

NEW ZEALAND'S DESIRE TO EXTEND THE EMPIRE(i) The Annexation Debate.

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

PACIFIC ISLANDS ANNEXATION

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

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

"The Committee to whom was referred the consideration of the question

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

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

Mr MONTGOMERY. - I have very decided opinions upon this matter, and I differ very much from what the Treasurer has said. He says that, in the interest of the natives and of ourselves, we should colonize these islands; but is he aware that these islands are already - if he refers to the New Hebrides - quite full of people? The main island of the New Hebrides, Espiritu Santo, is no bigger than Stewart Island, and it has a population of ten thousand. But, from the way in which these islands are spoken of, one would think they were as large in extent as the middle island of New Zealand and as fit for colonization as some of the large plains of Australia. This is not so. These islands are full of people many of whom are cannibals. the climate is wet and unhealthy. Leprosy and a great many other diseases peculiar to tropical climates are prevalent there. Then, it is said that if we annex these islands, or ask the British Government to annex them, we should bear part of the expense. I do not quite understand the position the Government wish us to take up. If this is

to be done in the interests of humanity, then we should establish mission stations there; but I do not believe in talk which means combining piety with percentages - taking possession of the islands for the purposes of humanity and also for the purpose of getting trade. When we look around and see what our civilization has done for the various native races in countries of which we have taken possession, I question very much whether it would be greatly to the advantage of the natives for the British Government to take possession of these islands, especially if it would then become the main duty of the Government to look after the property of traders. I doubt whether we should improve the position of the natives either morally or physically. Does not the taking possession of these islands simply mean that we are to protect and maintain traders in the possession of whatever property they may acquire? If so, I leave out of consideration the moral aspect of the question, and look at the matter simply from the pounds-shillings-and-pence point of view, and I can only say I believe it would be a thoroughly bad bargain. More than that, we are going into a blind engagement when we agree to bear a portion of the expense. When the Government of this colony on a future day would be asked to bear the expense it might be a million or so, and we should either fail in our honour or spend very much more money than we can afford. If we are to bear any portion of the expense our share should certainly be limited; but why should we impose a liability on the taxpayers by going into the thing blindly, not knowing what the expense will be? I shall take a division upon this motion, although I dare say the majority will be against me. I do not think we should combine with the Australian Colonies to go to any expense whatever, and certainly we should not promise to incur expense until we know what the expense will be. I shall take a division, though I am afraid that a majority of the House will be against the view I take in this matter, because there is a sort of glamour that interferes with men's clear vision when they speak about annexing islands and extending the dominion of our flag. The fact of the matter is that if these islands are to be annexed by the British Empire, or if the British flag is to be placed there, then it will be better for Great Britain to take charge of them; but it is not our part at all. Can we manage our own affairs? Have we got any spare money, after we have managed them properly, to spend in this way? If the British Government took possession of these islands, and erected forts and had cruisers there, the expense of which would be put down to the Australasian Colonies, and of which they would have to bear a certain portion, in time of war what would happen? Why, outlying dependencies, as we all know, except such as Gibraltar and Malta, are sources of weakness to a Power. And

then we should have to maintain and protect our people, traders, who might be there - for only traders would go there; there would be no agriculture - and that would be an act of madness: it would be far cheaper to put them on board ship and bring them away. Therefore I shall divide the House on this question, because I object altogether to our going into any arrangement with the Australian Colonies by which we shall bear any expense, or by which our honour will be compromised by our promising what we may not be able to perform. I entirely approve of the British flag flying over as many islands and as many countries as possible, provided the inhabitants of those countries wish it. But I do not approve of British rule being forced upon people, and British rum, with the usual sequences, because I would much rather see missionary enterprise doing its best, and I would leave the traders to take up their position and do their best in the interest of their trade if they like. I should be very glad to see the British arranging with the inhabitants to take possession of those islands, but I should object to our bearing any portion of the expense, or combining with the Australian Colonies in any way for such an object.

Mr. HOLMES. - I did not expect that a sentimental motion, such as is now before the House, would come from the Colonial Treasurer. I think that honourable gentleman knows that the arguments he has used are simply sham. He knows perfectly well that if we go into any expenditure in connection with the annexation of the Pacific islands we are not doing so for the purpose of establishing our civilization there; for the establishment of civilization amongst savage tribes, as he knows perfectly well, means the sweeping of them off the face of the earth. In what part of the world have we established civilization, what part of the world have we taken possession of and colonized to any large extent, where the natives have not degenerated, and ultimately died off the face of the earth? With the experience we have had for hundreds of years, it is simply a sham to talk of extending our civilization amongst those savage tribes. It is also a sham to talk of our taking possession of these islands in the interest of the natives. If we take possession of them at all, it will be in the interest of ourselves; and the whole question for the House to consider is, Will it pay? That is the question, and I confess I am not one of those mawkish-pawky gentlemen who would not assist the Government in its attempt to take possession of any countries inhabited by inferior races, if there were a reasonable prospect of its paying to do so. I believe, Sir, in the law of evolution, and the survival

