expense until we know what the expense will be. I shall take a division, though I am afraid that a majority of the House will be against the view I take in this matter, because there is a sort of glamour that interferes with men's clear vision when they speak about annexing islands and extending the dominion of our flag. The fact of the matter is that if these islands are to be annexed by the British Empire, or if the British flag is to be placed there, then it will be better for Great Britain to take charge of them; but it is not our part at

all. Can we manage our own affairs? Have we got any spare money, after we have managed them properly, to spend in this way? If the British Government took possession of these islands, and erected forts and had cruisers there, the expense of which would be put down to the Australasian Colonies, and of which they would have to bear a certain portion, in time of war what would happen? Why, outlying dependencies, as we all know, except such as Gibraltar and Malta, are sources of weakness to a Power. And then we should have to maintain and protect our people, traders, who might be there - for only traders would go there; there would be no agriculture - and that would be an act of madness; it would be far cheaper to put them on board ship and bring them away. Therefore I shall divide the House on this question, because I object altogether to our going into any arrangement with the Australian Colonies by which we shall bear any expense, or by which our honour will be compromised by our promising what we may not be able to perform. I entirely approve of the British flag flying over as many islands and as many countries as possible, provided the inhabitants of those countries wish it. But I do not approve of British rule being forced upon people, and British rum, with the usual sequences, because I would much rather see missionary enterprise doing its best, and I would leave the traders to take up their position and do their best in the interest of their trade if they like. I should be very glad to see the British arranging with the inhabitants to take possession of those islands, but I should object to our bearing any portion of the expense, or combining with the Australian Colonies in any way for such an object.

Mr. HOLMES. - I did not expect that a sentimental motion, such as is now before the House, would come from the Colonial Treasurer. I think that honourable gentleman knows that the arguments he has used are simply sham. He knows perfectly well, that if we go into any expenditure in connection with the annexation of the Pacific islands we are not doing so for the purpose of establishing our civilization there; for the establishment of civilization amongst savage tribes, as he knows perfectly well, means the sweeping on them off the face of the earth. In what part of the world have we established civilization, what part of the world have we taken possession of and colonized to any large extent, where the natives have not degenerated, and ultimately died off the face of the earth? With the experience we have had for hundreds of years, it is simply a sham to talk of extending our civilization amongst those savage tribes. It is also a sham to talk of our taking possession of these islands in the interest of the natives. If we take possession of them at all, it will be in the interest of ourselves; and the whole question for the House to consider is, Will it pay? That is the question, and I confess I am not one of those mawky-pawky gentlemen who would not assist the Government in its attempt to take possession of any countries inhabited by inferior races, if there were a reasonable prospect of its paying to do so. I believe, Sir, in the law or evolution, and the survival of the fittest. I believe that the inferior race must die out before the superior race - that the black must die out before the white. I believe that in the process of time the one race takes the place of the other, and that, after generations, in our turn we also shall give way before a superior race. That, Sir, is the doctrine of evolution, and the survival of the fittest; and that is the doctrine I believe in. But the question here is, Will it pay, seeing the situation of these islands, knowing that most of the trade that will be done with them will be done by the Australian Colonies, knowing that at the present time we are on the verge of war with France, and that if we attempt to take possession of these New Hebrides Islands, France will also attempt to take possession, so that we shall be led in to a war for an absolute certainty? And if we bind ourselves now to pay a proportionate share of

the expense that will be incurred in taking possession of these islands, in the event of a war breaking out, what will those expenses amount to? Is it possible now to gauge what the amount of the expenditure would be? If the Treasurer had put any limit even to the amount of expenditure that we should be prepared to enter into I should at once say, By all means pass the motion. But I shall propose an amendment to the motion, and it is to add these words; "excepting in so far as such recommendation involves the expenditure of money on the part of this colony." By carrying that amendment we shall advance the view that is taken by the Treasurer, and enable the Government to negotiate with the Governments of the various other colonies as to establishing the British flag in any and all of these islands if they please; but at the same time the establishing of that flag and the taking possession of those islands will not in any way be a burden upon the taxpayers of New Zealand.

ANNEXATION AND FEDERATION

Mr, STOUT. - Honourable gentlemen who have follow the correspondence which has been laid upon the table are already aware that Lord Derby said to the colonies that, if they desired a protectorate over New Guinea, they must be prepared to pay the expense of a High Commissioner, and also to aid in providing him with a steamer, or some other accommodation, for getting about the islands. He proposed that they should contribute £15,000; and I think all the colonies have consented to pay their share of the £15,000 - I mean all the colonies to whom the question has been put - Tasmania, South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Fiji, and Queensland. In fact, most of the colonies have passed special Acts providing for the payment of their proportion of the amount. Since the question came up at the Convention, as honourable members are aware, the Home Government have proclaimed a protectorate, not over New Guinea, but over a part of it - the southern portion of it; and, after that was done, a telegram was sent to the colonies by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, stating that General Scratchley had been appointed Special Commissioner to control the British Protectorate in New Guinea, and that he would sail about the 20th November. He goes on to say, -

"Please inquire, and state by telegraph, whether your Government, and other contributing Governments, agree to be represented in the Council. It is . intended that Special Commissioner, who will be independent of High Commissioner, shall have jurisdiction over all persons within British Protectorate; and that no land shall be acquired there, except through him. He also will be Deputy Commissioner for portions of New Guinea outside British Protectorate. Admiralty recommend purchase in England, steamer for Special Commissioner; estimated cost, arrive in Sydney, £16,000 or £18,000. To make him efficient, £15,000 guaranteed must be considerably increased."

It will also be noticed that several of the colonies which agreed to pay their proportion of £15,000 have refused to give the second contribution asked; and, so far as the Government of New Zealand is concerned, we do to advise this Parliament to give any further aid than the proportion of £15,000 according to population, because we feel that, so far as New Guinea is concerned, New Zealand has practically little interest in its Protectorate. We hope, however, that if a Protectorate is established for New Guinea that will only be the beginning of a further Protectorate that will include many Pacific Islands not now under any settled Government, and our object in asking the House to agree to this resolution to pay a proportion of £15,000 is to see, if a proper Protectorate is created for

New Guinea, whether the English Government will not extend the Protectorate over other islands. This question touches on the relationship in which we should stand to the Pacific Islands, and how the Pacific should in future be governed. That may be termed the first question which arises before I come to deal with the question of the Federal Council; and I apprehend that to New Zealand, more than to the Continent of Australia, the future government of the Pacific Islands is of immense importance. It was pointed out long ago, by a celebrated geographer - Guyot - that New Zealand was, strange to say, the centre of what he termed "the Water Hemisphere;" and it was pointed out by him that, if New Zealand made the most of her opportunities, she would come to be looked upon as the centre of the Pacific Islands, giving to them her manufactured goods and receiving from them their raw products, being looked upon as their commercial depot. And I may point out that, in the older days, this was seen by many in New Zealand. The honourable member for Auckland East, in the grants of land which he made to various Churches for the purpose of education, put a provision in his grants that the endowment was to be held for the purpose of education, not only the people of New Zealand, but children from the Pacific Islands; and I believe it was his intention that the sons of chiefs from many of the Pacific Islands should receive education in New Zealand, and, after they left New Zealand, carry with them the culture obtained here, and thus help to civilize the Pacific Islands. I may go further and say that this colony has enormous interest in the question how the Pacific Islands are to be governed in the future. There are three points of view from which this question of the future of the Pacific Islands may be looked at. There is, first, the danger of a foreign Power having control in the Pacific Islands, in the - I hope far remote - contingency of any troubles or war arising in which we may become implicated. There is, then, the question of danger to us through any of the Pacific Islands being made depots for Europeans criminals. Then, there is the third point of view, to which I have slightly referred - namely, the need of closer trade relationship. As to the first danger, of foreign dominion in the Pacific, I apprehend that we, who are laying the foundations of a new nation, must look far ahead into the future and remember this: that even a slight thing may alter what is termed the tide of history. And if we so provide that the whole of the Pacific Islands shall be united together in some bond of friendship, and that, whether they are peopled by one nationality or another of Europe, the whole of the islands shall be bound together by some tie, so that, whatever European troubles might arise, we might see no war in the Pacific - if we could lay down the lines of such an agreement, we should be doing a great deal for our future, and for the future of the race. Then, as to the further question of criminal depots, we are met with this question now. We see what has passed lately - even since the Convention met in Sydney - in the Senate in France, where a very able report has been presented - a précis of which has been sent out by the Agent-General - pointing out that the French must make New Caledonia, at all events, a depot for her worst - her relapsed - criminals. Of course these relapsed criminals are to be sent a thousand now and a thousand again, and they may not harm us in one sense. That is, few of them may come to New Zealand, and the few who do come may have very little influence on our population. But we must look at it from this point of view; if you have one of the Pacific Islands set apart as a depot for the relapsed criminals of Europe, what does that mean? You have, - so to speak, a centre of infection. No one, I am sure, would object to France, Germany, or any of the great European Powers having an outlet for their surplus population as well as England has. It would be a very selfish policy if we tried to prevent any European Power having colonies in the Pacific Islands. But if we have New Caledonia and perhaps other parts set aside as depots for

criminals, we cannot overlook the effect of such a policy. We are to have the worst kind of criminals - not merely political criminals; they are recidivists or relapsed criminals; and all history shows that there is a great deal of truth in the doctrine of heredity. We have not merely a savage race, but the worst kind of race - the criminal one - placed in the Pacific Islands to be a centre of infection for the whole of the Pacific; and, if this is allowed to go on without protest, we may have Germany and other European nations looking upon the Pacific Islands as a proper place to get rid of their criminals. Some may say that there has been too much made of this question; but I do not think so, and I think the Convention in Sydney, and the Hon. Mr Service of Victoria, deserve great credit for the stand they have taken in protesting against the French possessions being turned into mere criminal depots. I only regret that perhaps it was not pointed out to the French people that the making of their colonies mere depots for criminals injures their colonies, and injures the French possessions. I do not know if enough was made of that in the discussion that has taken place in regard to the recidivist question. The other question is that of trade relationship. I shall not take up time by dwelling upon that. We have had some slight discussion on that already this session in reference to the South Sea Trading Bill, and the providing for a subsidized mail service for Samoa, Tonga, and other islands. I do not think I need refer to the New Hebrides question, because honourable members will remember that in 1878 that question was taken up by the then Government; a memorandum was written by Sir George Grey, and a short note by myself, which were sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, pointing out that the New Hebrides fought to be a British possession; in fact, it once was included in the boundaries of New Zealand.

