

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.

THE EUROPEAN POWERS AND TONGA'S INDEPENDENCEA. INSTRUCTIONS TO PACIFIC EXPLORERS

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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 Franchoyz 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 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 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.

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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 Majestys 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^{020'} 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 of 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 Tydēs & 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 Commercē; 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 Country 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.

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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 superintendance of L.A. MILLET-MOREAU. 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' ASTROLABE.

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, making 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 there; 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

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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.

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 Perouse 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 Perouse 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 as 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 savages 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

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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 neighboring 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 and 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.]

p.90. The Origin of Kao Island. (A 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.

p.90. The Origin of Lotuma Island.

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.

INDEPENDENCE AND THE FIRST MISSIONARIES(i) Finau's explanation.

[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 chiefs, 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 them up with all kinds of filth knowing that the cleanliness of the Tonga people would not 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? In the meanwhile, Morgan said to the chiefs 'You see the effect of their incantations; several of 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 increases in the esteem of the natives.

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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.

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."

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."

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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 21. 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.

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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 ALLER, a French Corvet came in - the captains'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 ALLER 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.

.....

When 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 privileges 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 Vavau 28th Dec. 1841.

Sire

"His Majesty the King of the French being informed that a worthy and respectable french Bishop my Lord Pempallice 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 peoples.

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 to call there upon the same footing as all other strangers and a protection due 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 Popery. That we and our people may continue to follow the things which have been taught by the true Ministers of Christ.

APPEALS TO QUEEN VICTORIA 1844 - 1856

- (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, Josaiiah of Tongataboo, 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 Haabai 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 in 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 hear 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 Tongataboo, 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 Fear of God and live in Peace.

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

I am

with profound respect

Tupou.

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 fine 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 a weak and friendless people, that a wise and powerful nation, such as Britannia, should cast its shadow over us. Under this shade we live.

"We 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 had 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."

[Erskine, Capt J.E. Proceedings at the South Sea Islands. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society London. Vol. 21. 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.

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 usage.

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 independance 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 ^{there} 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.

6. 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.

7. 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 fines 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.

secret

8. But the great 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.

9. 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. III. The 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 shewn 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 of 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.

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THE APPOINTMENT OF A BRITISH AGENT 1858

[Hoole to Bulwer Lytton, Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopgate 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) Carnarvon.

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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,
Bishopgate 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's 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 Lordships 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 correspondance 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.

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(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 consti-

tute the nuclear 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.

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ANXIETY ABOUT TONGA'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.