of the fittest. I believe that the inferior race must die out before the superior race - that the black must die out before the white. I believe that in the process of time the one race takes the place of the other, and that, after generations, in our turn we also shall give way before a superior race. That, Sir, is the doctrine of evolution, and the survival of the fittest; and that is the doctrine I believe in. But the question here is, Will it pay, seeing the situation of these islands, knowing that most of the trade that will be done with them will be done by the Australian Colonies, knowing that at the present time we are on the verge of war with France, and that if we attempt to take possession of these New Hebrides Islands France will also attempt to take possession, so that we shall be led into a war for an absolute certainty? And if we bind ourselves now to pay a proportionate share of the expense that will be incurred in taking possession of these islands, in the event of a war breaking out, what will those expenses amount to? Is it possible now to gauge what the amount of the expenditure would be? If the Treasurer had put any limit even to the amount of expenditure that we should be prepared to enter into I should at once say, By all means pass the motion. But I shall propose an amendment to the motion, and it is to add these words: "excepting in so far as such recommendation involves the expenditure of money on the part of this colony." By carrying that amendment we shall advance the view that is taken by the Treasurer, and enable the Government to negotiate with the Governments of the various other colonies as to establishing the British flag in any and all of these islands if they please; but at the same time the establishing of that flag and the taking possession of those islands will not in any way be a burden upon the taxpayers of New Zealand.

ANNEXATION AND FEDERATION

Mr. STOUT. Honourable gentlemen who have followed the correspondence which has been laid upon the table are already aware that Lord Derby said to the colonies that, if they desired a protectorate over New Guinea, they must be prepared to pay the expense of a High Commissioner, and also to aid in providing him with a steamer, or some other accommodation, for getting about

about the islands. He proposed that they should contribute £15,000; and I think all the colonies have consented to pay their share of the £15,000 - I mean all the colonies to whom the question has been put - Tasmania, South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Fiji, and Queensland. In fact, most of the colonies have passed special Acts providing for the payment of their proportion of the amount. Since the question came up at the Convention, as honourable members are aware, the Home Government have proclaimed a protectorate, not over New Guinea, but over a part of it - the southern portion of it; and, after that was done, a telegram was sent to the colonies by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, stating that General Scratchley had been appointed Special Commissioner to control the British Protectorate in New Guinea, and that he would sail about the 20th November. He goes on to say, -

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

It will also be noticed that several of the colonies which agreed to pay their proportion of £15,000 have refused to give the second contribution asked; and, so far as the Government of New Zealand is concerned, we do not see our way to advise this Parliament to give any further aid than the proportion of £15,000 according to population, because we feel that, so far as New Guinea is concerned, New Zealand has practically little interest in its Protectorate. We hope, however, that if a Protectorate is established for New Guinea that will only be the beginning of a further Protectorate that will include many Pacific Islands not now under any settled Government, and our object in asking the House to agree to this resolution to pay a proportion of £15,000 is to see, if a proper Protectorate is created for New Guinea, whether the English Government will not extend the Protectorate over other islands. This question touches on the relationship in which we should stand to the Pacific Islands, and how the Pacific should in future be governed. That may be termed the first question which arises before I come to deal with the question of the Federal Council; and I apprehend that to New Zealand, more than to the Continent of Australia, the future government

of the Pacific Islands is of immense importance. It was pointed out long ago, by a celebrated geographer - Guyot - that New Zealand was, strange to say, the centre of what he termed "the Water Hemisphere;" and it was pointed out by him that, if New Zealand made the most of her opportunities, she would come to be looked upon as the centre of the Pacific Islands, giving to them her manufactured goods and receiving from them their raw products, being looked upon as their commercial depot. And I may point out that, in the older days, this was seen by many in New Zealand. The honourable member for Auckland East, in the grants of land which he made to various Churches for the purpose of education, put a provision in his grants that the endowment was to be held for the purpose of educating, not only the people of New Zealand, but children from the Pacific Islands; and I believe it was his intention that the sons of chiefs from many of the Pacific Islands should receive education in New Zealand, and, after they left New Zealand, carry with them the culture obtained here, and thus help to civilize the Pacific Islands. I may go further and say that this colony has enormous interest in the question how the Pacific Islands are to be governed in the future. There are three points of view from which this question of the future of the Pacific Islands may be looked at. There is, first, the danger of a foreign Power having control in the Pacific Islands, in the - I hope far remote - contingency of any troubles or war arising in which we may become implicated. There is, then, the question of danger to us through any of the Pacific Islands being made depots for Europeans criminals. Then, there is the third point of view, to which I have slightly referred - namely, the need of closer trade relationship. As to the first danger, of foreign dominion in the Pacific, I apprehend that we, who are laying the foundations of a new nation, must look far ahead into the future and remember this: that even a slight thing may alter what is termed the tide of history. And if we so provide that the whole of the Pacific Islands shall be united together in some bond of friendship, and that, whether they are peopled by one nationality or another of Europe, the whole of the islands shall be bound together by some tie, so that, whatever European troubles might arise, we might see no war in the Pacific - if we could lay down the lines of such an agreement, we should be doing a great deal for our future, and for the future of the race. Then, as to the further question of criminal depots, we are met with this question now. We see what has passed lately - even since the Convention met in Sydney - in the Senate in France, where a very able report has been presented - a precis of which has been sent out by the Agent-General - pointing out that the French must make New Caledonia, at all events, a depot for her worst - her