(ii) New Zealand pressure for Annexation and the British response.

[Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives. A-J. A-4D. 1885. pp. 1-2; 29-31. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand.]

[CONFEDERATION AND ANNEXATION. (Papers relating to the Islands of Samoa and Tonga,) Presented to both Houses of the General, Assembly by Command of His Excellency. A. --4D, 1885. New Zealand]

No. 3.

Governor Sir W. F. D. JERVOIS, G.C.M.G., C.B., To the SECRETARY of STATE.

19th November, 1884.

With regard to the negotiations about Pacific Islands with France and Germany my Ministers hope you may be able to secure Samoa and Tonga to New Zealand. They undertake to propose next year to Parliament that the cost should be guaranteed.

No. 4.
The FOREIGN OFFICE to the COLONIAL OFFICE.

Foreign Office, 4th December, 1884.

Sir, -

I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you herewith, to be laid before the Earl of Derby, copies of correspondence, as marked in the margin, with Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, having reference to the question of the independence of Samoa and Tonga.

The Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

I have, &c.,
J. PAUNCEFOTE.

Enclosure 1.

Sir E. MALET to Earl Granville, - (Received by Telegraph, 1st December.)

Berlin, 1st December, 1884.

MY LORD, -

I have the honour to report that Prince Bismarck told me today, in the course of conversation, that he had received a telegram from the German Consul at Samoa to the effect that the King was endeavouring to obtain for that island British protectorate.

The Chancellor said that this step would create a very bad effect in this country, as the Germans had for some years past been interested in the island, and the Reichstag had already had before it for consideration the question of a subsidy to a Hamburg house trading with Samoa. The Prince added that he trusted that I should be able to give him an assurance that Her Majesty's Government had no intention of annexing the island.

I am informed by Mr Meade that there are apprehensions in New Zealand that the Imperial German Government may, sooner or later, annex both Samoa and Tonga.

Will your Lordship authorize me to state to Prince Bismarck that Her Majesty's Government will give positive assurances that the independence of both places will be respected by them, provided that reciprocal assurances are made to the Queen's Government by that of His Majesty the Emperor?

I have &c.,
EDWARD B. MALET.

Enclosure 2.

TELEGRAM to Sir E. MALET.

4th DECEMBER, 1884. - Your despatch of the 1st has been received, and Her Majesty's Government authorize your Excellency to give assurances that they will respect the independence of Samoa and Tonga, provided that they receive reciprocal assurances from the German Government.

You may add that, pending the result of the discussion which has been agreed to by the two Governments, Her Majesty's Government do not contemplate any fresh arrangements in the Pacific.

No. 6.

The COLONIAL OFFICE to the FOREIGN OFFICE.

Downing Street, 11th December, 1884

SIR, -

I am directed by the Earl of Derby to transmit to you, to be laid before Earl Granville, a copy of a telegram from the Governor of New Zealand expressing the hope of his Government that, in the forthcoming negotiations with Germany and France, Samoa and Tonga may be secured for New Zealand.

I am also to transmit a copy of a further telegram from Sir Wm. Jervois, from which it appears that he has forwarded to the Secretary of State a petition from the King and chiefs of Samoa to Her Majesty to annex this group of islands.

Lord Derby proposes to reply to these telegrams that the representations of the New Zealand Government have received due attention, but that foreign interests in the islands mentioned preclude Her Majesty's Government from accepting the cession of the Navigator Islands, and that the German Government has recently expressed its desire that no step may be taken by this country which would affect German interests in those islands.

I have, &c.,

The Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office

JOHN BRAMSTON.

No. 7.

The FOREIGN OFFICE to the COLONIAL OFFICE.

Foreign Office, 19th December, 1884.

SIR, -

With reference to the assurances which, after verbal communication between this department and the Colonial office, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin was instructed to give Prince Bismarck on the subject of the rumoured intention of Her Majesty's Government to annex Samoa and Tonga, I am directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you, to be laid before the Secretary of State for the Colonies, copy of a despatch which his Lordship has addressed to Sir E. Malat, reporting a verbal communication on the subject made by Count Munster on the 15th instant.

I am to request that you will move Lord Derby to cause a communication to be made to the Government of Samoa, in the sense suggested by the German Government, through the Government of Fiji.

I have, &c.;

The Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

T. V. LISTER.

Enclosure.

Foreign Office, 19th December, 1884.

SIR, -

Count Munster called at this office on the 15th instant, to say that Prince Bismarck was very glad to learn that from the memorandum which your Excellency had delivered to him that Her Majesty's Government had the best intentions towards the German Government in respect of Samoa and Tonga, and His Excellency was instructed to thank me for this communication.

His Excellency observed that some private individuals had been working in those islands for British annexation, and it would be desirable if the Government of Samoa should be informed that such a movement was disapproved by Her Majesty's Government.

As to the proposal of an engagement to respect the independence of a Samoa and Tonga, the German Government had already declared in 1879 and 1880 their willingness to do so, and they were now quite willing to enter into negotiations for that object.

With regard to the South Sea Islands, His Excellency observed that the Australian colonies laid claim to them, and the annexation of a portion of New Guinea had placed Germany at some disadvantage; but the German Government took notice of the assurance of Her Majesty's Government that no further annexation would take place until after the proposed discussion as to the British and German interests in the South Seas had taken place.

His Excellency Sir E. B. Malet, K.C.B., &c.

I have, &c.,
GRANVILLE.

No. 70.

The PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL

Our views. -- Get Samoa annexed.

30th March, 1885.

ROBERT STOUT.

No. 71.

THE PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL.

Premier's Office, Wellington, 31st March, 1885.

SIR, -

After my letter of 19th March re Samoa had been posted, I had the honour to receive your telegram respecting negotiations with the representative of Germany and a reply was sent to you as soon as the whole matter had been considered by the Cabinet.

2. If you should be unable to secure that effect shall be given to our wish, as stated in that reply, namely, that Samoa shall be annexed by Great Britain, we think it will be impossible to arrive at any satisfactory arrangement with Germany in London.

3. A satisfactory convention can only be drawn up on the spot, in Samoa, because, in order to prepare it, those charged with the duty would have to make themselves acquainted with the real nature of the German, British, and American interests at stake. There are also large claims to land in the group, made by several persons. These claims will, in the not distant future, cause considerable trouble, and it is of great importance that what they are should be clearly understood.

4. We think, therefore, that, failing annexation, you might be able to induce the Colonial Office and the representatives of Germany to agree to a new convention or treaty being framed as between the King of Samoa and the three nationalities at present interested in the islands. The terms of such an agreement might be settled by the British Consul, the German Consul (M. Weber), the Consular Agent for the United States, and some representative of New Zealand. Of course ratification by the Imperial authorities of Great Britain and Germany, and by the President of the United States, would be necessary. It

seems to us, however, that this would be the only way in which any fair arrangement could be arrived at, as there are circumstances and interests involved which cannot be defined, or perhaps understood, except by persons empowered to inquire on the spot.

5. I have not thought it necessary to telegraph to you on this matter at present, as it might seem, if we demanded the right to endeavour to make such a convention as I have indicated, that we were opposed to your entering into negotiations. We wait, therefore, to learn how you succeed, and what counter-proposals the German Government may make, and probably, on receipt of such information, we may telegraph to you shortly the purport of this letter.

6. I may again remind you of the attitude assumed by Germany as shown by the recent White Book respecting the Pacific with regard to the Tongan group: and I must urge you, in any negotiations in which you may take part, not to allow it to be possibly understood that that group is not to remain internationalized. This is of immense importance to New Zealand.

7. I am replying to the letter from King Malietoa, by informing him that negotiations are taking place between the German and British Governments, and that the results shall be communicated to him. I am adding that, so far as we can assist him in his efforts to obtain the annexation of Samoa to Great Britain, he may be assured of our constant and hearty support.

Sir F. Dillon Bell, K.C.M.G.,
Agent General for New Zealand, London,

I have, &c.,
ROBERT STOUT.

No. 83.

The PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL.

Premier's Office, Wellington, 5th June, 1885.

SIR, -

I enclose for your information copy of a memorandum forwarded by Ministers to His Excellency the Governor relating to affairs in Tonga. There is no doubt urgent need of the attention of the Foreign and Colonial Offices to the subject, for, if affairs are not arranged, there is every probability of much trouble on the King's death. Though private information has been received by us from Tonga about affairs in the Friendly Group; we, knowing the embittered feeling that now exists there, have not thought it proper to reproduce the statements of either party.

We have no doubt that should the matter be mentioned you will be able to represent our views to the Colonial Office.

I have, &c.,

Sir F. Dillon Bell, K.C.M.G., Agent-General, &c.

ROBERT STOUT.

(iii) *Complaints about Britain's attitude to German policy 1885*

[Premier of Victoria to Premier of New Zealand; Telegram from Premier of New Zealand to Agent General in London; Premier of New Zealand to agent General, London.

in

Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, A-J. A-4c. 1885, p.17, Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand.]

No. 56.

THE PREMIER, Victoria, to the PREMIER, New Zealand.

Re New Guinea, &c., I give you a copy of telegram which I have despatched to the Agent-General for Victoria to-day – viz, "All the colonies deplore the inaction which has resulted in the present fiasco as regards New Guinea; but some of them differ as to the best mode of expressing their dissatisfaction. Each will communicate with its own Agent-General. Queensland has already done so. Protest emphatically on behalf of Victoria and Tasmania against the recognition of the German claims in New Guinea. The state of facts forces us to one or other of the following conclusions: viz., either that Lord Derby has been deceived or that he has deceived us. His supineness or neglect is simply lamentable. If New Guinea be not reclaimed and the New Hebrides preserved the feeling of estrangement will inevitably increase. We feel very bitterly on the subject."