relapsed-- criminals. Of course these relapsed criminals are to be sent a thousand and now and a thousand again, and they may not harm us in one sense. That is, few of them may come to New Zealand, and the few who do come may have very little influence on our population. But we must look at it from this point of view; if you have one of the Pacific Islands set apart as a depot for the relapsed criminals of Europe, what does that mean?--You have, - so to speak, a centre of infection. No one, I am sure, would object to France, Germany, or any of the great European Powers having an outlet for their surplus population as well as England has. It would be a very selfish policy if we tried to prevent any European Power having colonies in the Pacific Islands. But if we have New Caledonia and perhaps other parts set aside as depots for criminals, we cannot overlook the effect of such a policy. We are to have the worst kind of criminals - not merely political criminals; they are recidivistes or relapsed criminals; and all history shows that there is a great deal of truth in the doctrine of heredity. We have not merely a savage race, but the worst kind of race - the criminal one - placed in the Pacific Islands to be a centre of infection for the whole of the Pacific; and, if this is allowed to go on without protest, we may have Germany and other European nations looking upon the Pacific Islands as a proper place to get rid of their criminals. Some may say that there has been too much made of this question; but I do not think so, and I think the Convention in Sydney, and the Hon. Mr Service, of Victoria, deserve great credit for the stand they have taken in protesting against the French possessions being turned into mere criminal depots. I only regret that perhaps it was not pointed out to the French people that the making of their colonies mere depots for criminals injures their colonies, and injures the French possessions. I do not know if enough was made of that in the discussion that has taken place in regard to the recidiviste question. The other question is that of trade relationship. I shall not take up time by dwelling upon that. We have had some slight discussion on that already this session in reference to the South Sea Trading Bill, and the providing for a subsidized mail service for Samoa, Tonga, and other islands. I do not think I need refer to the New Hebrides question, because honourable members will remember that in 1878 that question was taken up by the then Government; a memorandum was written by Sir George Grey, and a short note by myself, which were sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, pointing out that the New Hebrides ought to be a British possession; in fact, it once was included in the boundaries of New Zealand.

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

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

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

No. 3.

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

19th November, 1884.

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

No. 4.

The FOREIGN OFFICE to the COLONIAL OFFICE.

Sir, - Foreign Office, 4th December, 1884.

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

The Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

I have, &c.,

J. PAUNCEFOTE.

Enclosure 1.

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

Berlin, 1st December, 1884.

MY LORD, -

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

The Chancellor said that this step would create a very bad effect in this country, as the Germans had for some years past been interested in the island, and the Reichstag had already had before it for consideration the question of a subsidy to a Hamburg house trading with Samoa. The Prince added that he trusted that I should be able to give him an assurance that Her Majesty's

Government had no intention of annexing the island.

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

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

I have &c.,

EDWARD B. MALET.

Enclosure 2.

TELEGRAM to Sir E. MALET.

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

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

No. 6.

The COLONIAL OFFICE to the FOREIGN OFFICE.

SIR, -

Downing Street, 11th December, 1884.

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

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

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

I have, &c.,

The Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office.

JOHN BRAMSTON.

No. 7.

The FOREIGN OFFICE to the COLONIAL OFFICE.

SIR, -

Foreign Office, 19th December, 1884.

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

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

I have, &c.,

The Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

T. V. LISTER.

Enclosure.

SIR, -

Foreign Office, 19th December, 1884.

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

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

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

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

I have, &c.,

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

GRANVILLE.

No. 70.

The PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL

Our views. - Get Samoa annexed.

30th March, 1885.

ROBERT STOUT.

No. 71.

THE PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL.

SIR, -

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

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

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

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

4. We think, therefore, that, failing annexation, you might be able to induce the Colonial Office and the representatives of Germany to agree to a new convention or treaty being framed as between the King of Samoa and the three nationalities at present interested in the islands. The terms of such an agreement might be settled by the British Consul, the German Consul (M. Weber), the Consular Agent for the United States, and some representative of New Zealand. Of course ratification by the Imperial authorities of Great Britain and Germany, and by the President of the United States, would be necessary. It seems to us, however, that this would be the only way in which any fair arrangement could be arrived at, as there are circumstances and interests involved which cannot be defined, or perhaps understood, except by persons empowered to inquire on the spot.

5. I have not thought it necessary to telegraph to you on this matter at present, as it might seem, if we demanded the right to endeavour to make such a

convention as I have indicated, that we were opposed to your entering into negotiations. We wait, therefore, to learn how you succeed, and what counter-proposals the German Government may make, and probably, on receipt of such information, we may telegraph to you shortly the purport of this letter.

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

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

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

I have, &c.,
ROBERT STOUT.

No. 83.

The PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL.

SIR, -

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

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

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

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

I have, &c.,
ROBERT STOUT.

- (iii) Complaints about Britain's attitude to German policy 1885
 [Premier of Victoria to Premier of New Zealand; Telegram from
 Premier of New Zealand to Agent General in London; Premier
 of New Zealand to Agent General, London.]

in

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

No. 56.

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

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

Melbourne, 31st December, 1884.

JAMES SERVICE.

No. 57.

THE PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL.

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

1st January, 1885.

ROBERT STOUT.

No. 58.

[Copy of above to Premier, Melbourne.]

No. 59.

The PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL.

SIR, -

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

I have to convey to you our warmest thanks for the trouble you have taken and are taking regarding the Pacific Islands question, as to which your

letter marked "Confidential," and numbered 511, gave us very interesting details.

2. In order that you may know what is passing here, I note down some details. You have heard by telegraph of the feelings of surprise and regret that were evoked in all the Australasian Colonies by the annexation of the northern part of New Guinea, with New Ireland, &c., by Germany. It is much to be regretted that the Imperial Government did not, when part of New Guinea was annexed, take the whole island. From Earl Granville's speech at the Mansion House - an extract from which you forwarded - it seems plain that German annexation was effected with the tacit assent of the Foreign Office; and if, as you state, the intention to annex was unknown to the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office can hardly be said to have been ignorant of it. The telegram sent to you explains our views.

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

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

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

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

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

(iv) Later New Zealand aspirations - 1900-1903

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

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

British Consulate, Tonga, June 5th 1900.

My dear Mr Seddon,

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

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

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

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

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

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

believe cause him a moments disquietude if all the other Groups in the Pacific outside Fiji were some fine morning to disappear beneath the waves.

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

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

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

Whatever he were called he might well perform the duties of Premier and Minister of Finance with possibly a European Clerk to assist him. None of the present holders of high office are the least reliable, The Premier is ignorant, obstinate, dishonest and dishonourable, the Treasurer is the Premier's son - and tool - the Auditor General cannot find 26,000 dollars which are short, and says he doesn't know if they have been stolen or is owing to bad book keeping.

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

really good man.

June 25th. As I have had no opportunity of sending this till to day I will add that I have spoken to the King twice call^{ed}/twice and written once in re Your Postal Convention, the first time His Majesty appeared to have the most foggy idea of what he had to do but said Mr Watkin understood about it but upon going to the latter "he" could only tell me what he had "done", I then elicited from the King that he had given them / the papers / to the Premier who was going to lay them before Parliament - which is still sitting - that was constitutional enough' so I could say no more except to beg the King to send the papers to me the moment they had been dealt with, which he promised to do, but he is such an egregious young prevaricator that you cannot believe or at any rate rely on a word he says, but I think you may rely on getting them next mail. I suppose you have got safely back to Wellington and hope that you all derived benefit from your cruize, please give my kindest remembrances to Mrs Seddon and your daughters with whom I was most charmed, for one thing we "do" want in Tonga badly is a few "ladies". If at any time I can do anything for you or them as long as I remain in Tonga command me.

Yours very truly,

Beckwith Leefe.

(b) "..... wondering what will be the outcome of your proposal"

[Baker, Shirley W. to Seddon, R.J., Premier of New Zealand.
Fakapale, Lifuka, Ha'apai. September 4th, 1900. 60/73.
National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

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

To,

The Right Honourable R.J. Seddon. L.L.D.

Premier of New Zealand.

Hon. & dear Sir,

Your kind letter of the 28th of July, duly to hand, for which please accept my sincerest thanks. It was certainly very kind of you, considering the House was in Session, for you to think of me.

Many thanks for your remarks relative to Bishop Neville. My people were pleased to hear them, for they are relying on his promise. Many thanks also for the

photos, they are excellent and are greatly prized. I need not say that we are anxiously expecting the book containing a narrative of your trip. We are wondering what will be the outcome of your proposal, and hoping it soon will become an accomplished fact, for it will not be only the making of the islands, but will be a solution of many racial difficulties.

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

We are feeling the effects of Thompson's ill judged Treaty, the natives simply telling the whites that by the Treaty they can do as they like. I am sure you know too well what this means from a native.

We trust the new state of things will be inaugurated before long, for the longer it is left, the greater will be the difficulties that will arise.

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

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

Yours faithfully,

Shirley W. Baker.

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

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

.....

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

Reasonable and experienced persons who look carefully into the matter of including South Pacific islands within the boundaries of this colony must recognise the absolute necessity for our doing so, not with the narrow or prejudiced view of an immediate return, but on the broader and higher ground of Imperial policy. They must also recognise that a great mistake was made in the past in allowing any foreign Power to take possession of any one of those islands,

which should all be part of the territory of a Greater New Zealand. Instead of only thousands as at present, there will in years to come be millions of people in this colony who will be the best customers of the islands. The day is not far distant when steam and electricity will so assist vessels in their desperate race against time that Rarotonga will be not more than a three-days' journey from this colony, and New Zealand, with the South Sea islands, will continue to be among the brightest gems of the British Empire.

Wellington, 31st October, 1903.

C. H. MILLS.

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SOME OPINIONS FROM WITHIN TONGA 1885-1900

- (i) "If this Government will not do it then Britain will. 1885.
 [Printed Pamphlet, dated 31st March, 1885. By J.E. Moulton.
 English translation by Viola Kinahoi. Archives of the Free
 Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

To The Wesleyan Church of Tonga.

Members,

I write again because things have changed since these last fonos (1). Even though the New Church has been established I expected that it would keep within the Constitution; freedom of worship for them and freedom of worship for us. However it has all been changed. The King has stated that we will be exiled and the Chiefs have lost no time in seizing the church buildings and driving away our people. In some places they have used force for the New Church.