Melbourne, 31st December, 1884.

JAMES SERVICE.

No. 57.

THE PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL.

BEHALF New Zealand please express extreme regret that Imperial Government should allow Germany make such large annexations in Pacific. Also strongly object France annexing New Hebrides. Keep need of annexing Samoa, Tonga, Hervey Group prominently before Lord Derby.

1st January, 1885.

ROBERT STOUT.

No. 58.

[Copy of above to Premier, Melbourne.]

No. 59.

The PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL,

Premier's Office, Wellington, 3rd January, 1885.

SIR, -

I have to convey to you our warmest thanks for the trouble you have taken and are taking regarding the Pacific Islands question, as to which your letter marked "Confidential," and numbered 511, gave us very interesting details.

2. In order that you may know what is passing here, I note down some details. You have heard by telegraph of the feelings of surprise and regret that were evoked in all the

Australasian Colonies by the annexation of the northern part of New Guinea, with New Ireland, &c., by Germany. It is much to be regretted that the Imperial Government did not, when part of New Guinea was annexed, take the whole island. From Earl Granville's speech at the Mansion House - an extract from which you forwarded - it seems plain that German annexation was effected with the tacit assent of the Foreign Office; and if, as you state, the intention to annex was unknown to the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office can hardly be said to have been ignorant of it. The telegram sent to you explains our views.

3. We are in hopes that Samoa, Tonga, and the Hervey Group may be obtained for New Zealand. If you look at the map you will see that Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga necessarily go together, and that the control of those groups will not interfere with the possessions of any of the European Powers.

4. You are aware of the fact that a petition from the king (Malietoa), the vice-king, and the leading chiefs and people of Samoa has been forwarded, through His Excellency the Governor, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Throughout the Samoan Group the feeling for annexation to England or New Zealand is exceedingly-strong.

5. After the petition had been forwarded two German men-of-war visited Apia, and the king was induced - I believe he says forced - to enter into a treaty with Germany for five years, and to appoint a Government in which German influence will be paramount. This treaty was made recently, without the sanction of the Samoan Parliament, which is, as you are aware, copied from the English, and comprises two Houses. The Parliament and the leading chiefs and people declined to recognize the treaty, and there is considerable ill-feeling against the king.

6. The New Zealand papers forwarded by this mail (see the New Zealand Times of yesterday and to-day) contain telegrams from Auckland relating to this affair.

7. The Government propose sending the "Hinemoa," with the Colonial Secretary, to Samoa, so as to ascertain what the feeling of the people really is, and His Excellency has telegraphed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, explaining what we intend, so that we may learn whether the Imperial Government have any objection. The steamer will not start before the 8th instant, and thus ample time will be given to the Earl of Derby to stop her going should he consider the proposed visit to the group inadvisable.

(iv) Later New Zealand aspirations 1900-1903

(a) "New Zealand . . . unite under her Government all the members of the family in the Pacific" 1900.

[British Vice-Consul for Tonga, Beckwith Leefe to R.S. Seddon, Premier of New Zealand. British Consulate, Tonga, June 5th, 1900. Confidential.
Seddon Papers, 60/38. National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

British Consulate, Tonga, June 5th 1900.

My dear Mr Seddon,

I had not given the subject much thought until you spoke to me on the wharf as I took for a matter of course that the ultimate fate of Tonga would be decided, as usual, without reference to those who know most about it, so as to fit in with a fad of some one in the Foreign or Colonial Office, but since you were good enough to ask my opinion about it I will give you a more deliberate one than I gave you on the spur of the moment although the main ideas will remain I think unaltered.

I do not believe you will call in question that when no important political end is involved it is wise to consult the wishes of any considerable body of people you are called upon to rule.

The Maoris of New Zealand, the Walls Islanders, the Cook Islanders, and the Tongans are essentially one people, whilst the Fijians are a completely different Stock, and although considerable intermarriages have taken place between the Windward Fijians and the Tongans, such marriages have been confined for the most part to Fijian men and Tongan women, the Fijian man thus unintentionally acknowledging the superiority of the Tongan strain.

As such the Tongans regard the Fijians - as an inferior race - and this feeling, which is not to be ignored, extends to some extent to the Government of this inferior race, and shows itself in a thousand ways.

It would therefore be most unwise to bring the Tongans under the Paramountcy of the Government of Fiji as it would most certainly give rise to friction and ill feeling which I believe in the near future is the thing most to be avoided.

Then the personal character of the present Governor of Fiji - or of any other man likely to succeed him - must be taken into consideration; His Excellency, if I have rightly gauged his character whilst most zealous and hard working in spending himself in the service of the Colony he governs so well, and doing all he can for the advancement and well being of its people, cares not a button for those he guides as High Commissioner, and it would not I verily believe cause him a moments disquietude if all the other Groups in the Pacific outside Fiji were some fine morning to disappear beneath the waves.

What then remains? All the other Colonies are outside the question owing to Geographical position, and the evident fact stands out that it is part of the white mans burthen that New Zealand is called upon to face - a Colony which has so large a Maori Population already and thus unite under her Government all the members of the family in the Pacific.

You heard me tell Mr de Lambert who is a Frenchman that Great Britain is not responsible for the good Government of Tonga, and that it was their own money that the Tongans were fooling away, this is true to a certain extent, and fits with what my aim should be - I conceive - at the present time, but nevertheless when we extend a Protectorate over a nation, we have, I think, a certain moral responsibility to see that that nation is governed on such vital principles of freedom justice and decency, as marks our Rule all the world over, and the Government of Tonga at the present time does not do so, the King has no back bone, which is an unfortunate accident, the Ministry is venal corrupt and ignorant, and in consequence the people are dissatisfied and see no good but only empty show in return for the taxes they pay which amount to about £3 per adult per annum - the highest taxes I think in the Pacific.

It may therefore be found necessary to appoint a white man in the Financial Department - for no Tongan born from the King to the Premiers clerk can withstand the practically uncontrolled possession of Public funds, last year an Assistant Minister of Finance who was also a Puisne Judge, and his clerk, were sentenced each to 7 years imprisonment with hard labour for embezzlement, and now the Treasurer and the Chief Clerk are to be impeached by Parliament for the same offence, whose duty it would be to take charge of the Treasury and inaugurate and supervise a proper system of accounts and checks and who would allow no voucher to be paid unless countersigned by him.

Whatever he were called he might well perform the duties of Premier and Minister of Finance with possibly a European Clerk to assist him. None of the present holders of high office are the least reliable. The Premier is ignorant, obstinate, dishonest and

dishonourable, the Treasurer is the Premier's son - and tool -- the Auditor General cannot find 26,000 dollars which are short, and says he doesn't know if they have been stolen or is owing to bad book keeping.

With the suggested additions I think the Government would get on fairly well for now that almost all British and Foreign Jurisdiction is vested in our Court, the native Magistrates might be trusted to deal with the minor native cases. The man I have proposed to supplement the present Staff with must however be a really good man.

June 25th.

As I have had no opportunity of sending this till to day I will add that I have spoken to the King twice called twice and written once in re Your Postal Convention. The first time His Majesty appeared to have the most foggy idea of what he had to do but said Mr Watkin understood about it but upon going to the latter "he" could only tell me what he had "done", I then elicited from the King that he had given them / the papers / to the Premier who was going to lay them before Parliament - which is still sitting - that was constitutional enough' so I could say no more except to beg the King to send the papers to me the moment they had been dealt with, which he promise to do, but he is such an egregious young prevaricator that you cannot believe or at any rate rely on a word he says, but I think you may rely on getting them next mail. I suppose you have got safely back to Wellington and hope that you all derived benefit from your cruize, please give my kindest remembrances to Mrs Seddon and your daughters with whom I was most charmed, for one thing we "do" want in Tonga badly is a few "ladies". If at any time I can do anything for you or them as long as I remain in Tonga command me.

Yours very truly,
Beckwith Leefe.

(b) "... wondering what will be the outcome of your proposal"
[Baker, Shirley W. "Co Seddon, R.J., Premier of New Zealand, Fakapale, Lifuka, Ha'apai. September 4th, 1900. 60/73. National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

Fakapale,
Lifuka,
Haapai,
Sept, 4th 1900.

To,
The Right Honourable R.J. Seddon, L.L.D.
Premier of New Zealand.

Hon. & dear Sir,

Your kind letter of the 28th of July, duly to hand, for which please accept my sincerest thanks. It was certainly very kind of you, considering the House was in Session, for you to think of me. Many thanks for your remarks relative to Bishop Neville. My people were pleased to hear them, for they are relying on his promise. Many thanks also for the photos, they are excellent and are greatly prized. I need not say that we are anxiously expecting the book containing a narrative of your trip. We are wondering what will be the outcome of your proposal, and hoping it soon will become an

accomplished fact, for it will not be only the making of the Islands, but will be a solution of many racial difficulties.

As you say selfishness describes the feeling manifested by our Australian Cousins. and the one word trade covers all they care for.

We are feeling the effects of Thompson's ill judged Treaty, the natives simply telling the whites that by the Treaty they can do as they like. I am sure you know too well what this means from a native. We trust the new state of things will be inaugurated before long, for the longer it is left, the greater will be the difficulties that will arise.

I need not say I am quietly working for the annexation to New Zealand.

With best wishes to Self, Mrs Seddon and Family, and also Mrs Hales in which my daughters join, with kind regards.

Yours faithfully,
Shirley W, Baker.

(c) "..... New Zealand, with the South Sea islands, will continue to be among the brightest gems of the British Empire." 1903.

[Memorandum by the Minister in charge of the Cook and other Islands Administration. Appendices, Journal of the House of Representatives, A-J. A3B, 1903. p.34. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand.]

The Europeans and the Natives vied with each other in their efforts to make our stay among them as interesting and as pleasant as possible, and desire to place on record the Government's appreciation of their many kindnesses. The thanks of the Government are due to the directors of the Union Steamship Company for generously placing the s.s. "Mapourika" (Commander George Crawshaw) at their disposal, and charging only the net expense of the trip.

Reasonable and experienced persons who look carefully into the matter of including South Pacific islands within the boundaries of this colony must recognise the absolute necessity for our doing so, not with the narrow or prejudiced view of an immediate return, but on the broader and higher ground of Imperial policy. They must also recognise that a great mistake was made in the past in allowing any foreign Power to take possession of any one of those islands, which should all be part of the territory of a Greater New Zealand. Instead of only thousands as at present, there will in years to come be millions of people in this colony who will be the best customers of the islands. The day is not far distant when steam and electricity will so assist vessels in their desperate race against time that Rarotonga will be not more than a three-days' journey from this colony, and New Zealand, with the South Sea islands, will continue to be among the brightest gems of the British Empire.

Wellington, 31st October, 1903.

C. H. MILLS,

[234] SOME OPINIONS FROM WITHIN TONGA 1885-1900

(i) *"If this Government will not do it then Britain will." 1885.*

[Printed Pamphlet, dated 31st March, 1885. By J.E. Moulton. English translation by Viola Kinahoi. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

To The Wesleyan Church of Tonga.

Members,

I write again because things have changed since these last fonos¹. Even though the New Church has been established I expected that it would keep within the Constitution; freedom of worship for them and freedom of worship for us. However it has all been changed. The King has stated that we will be exiled and the Chiefs have lost no time in seizing the church buildings and driving away our people. In some places they have used force for the New Church.

This, members of the church, is a different matter; and it is fitting therefore that I write so that you will know what our position is.

All the church buildings and equipment will be returned. Our religion, The Wesleyan church, has a relationship with the church overseas, and rightly so for Christianity came from there. Instructions have been given and it has been decided that matters relating to church buildings and church order should be governed from Sydney. Our connection with overseas is one of the advantages of our church, for if it were only a Tongan church it would drift away from its proper course, as it has in fact done. It must be corrected. If this Government will not do it then Britain will. Do not worry about it.

With reference to the exile: This is a serious matter, for surely such times are past. And what is more it dashes to pieces the Constitution which the King and the Chiefs have vowed to support. Have the Chiefs forgotten that there is a God in Heaven and one of His responsibilities is to inquire into vows! Do not be afraid - for if Tupou did exile his people, as we're told, not only Britain but every European power would intervene. This is what the British High Commissioner has said in a letter he wrote this Government: "Since the establishment of the Constitution, King George is no longer able to please himself. Tonga must be ruled according to the Laws." Britain will see that that is carried out.

Although we have spoken like this, Are we working for Tonga's annexation² to Britain³. No! They are the ones who are working for the annexation of this country by driving out the Wesleyans and taking Church property by force, and giving as an excuse for it, the interference by foreign countries. But we are free. Who would claim that what has been said at the fonos has made an impression - the repeated charge that we give up to this country to Britain. There has been misrepresentation, for that is not our desire. It is true that as time goes by, for some, the love of Tonga has begun to die. And that is

¹ "Fono" town or village meeting (officially convened).

² "annexation" has been used to translate the expression "Ke to 'a Tonga ki muli". "To", according to Churchwood, has among others the following meanings to fall, drop, be beaten, given as a present, fall to the lot of, be allotted to, inherited by, fall away be detached. The literal meaning of the words are "to fall to an overseas country". We have thus translated it as annexation.

³ "Papalangi" Moulton refers frequently in the pamphlet to intervention by "Papalangi" (overseas country). As he specifically refers to Britain in the early part of the pamphlet, we have translated "Papalangi" throughout as Britain.

understandable because they have been greatly ill-treated. But as yet that is not the feeling of the majority. Look at it in the same way that I do: that is if it is God's will that Tupou should have an heir then he will be the successor. Thanks be to God that there are more Royal children and I love them all as if they were my own offspring. As for the saying that I work in order to annex Tonga to a foreign country. Nonsense! I would like to see the continuation of the Government under whoever the Chiefs will elect when Tupou's time is over. But I will do my best to develop the country in matters that will bring intellectual adornment to the Tongan people. That is the way I look at it and the way I want it to be. It will be thus if things are done constitutionally and in a civilised manner, and if not, then Tonga will not last.

This then is our way - please endure until matters have been put right; It will be good if this Government will do it, if not, then let us wait for Britain to do it. And do not say that I have no love for Tupou or for Tonga just because I say this. No! The one whom is prominent in the governing of this country is an European. Is it wrong then for us to ask for support from overseas! Our chiefs have told him if there will be any harm he will be accountable. I am afraid that he may run away and let the retribution fall on these chiefs who carried out his wishes.

So even though I know that there will be no exile, some of you believe that there will. Therefore I think it best to take precautions. I wrote to the British Government to inform them of the King's Pronouncement, and the advice of the leaders to collect ammunition for an attack on you. I have asked for a piece of land nearby for us to move to in accordance with the King's words - in order he may worship according to our conscience. Even though I have said this I know that before it happens help will arrive from overseas, for the news has been widely spread.

What has happened is something very sad but there is a good side to it because it really shows the nature of the New Church. They try to prove that both Churches are the same but I don't think so, and there is so much evidence to support me. The tree is known by its fruits; if it bears vi then it is a Vi; - if it bears 'tava' then it is 'tava'. Look at the fruit of the New Church - it bears the fruit of exile, then its a Religion of exile. One of those in Authority says that its easy to overturn the Constitution - then its a church to dash the Constitution to pieces. One of the leaders said to some elderly women: You will all be whipped (Iholoho'i)¹. A representative of the Government stated in another place that the women will be taken and drowned in the sea. One even said this to children. It makes my blood boil to hear these things. A grown man facing a child who was trembling said, "Renounce or die" (and not to mention the main threat, that the Wesleyans will be meat for the 'umu'). Is that Religion? It is a revival of Heathenism. And is it similar to our Religion? Although it is said that these things are only words, Yet they are not just words because the exile has been carried out, the people have been expelled, the Constitution has been dashed to pieces. And this has not been done by the rank and file but by these in high position. Thus then, the difference between the two Churches is manifested.

What surprised me is the fearless manner in which the chiefs carry out the, "fonos". Do they not know that it is God's people they are ill-treating? As Jesus said, "Now, will God not judge in favour of his own people who cry to him for help day and night? Will he be slow to help them? I tell you, he will judge in their favour, and do it quickly."²

Members, I sympathise with you because of your sufferings. But are we going to

¹ "Iholoho" branching stem on which coconuts are borne." (Churchward)

² Luke 18:7-8 (a)

reject the truth because of this persecution? And deny God who died for us by shedding his blood? How then will we stand before Him in the Judgement? Endure it. After a while they will calm down. Remember the words of Jesus: "Do not be afraid of anything you are about to suffer. Listen. The Devil will put you to the test by having some of you thrown into prison; your troubles will last ten days. Be faithful until death, and I will give you the crown of life"¹.

(ii) "Our only hope lies in the expectation of a French Man-of-War" 1887.

[Appendix. Report by Sir. C. Mitchell, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific etc, etc. p.5 Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

Nukualofa, February 8, 1887.

Sir,

The following is a correct statement or report of what the Roman Catholic priest, Father O'Dwyer, related to three Englishmen on the night of the 7th instant and morning of the 8th instant: the three Englishmen were Messrs. Parker and Payne, merchants of Tonga, and the writer, A. W. Mackay, of Sydney.

The priest said:- I must first explain to you that a lot of the Wesleyans have been coming over to our Church rather than go over to Mr Baker's Church, and amongst them was a man called Ameni, who was brought up as a Catholic. About sundown on the evening of the 7th instant (last evening) the Roman Catholic Mission premises were invaded by a band of armed ruffians with painted faces, and all the savagery of the Tonga, war-dress. They were led by Maafu, the King's half-brother; they must have been over 200 in number; the majority were armed with rifles, and had 'bayonets fixed' to them, the remainder axes and clubs. Maafu came right into the house, and, sitting down coolly in the parlour, began - to talk and shout in a violent manner, demanding the body of Ameni, saying that if his soul did belong to the priests his body still belonged to the King. Others also inquired, in a threatening manner, if the priests meant to resist their efforts to take Ameni. Maafu talked a great deal of law, laying particular stress on the fact that Queen Victoria has said that the King might do as he liked with his own subjects. This sentence has been the watchword and party cry of the band of marauders who have been rushing about from place to place, looting, destroying, clubbing, and barely stopping short of murder itself. After a lot of violent shouting and menace, and finding that the priests were not inclined to give Ameni up, Maafu went off to tell the King, leaving the ruffians to look after Ameni. As soon as Maafu was gone the priests got their buggy and drove Ameni down to the King's Palace. Here they were met at the door by Mrs Baker, who received them with a torrent of abuse such as neither of the two priests, in all their varied experience, had ever heard before from lips of woman. She spoke in a most brutal manner of the man Ameni and his wife (who had been confined between two and three days previous), saying that the state she was in made no difference, she should be dragged away all the same, Maafu now rushed in and dragged Ameni away to the King, but it was not permitted for the priests to see either Mr Baker or the King.

Finding that there was nothing to be gained by waiting any longer, the priests resolved to go to the British Consulate. On stating their case to Her Britannic Majesty's Representative, Mr Leefe, they learned that he could not help them in any way whatever.

¹ Revelation 2:10.

This was unexpected, but the advice that he gave them was more surprising still, and to quote Father O'Dwyer's own words, 'It is here that trouble begins.'

The Consul (Mr B. Leefe) said that the King was perfectly justified in persecuting the people who were not of his religion, and in forcing them to turn over to his religion. He also said that the best way to stop the persecution was for all the people to turn over, and for Mr Moulton to leave. The priests said they thought this was a very wrong and cowardly ground to take up, and asked, did the Consul mean that they ought to leave too?