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

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

With reference to the exile: This is a serious matter, for surely such times are past. And what is more it dashes to pieces the Constitution which the King and the Chiefs have vowed to support. Have the Chiefs forgotten that there is a God in Heaven and one of His responsibilities is to inquire into vows! Do not be afraid - for if Tupou did exile his people, as we're told, not only Britain but every European power would intervene. This is what the British High

Commissioner has said in a letter he wrote this Government: "Since the establishment of the Constitution, King George is no longer able to please himself. Tonga must be ruled according to the Laws." Britain will see that that is carried out.

Although we have spoken like this, Are we working for Tonga's annexation (2) to Britain?(3) No! They are the ones who are working for the annexation of this country by driving out the Wesleyans and taking Church property by force, and giving as an excuse for it, the interference by foreign countries. But we are free. Who would claim that what has been said at the fonos has made an impression - the repeated charge that we give up to this country to Britain. There has been misrepresentation, for that is not our desire. It is true that as time goes by, for some, the love of Tonga has begun to die. And that is understandable because they have been greatly ill-treated. But as yet that is not the feeling of the majority. Look at it in the same way that I do: that is if it is God's will that Tupou should have an heir then he will be the successor. Thanks be to God that there are more Royal children and I love them all as if they were my own offspring. As for the saying that I work in order to annex Tonga to a foreign country. Nonsense! I would like to see the continuation of the Government under whoever the Chiefs will elect when Tupou's time is over. But I will do my best to develop the country in matters that will bring intellectual adornment to the Tongan people. That is the way I look at it and the way I want it to be. It will be thus if things are done constitutionally and in a civilised manner, and if not, then Tonga will not last.

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

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

What has happened is something very sad but there is a good side to it because it really shows the nature of the New Church. They try to prove that both Churches are the same but I don't think so, and there is so much evidence to support me. The tree is known by its fruits; if it bears vi then it is a Vi; if it bears 'tava' then it is 'tava'. Look at the fruit of the New Church - it bears the fruit of exile, then its a Religion of exile. One of those in Authority says that its easy to overturn the Constitution - then its a church to dash the Constitution to pieces. One of the leaders said to some elderly women: You will all be whipped (loholoho'i) (4). A representative of the Government stated in another place that the women will be taken and drowned in the sea. One even said this to children. It makes my blood boil to hear these things. A grown man facing a child who was trembling said, "Renounce or die" (and not to mention the main threat, that the Wesleyans will be meat for the ''umu') Is that Religion? It is a revival of Heathenism. And is it similar to our Religion? Although it is said that these things are only words, Yet they are not just words because the exile has been carried out, the people have been expelled, the Constitution has been dashed to pieces. And this has not been done by the rank ^{and} file but by these in high position. Thus then, the difference between the two Churches is manifested.

What surprised me is the fearless manner in which the chiefs carry out the "fonos". Do they not know that it is God's people they are ill-treating? As Jesus said, "Now, will God not judge in favour of his own people who cry to him for help day and night? Will he be slow to help them? I tell you, he will judge in their favour, and do it quickly." (5)

Members, I sympathise with you because of your sufferings. But are we going to reject the truth because of this persecution? And deny God who died for us by shedding his blood? How then will we stand before Him in the Judgement? Endure it. After a while they will calm down. Remember the words of Jesus: "Do not be afraid of anything you are about to suffer. Listen. The Devil will put you to the test by having some of you thrown into prison; your troubles will last ten days. Be faithful until death, and I will give you the crown of life(6).

Notes.

1. Fono - "town or village meeting (officially convened)
2. "annexation" has been used to translate the expression "Ke to 'a Tonga ki muli" "To", according to Churchwood, has among others the following meanings to fall, drop, be beaten, given as a present, fall to the lot of, be allotted to, inherited by, fall away be detached. The literal meaning of the words is "to fall to an overseas country". We have thus translated it as annexation.
3. "Papalangi" Moulton refers frequently in the pamphlet to intervention by "Papalangi" (overseas country). As he specifically refers to Britain in the early part of the pamphlet, we have translated "Papalangi" throughout as Britain.
4. "loholoho" branching stem on which coconuts are borne. (Churchward)
5. Luke 18:7-8 (a)
6. Revelation 2:10.

- (ii) "Our only hope lies in the expectation of a French Man-of-War 1887."
 [Appendix. Report by Sir C. Mitchell, High Commissioner for the
 Western Pacific etc, etc. Archives of the Free Wesleyan
 Church of Tonga, Nukualofa. p.5.]

Nukualofa, February 8, 1887.

Sir,

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

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

Finding that there was nothing to be gained by waiting any longer, the priests resolved to go to the British Consulate. On stating their case to Her Britannic Majesty's Representative, Mr Leefe, they learned that he could not help them in any way whatever. This was unexpected, but the advice that he gave them was more surprising still, and to quote Father O'Dwyer's own words, 'It is here that trouble begins.'

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

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

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

any such thing. These arguments and remarks seemed to have no effect. The priest thought that it would indeed be cowardly for Mr Moulton to desert his post under any consideration such as the Consul had suggested, and it would be equally cowardly for the British authorities or the Wesleyan Conference to be induced to do any such thing. These arguments and remarks seemed to have no effect on Her Britannic Majesty's Consul. He still thought they ought all to clear out and let Mr Baker do as he liked. He avoided committing himself in any way, gave the priests no encouragement to expect any assistance from him, saying, 'The King can do whatever he likes with his own subjects.'