Her Britannic Majesty's Consul said he did not mean that altogether, but certainly thought that they ought to stop trying to make converts when the King had a religion of his own. The priests then said that sooner that stop trying to make converts they would cut off their right hands. They were here for the purpose of saving souls, and it was their duty to strive unceasingly to do so.

They asked, supposing a trader found his store suddenly surrounded by thieves and robbers bent on plunder, was it his duty, in order to avoid friction and unpleasantness, to flee, and leave his store to plundered? The Consul thought it was not necessary. Then, asked the priests, if that be the case with regard to worldly goods, how much less should Mr Moulton leave his flock to the mercy of a lot of unprincipled scoundrels, whose ministers went about leading their people on to commit all sorts of outrages on their fellow-men, and the heads of whose Church sat in Court, brow-beating witnesses and legalizing murder? The priests said that no doubt Mr Moulton thought his Church infinitely better than such a Church. He knew that his Church was well looked after by good, able, and clever men, who endeavoured to follow the lines laid down by John Wesley, who reckoned amongst their ranks some of the greatest English divines, who were guided by the highest principles, and actuated by the highest motives. He was quite right in thinking that such a Church was infinitely preferable to the Free Church of Tonga, guided as it was by such as Baker and Watkin. One Church could not but have an elevating tendency and effect, while the falsely so-called Free Church must have a downward tendency and a debasing effect. The priest thought that it would indeed be cowardly for Mr Moulton to desert his post under any consideration such as the Consul had suggested, and it would be equally cowardly for the British authorities or the Wesleyan Conference to be induced to do any such thing. These arguments and remarks seemed to have no effect on Her Britannic Majesty's Consul. He still thought they ought all to clear out and let Mr Baker do as he liked. He avoided committing himself in any way, gave the priests no encouragement to expect any assistance from him, saying, 'The King can do whatever he likes with his own subjects.'

The repetition of this familiar sentence (which, as before remarked, has been the party cry of the Bakerite faction through the whole of the outrages of Monday, the 7th instant) led the priests to inquire if the Consul had passed any such remarks to Mr Baker or the King? Her Britannic Majesty's Consul confessed that he had said so. The priests then told him that he was a very guilty man, and that he had done a cruel wrong. They said they had expected more sense from a man who was supposed to have had much experience with natives than to go and make such a statement to an old barbarian, whose only restraint hitherto has been the fear of British interference, and that such a remark was tenfold more unfortunate in the present excited state of the people when they having tasted of the old pleasures of plundering, clubbing, and shedding blood, are thirsting for more. To make such a remark at this stage is like putting a match to a train of gunpowder, not knowing where it leads to, and it has given carte blanche to a mad barbarian King and

hordes of wilder savages to give full vent to their more savage passions, and God alone knows where it will all end.

The priests told the Consul that had the British man-of-war removed Mr Baker two years ago, when she had come to interfere to prevent the unfortunate Wesleyans from being outraged, the country would now be peaceful and prosperous instead of the pandemonium that it is today.

The priests told the Consul that they had come there that evening to ask simply that the King might be requested to fulfil the terms of the Treaty and the Constitution, and to allow liberty of worship; the Consul had refused to give them any encouragement whatever.

It was now time for them to appeal to France. Experience had taught them that the French man-of-war could manage such matters with very little trouble, and on her arrival they would appeal to her for protection. The French Government protected their missionaries if the English Government did not.

.....

We have since learned that our new Consul, by way of making friends with Baker or the King, has, told them plainly to go on and do whatever they like; the natural result being that the King has outlawed the Wesleyans, and has let slip the tigers of war on them. Our Most Gracious Queen gets the credit of all this, and a Royal Proclamation has gone forth proclaiming to the whole group that the Queen has given Baker and the King carte blanche to do as they like. What the result of this will be it is hard to foretell, but we greatly fear that by the time help arrives from Fiji it will be too late.

Our only hope lies in the expectation of a French man-of-war. -

I am, &c.

(Signed) "A.W. MACKAY."

(iii) "Tonga must eventually fall under the flag of England or of Australasia"

[Basil, Thomson. The Diversions of a Prime Minister.

Dawsons of Pall Mall, London, 1968, pp. 285 & 287.]

Many things happen in three years. My narrative should properly have ended where I have left it; but, since circumstances have combined to defer its publication, I cannot pass over all that has happened since 1894. I left Tonga clear of her embarrassments, with a strong popular Government, and every promise of prosperity. In 1894 she is divided in her councils, suspicious of her rulers, and financially unsound.

.....

I should be wiser if I said nothing about the future; for no man ever yet succeeded in foretelling accurately the shifts and turns of political events. Yet even at the risk of hurting the feelings of my good friends in Tonga, I will state my belief in the hope that it may act as a warning. England does not want Tonga, nor New Zealand either, if she knew her own interests; and yet, even if there were none of those restless spirits that egg on the Governments of our half-populated colonies to extend their boundaries and responsibilities, Tonga must eventually fall under the flag of England or of Australasia. When this happens, it will be the fault of the Tongans themselves. If, instead of hysterical professions of patriotism, the Tongans would show the very moderately patriotic feelings that prompt other peoples, to pay their taxes, Tonga might remain independent for

generations; but with a weak Government and a divided people, how can a little State, hemmed in by powerful and growing neighbours, maintain her independence? We do not want Tonga, and yet we cannot allow any other great Power to take our place there. If Tonga must be taken, it is we who must take her; but though I am no "Little Englander," I have seen enough of our small possessions to know that the increased incentive to British trade that may result from hoisting of flag does not compensate for the weakness that a host of half bankrupt islands throws upon the Empire.

(iv) The opinions of Tupou II and his Parliament 1897.

[Ko e Kasete. Ko e Tohi Fanongonongo Faka-Bule'anga, Tohi XI. Ko H. 4. Nukualofa TOGA. 10th June 1897. Tonga Government : Gazette, Volume 4, No.11, 10th June 1897. Palace Records office, Nuku'alofa. English Translation by Manukailopa Maka.]

THE ADDRESS BY HIS MAJESTY AT THE OPENING OF
THE PARLIAMENT OF TONGA May 18th, 1897

4. I give thanks also because the representatives of the other Governments who are here with us are in good health, and because of the good work that has been done here in Tonga which helps to keep peace and friendship between our respective Governments.

5. I give thanks also because it is clear to me, since the previous Parliament of 1894, I feel we are moving forward prosperously because peace is still with us and there is no disorder in this Kingdom, and especially in the relationship between us and the great powers. For how many ships of war from Britain, France, Germany and Italy have been to Tonga during the last two years? But is there any reason for their coming here? Not at all! They only visit us in peace and friendship.

.....

7. The other thing which I feel satisfied about in my heart today is that the Government is free from any debts: but the best of all, and that which comes first and brings true peace to my heart is that the land is still intact, not one inch is lost.

And is it not something inconceivable as we look back to how we have developed and the effort made in the making of this country. Since the very beginning of Tonga till today there have been three different lines of Kings who have ruled the country. The Tu'i Tonga line, the first, to whom the Tonga Islands were first given; and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line which was the second; and next to that the Tu'ikanokupolu line, which is the third. I give thanks that God was with us when these three lines of Kings did their work, and gave strength to those who struggled with difficulties and tried to develop these little Islands. We are enriched in every way as a result of the work of those Royal lines, and dwell in this land in fullness of peace. And the duty of those who follow is to continue on and extend the work that they have done. Is this not the foundation stone for us in these days?

And who will be surprised at the applying of the name Nation to such a small island? But does it not show the power and the mightiness of God in fulfilling the strength of the Monarchy of such a weak country! Everybody, from the greatest to the least should give thanks to God and inscribe in their hearts the motto from the Coat-of-arms: "God and Tonga are my inheritance".

THE ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH
Parliament House, Nuku'alofa, Tonga
May 26th, 1897.

To His Majesty
George Tupou II
The King of the Tonga Islands.

.....

There are many countries in the Pacific Ocean in which their Kings do not open their Parliaments. But thanks be to God for His help to the third line of the Ha'a Tu'i that enables these small islands to become a Nation, for the purpose of allowing this country to be the object of his Divine approval.

Between the Parliaments of 1894 and 1897 your Government has been saved from strong winds that have sunk ships in this Pacific Ocean - ships from the big powers have just left, but was there anything that injured your Government? No! We repeat the Scripture to "Praise the name of Jehovah".

One wind that sinks ships is debt. Thanks to your Majesty, in the piloting that has been done, we are able to come to this parliament (literally the Parliament has been reached), Tonga has been saved, and true is the saying of Your Majesty in the opening of the Parliament:

"Let those who give thanks, give thanks in the Lord"

Who does not rejoice? Yes the Parliament has been overjoyed that this year comes and everything in relation to your country's land is in order, which is an especially important sign of the blessing of your country.

.....

J.U. TUKU'AHO.
Chairman of the Parliament.

[235] GERMAN INTERESTS IN THE SOUTH SEAS 1884-1891

(i) "that German men-of-war pay regular visits to these islands." 1884.

[A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December, 1884. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.8., p.6.]

No. 8. - Dr. Stuebel to Prince Bismarck. (Dated Apia, 2nd September, 1884.)

The writer encloses a memorandum on the political and commercial relations of the Gilbert, Marshall, Carolina, Ellice, and Toketau Islands, based upon information collected during a visit to them. The produce of copra is about 7,000 tons, or 1,000 tons less than that of Tonga, but is capable of being much increased. Nearly one-half of the trade of the islands collectively passes through German hands. Of foreign firms, only the Chinese Ong-Chong, of Sydney, is of importance in the trade of the Gilbert Islands. Messrs, Henderson and Macfarlane do far less business than the German houses, except in Toketau. Mr O'Keefe is

interested only at Yap. Messrs. Wightman Brothers, at Apia, are a new American firm, whose vitality has still to be proved. The occasional despatch of a Consular Commissioner to these islands, from Apia, is recommended. The interests of the Empire there, as well as in Tonga, can only be entrusted to a professional official. Care will also have to be taken that German men-of-war-pay regular visits to these islands. In 1884 the "Habicht" visited the Marshall Islands, whilst the "Ariadne" in 1878, and the "Hyena" in 1884, had so little time to spare as to restrict their calls to a few islands. In the Gilbert Islands German commerce is opening up fresh ground; in the Carolinas, likewise, it is on the increase. These islands likewise will have to be visited by German men-of-war, having a Consular official on board. In order to make these desirable round-trips it will be necessary to station three men-of-war in the Pacific. An effective police supervision by Consular officials, and periodical visits by men-of-war, can alone prevent occurrences such as happened last year in Yap, when the English authorities proceeded against the English employees of German firms.

(ii) "If England should annex this group of islands German commerce would be most seriously injured" 1884.

[A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December, 1884. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.10. p.6.]

No. 10. - Dr. Stuebel to Prince Bismarck. (Dated Apia, 8th September, 1884.)

I have in former reports drawn attention to the importance of Tonga for German commerce. Out of 8,000 tons of copra produced at present by these islands, more than one-half is exported by German merchants.

The political condition of Tonga is still subject to changes. Mr Baker the present minister, is most anxious to maintain the independence of Tonga, but his efforts are being rendered nugatory through English interference, encouraged, it is said, by English officials and occasional visits of English men-of-war. If England should annex this group of islands German commerce would be most seriously injured.

German trade in the Tonga Islands is based upon the system of taxation in vogue there, which requires that all taxes should be paid in coin. The native sells the copra produced by him to whomsoever he likes. In Fiji taxes are paid in produce, and traders thus lose the advantage of dealing direct with the natives. It is feared that, in case of English influence becoming paramount in Tonga, the Fijian system of taxation would be introduced, and thus German commerce, as carried on hitherto, would be destroyed. Besides this, German commerce in Tonga is based largely upon the circulation of Chilean dollars, first introduced by it. The attempts of the English to substitute English coins for it have hitherto proved unsuccessful. Should they succeed, there would occur serious losses, for the Chilean dollar is deemed the equivalent of 4s, although it only costs 3s.8d to import it, whilst 4s, would cost as much as 4s.3d. Besides this, the English coin, being intrinsically more valuable than the dollar, would exhibit a tendency to leave the country, and, at the same time, the introduction of English coins would facilitate English competition with German trade. If the English should become paramount, this change in the medium of circulation would naturally be taken up first. The existing Government of Tonga is not interested in any change taking place, as the German company grants it bills of exchange, payable at English places, at the

rate of \$1 for 4s. A further danger to German trade would arise from a revision of the Customs system, and the establishment of ports of entry. If the company's vessels were compelled, for instance, to call at a port of entry in the South, before proceeding to the northern Islands of Niuatobutubu and Niuafuou, this would entail additional expenses sufficient to jeopardise all commercial profits. This is the way German trade was destroyed in Rotumah when that island was annexed by England. Moreover, German merchants are afraid that difficulties might occur on a renewal of their leases. The existing Government of Tonga could be prevented from unreasonably inflicting injury upon German interests, whilst the English authorities might be tempted to act in strict accordance with the letter of the law.

Measures should at once be taken if German influence in the Tonga Islands is not to succumb to that of England. A Consular official should reside there permanently, for the occasional visits by officials from Apia is not sufficient for keeping touch with the persons in power in the 'Tonga Islands, and to influence them.

(iii) "Government would extend its protection, naval and consular, to property in land acquired by private adventurers," 1881

[A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in February, 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No. 2. p.7]

No.2. - Count von Limburg-Stirum on a Conversation with Her von Hansemann.
(15th February, 1881.)

MEMORANDUM. - Prince Bismarck, after the rejection of his propositions respecting Samoa (by the Reichstag), does not consider it expedient to take any steps in the direction pointed out by Herr von Hansemann. A Government, not cordially backed by the nation, could not accept the co-operation of commercial firms in the way indicated. The vote on the Samoa Bill had shown that a large majority of the people's representatives took no interest in this question. Government, looking to the attitude of the Reichstag, could not occupy territories in the South Sea. This would have to be left to private enterprise. At the same time, Government would extend its protection, naval and consular, to property in land acquired by private adventurers.

(iv) "the policy of the English Colonial Office to deal with our communications in a dilatory manner." 1884.

[A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in February, 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.120., pp.14-15.]

No. 20. - Count Hatzfelat to Count Munster. (Berlin, 2nd August, 1884.)

In the South Sea, as elsewhere, it appears to be the policy of the English Colonial office to deal with our communications in a dilatory manner, whilst "facts" are being created through the agency of the Australian Colonies which run altogether counter to our legitimate interests. In your report of the 12th January you state that the Under-Secretary of State

informed you "that the British Government had no intention of annexing fresh territories or burdening itself with additional colonies, as Lord Derby had quite recently told the Australians."

Recent experience leads us to conclude that Lord Derby merely intended to avoid the acquisition of fresh Crown colonies, without at all interfering with the colonial expansion of British colonies having responsible Governments. Lord Derby by no means disapproved unconditionally of intended annexations by Australia. He merely denied that these colonies were authorized to annex fresh territories without the consent of the Home authorities. He stated that this consent would be withheld unless the colonies contributed towards the cost. The Australian Colonies having declared their willingness in this, their policy of annexation must be looked upon as authorized by Lord Derby. In this sense we understand the declarations made by Mr Ashley in the House of Commons on the 7th instant.

It cannot be a matter of indifference to us when we find that regions of the South Sea, within which German commercial enterprise had hitherto free scope for development, are all at once declared to be natural domains of Australia, and if, with a view to a proposed occupation, all acquisitions made there by others are declared to be null and void. It is consequently necessary to take timely steps against a realization of such unlimited claims. We hope that this may be attained by means of a friendly understanding, and we therefore desire to come to some arrangement with the English Government with reference to the general principles in accordance with which subjects of either country are to be dealt with, as also with reference to a delimitation of the territories which either of us may desire to place under its protection.

(v) *"islands not yet taken possession of are being scrambled for" 1884.*

[A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in February, 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.22, p.17]

No. 22. - Dr. Stuebel to Prince Bismarck. (Apia, 17th June, 1884.)

I learn from a telegram in the Australian papers that Lord Derby is prepared to take possession of New Guinea if the colonies are willing to bear part of the expense. I beg to state that a step of this kind would seriously endanger German interests in the South Sea. There, too, islands not yet taken possession of are being scrambled for. This process may be delayed for a time, but can never be made retrogressive. Delay is of use only to England and her colonies. The assurances of the London Cabinet may be honest enough, but events will override them. Out here everybody, from the highest official to the smallest tradesman, works at the anglicanization of the whole Pacific, without taking the least notice of these assurances. Germany must not trust to them, unless she is prepared to face one day accomplished facts. The Samoa Islands by themselves would not sufficiently justify an active colonial policy of Germany in the South Sea, although we defend from them our commercial position in Tonga and in the scattered islands to the north. But even Samoa would become a forlorn hope unless we succeed in maintaining our footing in New Britain. Politically, as well as geographically, the north coast of New Guinea forms part of New Britain. The arguments applied by England to the south coast of New Guinea and to Torres Strait apply with equal force, from a German point of view, to the north-east coast and Dampier Strait. English interests in New Guinea are limited to the south coast. German interests in New Britain demand that England be excluded from the north coast. The extension of German commercial enterprise to that coast is merely a question of time. Had it not been for the loss of the "Mioko," the German Commercial and Plantation Company would before this have established itself there. It is desirable that our German capitalists should assist in the conquest of this coast. A territory like that of the archipelago of New Britain, including the north coast of New Guinea, would indeed be an object worthy of German colonial enterprise. Bounded by the Dutch Indies, this territory would not be exposed to suffocation from surrounding English colonies, and would afford us means to hold Samoa, commercially as well as politically. This is the very thing England desires to prevent by this movement in our flank, and the danger likely to arise, if England is allowed to occupy the north coast of New Guinea, is very serious indeed.

(vi) *"....Samoa and Tonga, to be neutralized by an international agreement" 1884*

[A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in February, 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand, No. 39. pp.19-20]

No.39. - Prince Bismarck to Count Munster, (Berlin, 29th December, 1884)

Mr Meade, the English delegate at the Conference, whom you referred to in your report of the 10th instant, some time ago expressed a wish to the Under-Secretary of State of the Foreign Office to have a confidential talk on colonial matters, which, he added, might clear

away misunderstandings and prepare the way for a subsequent official settlement of the mutual spheres of interest. In a first conversation with Dr Busch, Mr Meade developed the following suggestions, which he declared to represent solely his private views, but which he thought might eventually be accepted by his Government in case our consent thereto should be obtained.

1. The English protectorate in the South Sea to embrace the whole of New Guinea (the Dutch part excepted), inclusive of the Louisiades, and of all other islands within twenty or twenty-five nautical miles from the coast. In return for this Great Britain would acknowledge a German protectorate over New Britain, New Ireland, Duke of York, and other neighbouring islands. The remaining islands of the Pacific not yet having a recognized Government; and more especially Samoa and Tonga, to be neutralized by an international arrangement.

2. In Western Africa, on condition of our settling private claims, England would cede to us the islands near Angra Pequena, exclusive of Walvisch Bay. On the other hand we were to bind ourselves to make England the first offer of Bagada, Togo, and of other places on the Gold Coast (sic), should we ever intend to abandon them.

These proposals did not appear to me to be acceptable, but as Lord Granville had expressed a wish that I should have a personal interview with Mr Meade, which might help to clear up the situation. I saw that gentleman on the 24th instant, when he once more explained the above programme to me. I told him that, as far as we were informed, the islands near Angra Pequena, once their guano deposits had been exhausted, would be of value only for the seal fishery. The political importance of these islands I told him was not sufficient to justify us in making disproportionate sacrifices in order to acquire them. As regards the South Sea, Mr Meade was obliged to admit that there existed no English establishments worth mentioning either in New Guinea or in the New Britain archipelago, and that a desire on the part of England to possess these territories only sprung up after German enterprise had been directed towards them. Nor was Mr Meade in a position to deny that Germany, in consequence of having had settlements there for many years past, was the only country to which the archipelago of New Britain was of value. It follows from this that we do not feel called upon to make concessions in order that our protectorate over these islands may be acknowledged.