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

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

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

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

.....

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

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

I am, &c.

(Signed) "A.W. MACKAY."

(iii) "Tonga must eventually fall under the flag of England or of Australasia"
[Basil, Thomson. The Diversions of a Prime Minister. Dawsons of Pall Mall, London. 1968. pp.285 & 287.]

Many things happen in three years. My narrative should properly have ended where I have left it; but, since circumstances have combined to defer its publication, I cannot pass over all that has happened since 1891. I left Tonga clear of her embarrassments, with a strong popular Government, and every promise of prosperity. In 1894 she is divided in her councils, suspicious of her rulers, and financially unsound.

I should be wiser if I said nothing about the future; for no man ever yet succeeded in foretelling accurately the shifts and turns of political events. Yet even at the risk of hurting the feelings of my good friends in Tonga, I will state my belief in the hope that it may act as a warning. England does not want Tonga, nor New Zealand either, if she knew her own interests; and yet, even if there were none of those restless spirits that egg on the Governments of our half-populated colonies to extend their boundaries and responsibilities, Tonga must eventually fall under the flag of England or of Australasia. When this happens, it will be the fault of the Tongans themselves. If, instead of hysterical professions of patriotism, the Tongans would show the very moderately patriotic feelings that prompt other peoples to pay their taxes, Tonga might remain independent for generations; but with a weak Government and a divided people, how can a little State, hemmed in by powerful and growing neighbours, maintain her independence? We do not want Tonga, and yet we cannot allow any other great Power to take our place there. If Tonga must be taken, it is we who must take her; but though I am no "Little Englander," I have seen enough of our small possessions to know that the increased incentive to British trade that may result from hoisting of flag does not compensate for the weakness that a host of half bankrupt islands throws upon the Empire.

- (iv) The opinions of Tupou II and his Parliament 1897.
 [Ko e Kasete. Ko e Tohi Fanongonongo Faka-Isule'anga. Tohi XI.
 Ko H. 4. Nukualofa TOGA. 10th June 1897. Tonga Government
 Gazette. Volume 4, No. 11, 10th June 1897. Palace Records
 office, Nuku'alofa. English Translation by Manukailopa Maka.]

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

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

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

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

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

And who will be surprised at the applying of the name Nation to such a small island? But does it not show the power and the mightiness of God in fulfill-

ing the strength of the Monarchy of such a weak country! Everybody, from the greatest to the least should give thanks to God and inscribe in their hearts the motto from the Coat-of-arms: "God and Tonga are my inheritance"

THE ADDRESS IN REPLY TO HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECH

Parliament House, Nuku'alofa, Tonga

May 26th, 1897.

To His Majesty

George Tupou II

The King of the Tonga Islands.

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

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

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

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

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

J.U. TUKU' AHO

Chairman of the Parliament.

GERMAN INTERESTS IN THE SOUTH SEAS. 1884-1891

- (i) "that German men-of-war pay regular visits to these islands. 1884.
 [A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December, 1884. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand] No.8., p.6.]

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

The writer encloses a memorandum on the political and commercial relations of the Gilbert, Marshall, Carolina, Ellice, and Toketau Islands, based upon information collected during a visit to them. The produce of copra is about 7,000 tons, or 1,000 tons less than that of Tonga, but is capable of being much increased. Nearly one-half of the trade of the islands collectively passes through German hands. Of foreign firms, only the Chinese Ong-Chong, of Sydney, is of importance in the trade of the Gilbert Islands. Messrs. Henderson and Macfarlane do far less business than the German houses, except in Toketau. Mr O'Keefe is interested only at Yap. Messrs. Wightman Brothers, at Apia, are a new American firm, whose vitality has still to be proved. The occasional despatch of a Consular Commissioner to these islands, from Apia, is recommended. The interests of the Empire there, as well as in Tunga, can only be intrusted to a professional official. Care will also have to be taken that German men-of-war pay regular visits to these islands. In 1881 the "Habicht" visited the Marshall Islands, whilst the "Ariadne" in 1878, and the "Hyena" in 1884, had so little time to spare as to restrict their calls to a few islands. In the Gilbert Islands German commerce is opening up fresh ground; in the Carolinas, likewise, it is on the increase. These islands likewise will have to be visited by German men-of-war, having a Consular official on board. In order to make these desirable round-trips it will be necessary to station three men-of-war in the Pacific. An effective police supervision by Consular officials, and periodical visits by men-of-war, can alone prevent occurrences such as happened last year in Yap, when the English authorities proceeded against the English employes of German firms.

- (ii) "If England should annex this group of islands German commerce would be most seriously injured" 1884.
 [A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December, 1884. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.10. p.6]

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

I have in former reports drawn attention to the importance of Tonga for German

commerce. Out of 8,000 tons of copra produced at present by these islands, more than one-half is exported by German merchants.

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

German trade in the Tonga Islands is based upon the system of taxation in vogue there, which requires that all taxes should be paid in coin. The native sells the copra produced by him to whomsoever he likes. In Fiji taxes are paid in produce, and traders thus lose the advantage of dealing direct with the natives. It is feared that, in case of English influence becoming paramount in Tonga, the Fijian system of taxation would be introduced, and thus German commerce, as carried on hitherto, would be destroyed. Besides this, German commerce in Tonga is based largely upon the circulation of Chilian dollars, first introduced by it. The attempts of the English to substitute English coins for it have hitherto proved unsuccessful. Should they succeed, there would occur serious losses, for the Chilian dollar is deemed the equivalent of 4s., although it only costs 3s.8d. to import it, whilst 4s. would cost as much as 4s.3d. Besides this, the English coin, being intrinsically more valuable than the dollar, would exhibit a tendency to leave the country, and, at the same time, the introduction of English coins would facilitate English competition with German trade. If the English should become paramount, this change in the medium of circulation would naturally be taken up first. The existing Government of Tonga is not interested in any change taking place, as the German company grants it bills of exchange, payable at English places, at the rate of \$1 for 4s. A further danger to German trade would arise from a revision of the Customs system, and the establishment of ports of entry. If the company's vessels were compelled, for instance, to call at a port of entry in the South, before proceeding to the northern Islands of Niuatobutubu and Niuafouu, this would entail additional expenses sufficient to jeopardise all commercial profits. This is the way German trade was destroyed in Rotumah when that island was annexed by England. Moreover, German merchants are afraid that difficulties might occur on a renewal of their leases. The existing Government of Tonga could be prevented from unreasonably inflicting injury upon German interests, whilst the English authorities might be tempted to act in strict accordance with the letter of the law.

Measures should at once be taken if German influence in the Tonga

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

- (iii) "Government would extend its protection, naval and consular, to property in land acquired by private adventurers." 1881. ^{February,}
 [A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December, 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.2. p.7.]

No.2. - Count von Limburg-Stirum on a Conversation with Her von Hansemann.

(15th February, 1881.)

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

- (iv) "the policy of the English Colonial Office to deal with our communications in a dilatory manner." 1884. ^{February,}
 [A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December, 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.20., pp.14-15.]

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

In the South Sea, as elsewhere, it appears to be the policy of the English Colonial Office to deal with our communications in a dilatory manner, whilst "facts" are being created through the agency of the Australian Colonies which run altogether counter to our legitimate interests. In your report of the 12th January you state that the Under-Secretary of State informed you "that the British Government had no intention of annexing fresh territories or burdening itself with additional colonies, as Lord Derby had quite recently told the Australians."

Recent experience leads us to conclude that Lord Derby merely intended to avoid the acquisition of fresh Crown colonies, without at all interfering with

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

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

- (v) "islands not yet taken possession of are being scrambled for" 1884-February,
 [A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December,
 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885.
 A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No.22. p.17]

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

I learn from a telegram in the Australian papers that Lord Derby is prepared to take possession of New Guinea if the colonies are willing to bear part of the expense. I beg to state that a step of this kind would seriously endanger German interests in the South Sea. There, too, islands not yet taken possession of are being scrambled for. This process may be delayed for a time, but can never be made retrogressive. Delay is of use only to England and her colonies. The assurances of the London Cabinet may be honest enough, but events will override them. Out here everybody, from the highest official to the smallest tradesman, works at the anglicanization of the whole Pacific, without taking the least notice of these assurances. Germany must not trust to them, unless she is prepared to face one day accomplished facts. The Samoa Islands by themselves would not sufficiently justify an active colonial policy of Germany in the South Sea, although

we defend from them our commercial position in Tonga and in the scattered islands to the north. But even Samoa would become a forlorn hope unless we succeed in maintaining our footing in New Britain. Politically, as well as geographically, the north coast of New Guinea forms part of New Britain. The arguments applied by England to the south coast of New Guinea and to Torres Strait apply with equal force, from a German point of view, to the north-east coast and Dampier Strait. English interests in New Guinea are limited to the south coast. German interests in New Britain demand that England be excluded from the north coast. The extension of German commercial enterprise to that coast is merely a question of time. Had it not been for the loss of the "Mioke," the German Commercial and Plantation Company would before this have established itself there. It is desirable that our German capitalists should assist in the conquest of this coast. A territory like that of the archipelago of New Britain, including the north coast of New Guinea, would indeed be an object worthy of German colonial enterprise. Bounded by the Dutch Indies, this territory would not be exposed to suffocation from surrounding English colonies, and would afford us means to hold Samoa, commercially as well as politically. This is the very thing England desires to prevent by this movement in our flank, and the danger likely to arise, if England is allowed to occupy the north coast of New Guinea, is very serious indeed.

(vi) ~~"..... Samoa and Tonga, to be neutralized by an international agreement" 1884.~~
 [A Collection of Documents presented to the German Reichstag in December, 1884, 1885. In Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1885. A-9. Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand. No. 39. pp.19-20.]

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

Mr Meade, the English delegate at the Conference, whom you referred to in your report of the 10th instant, some time ago expressed a wish to the Under-Secretary of State of the Foreign Office to have a confidential talk on colonial matters, which, he added, might clear away misunderstandings and prepare the way for a subsequent official settlement of the mutual spheres of interest. In a first conversation with Dr Busch, Mr Meade developed the following suggestions, which he declared to represent solely his private views, but which he thought might eventually be accepted by his Government in case our consent thereto should be obtained.