When the other islands were mentioned which Mr Meade proposes to neutralize, I observed that on most of those islands German settlements preponderated, and that their neutralization would consequently be a concession on the part of Germany and not on that of England. As regarded Samoa in particular, the agreement between Germany, England, and the United States would have to be considered, an infringement of which by one of the parties concerned even Mr Meade thought would be an act of "meanness." The abandonment of the aspirations of New Zealand to Samoa on the part of England could not therefore be looked upon by us as a concession to be purchased.

(vii) "the average capacity of the British vessels trading in Tonga is much smaller than that of the German vessels" 1885.

[Memorandum of Statistics about German Commercial interests in the Tonga group. 28th April, 1885. Signed K. Krauel.

Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

The German Handels and Hantagen Gessellschaft for the South Sea Islands held the following property in the Tonga group at the end of 1883.

I. Trading Stations.

In the district of:

the Tongatapu	Agency	7	with a united capital of	£24,000
" Vavau	"	6	" " " " "	£11,000
" Haapai i	"	11	" " " " "	£15,000
" Niua toputapu	"	6	" " " " "	£ 1,000
" Niuafoou	"	<u>6</u>	" " " " "	£15,000
		26	stations with a capital of	£52,000.

The statistics of Mr Thurston mention " ten or twelve" stations instead of 26.

II. Plantations.

One at Foxhall and one at Niua mata comprising about 900 acres rented for 99 years with buildings and inventory valued at £8,500.

III. Trade.

Imports

There were imported for the use of the 26 trading stations enumerated under I from Europe, Samoa, and the Australian Colonies, merchandise and specie valued at an aggregate sum of £58,000.

26 German vessels with a tonnage of 4,900 tons register were employed in this import trade. In the statistics handed in by Mr Thurston the total imports into Tonga from England or Australian Colonies are valued at £62,000, those from Germany £20,000. It seems that in the sum of £60,000 is included the value of merchandise imported for the account of German firms and traders in Tonga and shipped from Europe via Australia. A great part of the German imports to Tonga is brought in the first instance to Sydney and re-shipped from that Port.

Exports

From the 26 stations enumerated under I there were exported during the year 1883, 3,000 tons of copra, representing a value (in Europe) of £60,000. This export trade gave employment to ten German vessels.

IV. Shipping.

The total number of German vessels, who visited the islands of the Tonga Group for the account of the "Handels and Hantagen - Gessellschaft", amounted to 16 with a tonnage of 1200 Register tons. In the statistics handed in by Mr Thurston the number of all German vessels entered and cleared in Tonga is given at 17, the number of British

vessels at 28. These figures are misleading as the amount of the tonnage is not stated on a reference to which it will be found that the average capacity of the British vessels trading in Tonga is much smaller, than that of the German vessels.

It must be noted that the above mentioned figures under I - IV relate exclusively to the business and property of the Handels and Hantagen - Gessellschaft in Tonga. There are besides 6 other German firms established in Tonga of which Messers Kuge & Co. are owners of stations and plantations and do a very considerable import and export business. The value of copra shipped by the latter firm during the year 1883 amounted to about £20,000 (in Europe) and four German vessels with a tonnage of 1037 register tons were employed for that purpose.

The extent of the business done by the other German houses is moderate only, but nevertheless considerably larger as that of most of the British merchants and planters enumerated in the list given by Mr Thurston. The only British mercantile house of standing in Tonga is that of Messers McArthur and Co. whose head quarters are in Auckland.

London 28 April 1885. K. Kreuel.

(viii) "Imperial German Ship 'Olga' shelled a town ..." 1889.

[H.B.M. Consul for Samoa, A de Coetlogon to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London, Samoa, January 3rd 1889. National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

My Lord,

I have to inform your Lordship that from the 29th November last until 17th December last the position as regards the Samoan belligerents remained unchanged. The Tamasese party occupying a fortified position in Loulii and Matiafa's party holding them in check. On the 17th December last however the I.G.S. "Eber" shelled Matiafa's position at Loulii compelling him to retire from the several positions he had gained and fall back on Apia. On the 18th December last a force of about two hundred men from the Imperial G. Ships "Olga" and "Eber" landed, by night close to the German plantations named Vailele about three miles from Apia where the Germans were reinforced by a number of Tamasese men and labour boys, an attack on some 300 of Matiafa's party immediately followed in which the Germans were defeated with a loss of 18 killed, including one officer and one Petty officer and 36 wounded including 2 officers. I am not certain of the numbers killed and wounded amongst the Tamasese men and labor boys. Matiafa's loss was about 12 killed and 35 wounded. The latter were brought to the Hospital at this Consulate, where, as I have previously had the honour to inform Your Excellency, I have erected tents for the succour of the wounded of both parties. On the 19th December last the I.G. War Ships returned to Apia and Matiafa, in force erected fortifications close to the boundaries of the neutral territory. On the 21st December last I.G. Ship "Olga" shelled a town named Matafa atele, and after the shortest possible notice to the Consuls and Ships of War H.M.S. "Royalist" and U.S.S. "Neptic", so short indeed, that it was quite impossible for either ship to proceed to the scene of action to protect certain properties which were owned by their respective nationalities on this occasion the I.G.S. "Olga" landed men and burnt between 30 and 40 native houses after which she returned to Apia. On the same day at about

5.30 p.m. I.G. Man-of-war Boat cut out a native Boat from the Vaisigani river which runs into Apia Harbour and within neutral territory and which is a spot used by the natives for bathing, the Germans fired 5 shots into this boat happily without fatal result notwithstanding that many women and children were in the water at the time. Capt. Hand R.N., H.M.S. Royalist and Leut, Plumer H.M.S. Royalist were eyewitnesses of this outrage; the unaccountable actions of the I.G. Consul under whose orders are the Commanders of the I.G. War Ships cause great fear and anxiety to British inhabitants and most of the women and children took refuge on board H.M.S. Royalist. On 22nd December last I convened a meeting of the three Consuls and the officers commanding Warships of the three nationalities in Harbor to consider more particularly the agreement existing with regard to the neutral territory of Apia and the safety of the lives and property of Foreigners therein. At this meeting, I, assisted by the U.S. Consul General endeavoured to obtain a guarantee from the I.G. Consul that he would respect the Neutral Territory. A draft of an agreement to be signed by the three consuls was submitted by me to the U.S. Vice Consul General: and to the I.G. Consul which was assented to by the U.S.V. Consul General in its entirety but fell through in consequence of the I.G. Consul declining to recognize the neutral territory as regards the I. German Government. It was the I. German Consul's desire to bind Tamasese and Matiafa to observe neutral territory while reserving to himself the liberty of opening fire and carrying on war either within or with out the said neutral territory as he thought best for the interests of the German Firm, also reserving to himself the power of Boarding all row boats and canoes crossing Apia Harbor (also neutral) and actions as he might think fit in regard to their occupants and contents.

.....

On 29th December last Capt. Hand R.N., H.M.S. "Royalist" sent a verbal message to me to say he was going to sea for a few days; I wrote to Capt. Hand as I wished my remonstrance at his departure at this critical time to be on record as at the present moment there are a large number of war Boats and canoes drawn up for security in the neutral territory. These boats belong to Matiafa's war party and the Germans have declared their intention to capture these boats, so - that at any moment we may expect a fight and that in the most populous part of Apia. My Lord with the greatest respect I maintain that now that the Imperial G. Consul has openly joined the Tamasese party and has fought side by side with them against Matiafa that he should be bound to respect Neutral Territory equally with the two contending Chiefs; the chief danger to Foreigners in Apia is in the unwarrantable actions of the Germans who without having declared a Protectorate or hoisted their flag act in every way as if the Islands belonged to them.

[236] BRITAIN EXTENDS PROTECTION

(i) *"I would therefore request you to lighten the demand made, and ask your Government, not to make such an imperative demand" 1884.*

[Tonga Government Blue Book. Correspondence between the Tonga Government and the British Government, In Re The Action of H.F. Symonds, Esq., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Tonga, and of the Captain of H.M.S. "Espiegle."
For Private Circulation only. N.D. (1884) p.13.]

Translation of His Majesty's reply, presented to Captain Bridge of H.M.S. "Espiegle," at the Conference.

With respect to the law which Great Britain desires to be repealed, because of its clashing with the Treaty which was made by Her Majesty Queen Victoria and myself, I wish for it to be made plain to the British Government before I give my reply to the demand which is made to repeal this law –

- 1st - I still trust to the love and friendly assistance which has ever been given by Her Majesty, the Queen and her Government, to my little land, and I still expect a continuance of such friendly assistance; but I am truly grieved in it appearing to the Government of Great Britain, that the law which has been made by the Legislative Assembly of my kingdom, should have been done with the intention to cause a collision, or as an attempt to destroy the confidence of Great Britain to me and my kingdom.
- 2nd - All these laws have been passed because they appeared to me and my Government to be altogether suitable to me and my people, without injuring the privileges which are possessed by the different people who reside here.
- 3rd - With regard to the clashing of this law and the Treaty between Great Britain and Tonga:- I am truly grieved, for such was not the intention of the law; and I would therefore request you to lighten the demand made, and ask your Government not to make such an imperative demand, for it appears to me as if it were compelling me to break the law which was made by the Legislative Assembly without giving them an opportunity of deliberating about the same; nevertheless I have commanded my aide-de-camp to write a letter to the Minister of Police, in accordance with what was your mind.
- 4th - I would also say, that it will be well to forward this law to the Legislative Assembly, and to alter those parts which are likely to clash with the Treaty; and it will be well for the Government of Great Britain to understand there was no other or different reason for the making of this law, but the preventing of my people from rushing heedlessly into things which they know nothing about, for they are unwise, dark-minded, and without discernment; therefore I think it right for those nations which have made treaties with me, to support me in my endeavours for my people to dwell peaceable and peaceful.
- 5th - It is also well for you to know I have already commanded my Minister of Foreign Affairs to collect all those things which have transpired between the Government of Great Britain and their Representative and my Government, and prepare our reply and send it to the British Government.

(ii) England and Germany were settling how to divide the Western Pacific between themselves." 1885.

[F.D. Bell, New Zealand Agent General, to Premier Stout of New Zealand. Westminster Chambers, London. Confidential Despatch No. 1034. 12th August 1885. National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

Sir,

I had the honour to receive yesterday your telegram stating that a Parliamentary Committee was sitting on the questions of Samoa and Fiji, and enquiring whether there was any information or proposal you could lay before them. I replied at once that negotiations with Germany were still pending, though fast approaching now a final stage; and that you might tell the Committee it was quite possible to get Samoa, if New Zealand would buy out the German interests there on reasonable terms. I added that if this first point were settled, I should be asked to go over to Berlin, in order to help in getting the position properly defined before anything was finally done; and I ventured to advise an early decision being come to by you, as a good deal really hangs upon it at this moment, such as questions with France, and even the future policy of the Three Powers in the Pacific.

Although I have written so many letters about the Islands to yourself and your predecessors, I have only been allowed to give a very faint outline of what has been going on. But I think you will hardly have failed to perceive, from all I have said, that from the moment Prince Bismarck resolved upon creating German Colonies in the Pacific, international questions of any entirely new kind were sure to arise between England, Germany, and France. All three Powers, indeed, must sooner or later be driven to determine their own course without much regard to the wishes of Australasia. A very few words will show this to be true. So long as only France and England seemed concerned with settling matters in the Pacific, France was ready to make any Conventions about Raiatea, or the New Hebrides, and no other Power interfered: but immediately Germany stepped in with a Colonial policy, the relations of the three Powers altogether changed. While Germany was suddenly establishing herself in New Guinea, seizing New Britain and New Ireland, and advancing a claim to all the Solomon group, she was also extending her power in the Central Pacific by the forced treaty with Samoa. You will no doubt remember a short explanation by Mr Evelyn Ashley, of the negotiations for the delimitation of English and German "spheres of influence"; and these negotiations have in fact been going on ever since. I tried, as you know, to get the proposals communicated to the Colonies, but there were many difficulties in the way while the negotiations were still pending with Germany. Practically, however, the two Governments are now agreed in essentials, and the arrangement will presently be recorded in an exchange of Notes. But during all this time that England and Germany were settling how to divide the western Pacific between themselves, nothing was being done to make things right with France; and it came at last to this, that presently France would find herself with only New Caledonia and the Loyalties, while everything else was to go either to England or Germany. Now there never was a chance of France being content with that kind of division; and, as I have more than once told the Government, I have long felt sure that it would end in the New Hebrides being assigned to her as a solatium¹. I am bound to say that I am more sure than ever that this will come to pass.

¹ This word may be "solarium".

You know how much I have striven for a recognition of the principle that further arrangements about the Pacific should not take place between the Powers without the knowledge of Australasia, and there certainly was a chance of this principle being recognised until the other day, notwithstanding Mr Gladstone's statement that it was impossible for England to do more than try and meet the wishes of Australasia in negotiations with other Powers, or to give any pledge to consult her before the pending negotiations went any further. For there was a sincere desire among the chiefs of both the great Parties to take counsel with the Colonies, and to safeguard their interests; and up to the introduction of the Federal Council Bill, this feeling was certainly very strong. But how could it be expected to outlast the open display of our unhappy dissensions? or how could Foreign Powers be expected to wait, for a settlement of questions affecting their own interests in the Pacific, until it should please us to agree upon anything amongst ourselves? It was supposed we should at least agree so far as to legislate together for the "relations of Australasia with the islands of the Pacific"; but when the Powers see how far we place our trivial feuds above the advantage of a united front, in what so deeply affects our destiny, how can we wonder at their calling upon England at last to settle her policy in the Pacific, in concert not with us but them? At any rate this stage has now been reached, and the three Powers will come to an agreement among themselves whether we like it or not.

Now the interests of New Zealand and the Australian Continent in regard to the islands of the Pacific are not the same. New Zealand has shown her willingness to give up a great deal for the sake of union with Australia; but this having borne no fruit, the time has come where, if she chooses to revert instead to her traditional policy of uniting herself to the islands of the Central Pacific, she has a chance at last of seeing it done. Plainly, I believe it may be said that she has now the choice before her between getting Samoa, Rapa, and ultimately Fiji, at the cost of seeing the Hebrides pass to France, or continuing to insist on the Hebrides Convention of 1878, at the cost of losing Rapa and seeing Samoa pass to Germany. For Samoa cannot be had unless New Zealand thinks it worth her while to buy out the German interests there; and this is why I said (in my telegram of yesterday) that so much hangs on her decision. It is now admitted to be a futile idea to counteract the "German-Samoan Council" by "English-Samoan" or American-Samoan Councils. Germany is determined not to leave her without protection; and, with many fine phrases about Samoan independence, she will govern Samoa until she takes possession of it in the fullness of time. It is simply a question of whether it is worth our while to exchange positions with her, and become the preponderating nationality. If it is, she is ready to let us have Samoa; and such an exchange happens to be helped, at this moment, by, the fact that the owners of German establishments there want to transfer their interests to New Guinea and New Britain. If it is not, and we are content with phrases about "Samoan independence", we must not complain if events are soon too strong for us, and the chance there is today does not return.

As to my being asked to go to Berlin, I shall probably have to address you in any case later on.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant
F. D. Bell.

(iii) *The Proclamation of Protection.*

[Manuscript document in English and Tongan. Copy forwarded to Egan Moulton by Basil Thomson, 19 May 1900. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Nuku'alofa.]

Proclamation

Whereas His Majesty the King of Tonga has been pleased to sign an agreement dated May 2nd 1900 and a Treaty dated May 18th 1900 wherein he agrees that his relations with Foreign Powers shall be conducted under the sole advice of Her Britannic Majesty's Government and that Her Majesty shall protect His Majesty's dominions from external hostile attacks, it is hereby proclaimed that a Protectorate by Her Britannic Majesty has been established accordingly, and all persons concerned are commanded to take notice of this Establishment.

Basil Thomson
H.B.M. Envoy Extraordinary
to H.M. the King of Tonga,

(iv) *Thomson's interpretation of the Proclamation.*

[Thomson Basil to Rev. Egan Moulton. H.M., Porpoise, May 19th 1900. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

H.M.S, Porpoise,
May 19th, 1900.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the Proclamation read by me this day establishing the State of Tonga as a Protectorate of Her Majesty. The only immediate effect of this establishment will be that His Majesty the King of Tonga will not be free to enter into relations of any sort whatever with any Foreign State except with the advice and through the channel of Her Majesty's Government.

I have the honour to,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Basil Thomson
H.B.M. Envoy Plenipotentiary.

The-Rev. Egan-Moulton.

(v) *"only Tonga still survives"*

[Ko e Tohi Himi 'oe Siasi Vesiliani Tau'ataina 'o Tonga. No.394. Hymn written by J.E. Moulton, N.D. - late 19th century. English translation by Mele Seini Fifita.]

1. There is a small island in the ocean
which did not believe in God
and had no goodness whatsoever
But, Halleluiah!
Now, she is blessed.
2. To this island the gospel was brought
And there came missionaries too
The message of the Bible
Was revealed to all
And converted
Were the chiefs with their King.
3. Foreign countries rushed to this part of the ocean
And they took to test the people of the islands
And there were many
of the islands that were taken over.
4. Though Tahiti took to religion
This did not save her at all
Fiji did the same
But it did not save her either.
Only Tonga,
Has still survived.
5. These was referred to by the prophesy
Two united olive branches
There should be a government, and there should be a church
In order to make a nation strong.
6. Son of Tonga, stand up and work.
Make use of your good fortune.
Always pray, ask God
To help and be with the Church
And protect Tupou, the King.

(vi) *Tupou II's Speech 1900: Thanks be to Britain for their love.*

[The Gazette, The Government Proclamation Letter. Vol. XIV. H.10.
Nuku'alofa, TOGA. 11th July, 1900.]

.....
And one thing I give thanks for, is that the two representatives of Britain and Germany who are here with us from the Nations who are in Tonga, are in good health, and thank you for your work, which helps in our helping each other and our being a good community:-And I am grateful also for the good health of the Premier of New Zealand who is here, at his sudden visit and his being here with us at the opening of our Parliament:-

.....
What of the interval between our last meeting and this? There have been wars and destructive epidemics; together with famine, and various difficulties:- But glory be to Heaven for God's love, that peace is still with Tonga, and the Chiefs of Tonga are still Chiefs, and the people are still under the flag of Tonga; and thank God it is still the same; Who would expect us to reach this day - but fortunately we are still on Tongan soil, But who would know about the future whether we would face difficulties or good fortune; but all is with God.

.....
And another thing is the Treaty that the representative of Britain brought:- and what else could I say in case I say something wrong, - has he not completed and distributed the proclamation. Thanks to Britain for their love.

THE ADDRESS IN REPLY

Parliament House,
Nuku'alofa, TOGA.
May 28th 1900.

.....
And what is shown to our hearts is that we should be appreciative and give thanks for God's love, in His being generous and rescuing Tonga in these days, and His will is clear, your government is still firm. And may it be prolonged, and blessed, - the sovereignty of the Kings of Tonga.

And the things that make us happy as revealed in your speech; Tonga is still in peace; and not to mention that the soil of your land is still in tact. And is not it interesting: your chiefs are still chiefs; And your people still retain their freedom. And for the future of Tonga:- we think "Let it be God's."

.....
And as for the Treaty; we express our gratitude for the work that has been done. And it is proper, and also appropriate - for us to give thanks to God, because of His gracious love that your Majesty is still on the Throne of your Nation; And may it be as recorded in scripture; May God's presence always be with your Majesty.

I AM GEORGE FATAFEHI
CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENT, AND THE
CHIEFS AND THE REPRESENTATIVES.