1. The English protectorate in the South Sea to embrace the whole of New Guinea (the Dutch part excepted), inclusive of the Louisiades, and of all other islands within twenty or twenty-five nautical miles from the coast. In return for this Great Britain would acknowledge a German protectorate over New Britain,

New Ireland, Duke of York, and other neighbouring islands. The remaining islands of the Pacific not yet having a recognized Government, and more especially Samoa and Tonga, to be neutralized by an international arrangement.

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

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

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

- (vii) "the average capacity of the British vessels trading in Tonga is much smaller than that of the German vessels" 1885.
 [Memorandum of Statistics about German Commercial interests in the Tonga group. 28th April, 1885. Signed K. Krauel. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission, Suva, Fiji.]

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

I. Trading Stations.

In the district of:-

the Tongatapu	Agency 7	with a united capital of £24,000
" Vavau	" 6	" " " " " £11,000
" Haapai	" 11	" " " " " £15,000
" Niuatoputapu	" 1	" " " " " £ 1,000
" Niuafouu	" 1	" " " " " £15,000

26 stations with a capital of £52,000.

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

II. Plantations.

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

III. Trade.

Imports

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

26 German vessels with a tonnage of 4900 tons register were employed in this import trade. In the statistics handed in by Mr Thurston the total imports into Tonga from England or Australian Colonies are valued at £62,000, those from Germany £20,000. It seems that in the sum of £60,000 is included the value of merchandise imported for the account of German firms and traders in Tonga and shipped from Europe via Australia. A great part of the German imports to Tonga is brought in the first instance to Sydney and re-shipped from that Port.

Exports

From the 26 stations enumerated under I there were exported during the year 1883, 3,000 tons of copra, representing a value (in Europe) of £60,000.

This export trade gave employment to ten German vessels.

IV. Shipping.

The total number of German vessels, who visited the islands of the Tonga Group for the account of the "Handels and Hantagen - Gessellschaft", amounted to 16 with a tonnage of 1200 Register tons. In the statistics handed in by Mr Thurston the number of all German vessels entered and cleared in Tonga is given at 17, the number of British vessels at 28. These figures are misleading as the amount of the tonnage is not stated on a reference to which it will be found that the average capacity of the British vessels trading in Tonga is much smaller, than that of the German vessels.

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

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

London 28 April 1885. K. Krauel.

- (viii) "Imperial German Ship 'Olga' shelled a town ..." 1889.
[H.B.M. Consul for Samoa, A de Coetlogon to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, London. Samoa. January 3rd 1889. National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.]

My Lord,

I have to inform your Lordship that from the 29th November last until 17th December last the position as regards the Samoan belligerents remained unchanged. The Tamasese party occupying a fortified position in Loulii and Matiafa's party holding them in check. On the 17th December last however the I.G.S. "Eber" shelled Matiafa's position at Loulii compelling him to retire from the several positions he had gained and fall back on Apia. On the 18th December last a force of about two hundred men from the Imperial G. Ships "Olga" and "Eber" landed, by

night close to the German plantations named Vailele about three miles from Apia where the Germans were reinforced by a number of Tamasese men and labour boys, an attack on some 300 of Matiafa's party immediately followed in which the Germans were defeated with a loss of 18 killed, including one officer and one Petty officer and 36 wounded including 2 officers. I am not certain of the numbers killed and wounded amongst the Tamasese men and labor boys. Matiafa's loss was about 12 killed and 35 wounded. The latter were brought to the Hospital at this Consulate, where, as I have previously had the honour to inform Your Excellency, I have erected tents for the succour of the wounded of both parties. On the 19th December last the I.G. War Ships returned to Apia and Matiafa, in force erected fortifications close to the boundaries of the neutral territory. On the 21st December last I.G. Ship "Olga" shelled a town named Matafa atele, and after the shortest possible notice to the Consuls and Ships of War H.M.S. "Royalist" and U.S.S. "Neptic", so short indeed, that it was quite impossible for either ship to proceed to the scene of action to protect certain properties which were owned by their respective nationalities on this occasion the I.G.S. "Olga" landed men and burnt between 30 and 40 native houses after which she returned to Apia. On the same day at about 5,30 p.m. I.G. Man-of-war Boat cut out a native Boat from the Vaisigani river which runs into Apia Harbour and within neutral territory and which is a spot used by the natives for bathing, the Germans fired 5 shots into this boat happily without fatal result notwithstanding that many women and children were in the water at the time. Capt. Hand R.N., H.M.S. Royalist and Leut, Plumer H.M.S. Royalist were eyewitnesses of this outrage; the unaccountable actions of the I.G. Consul under whose orders are the Commanders of the I.G. War Ships cause great fear and anxiety to British inhabitants and most of the women and children took refuge on board H.M.S. Royalist. On 22nd December last I convened a meeting of the three Consuls and the officers commanding Warships of the three nationalities in Harbor to consider more particularly the agreement existing with regard to the neutral territory of Apia and the safety of the lives and property of Foreigners therein. At this meeting, I, assisted by the U.S. Consul General endeavoured to obtain a guarantee from the I.G. Consul that he would respect the Neutral Territory. A draft of an agreement to be signed by the three consuls was submitted by me to the U.S. Vice Consul General: and to the I.G. Consul which was assented to by the U.S.V. Consul General in its entirety but fell through in consequence of the I.G. Consul declining to recognize the neutral territory as regards the I. German Government. It was the I. German Consul's desire to bind Tamasese and Matiafa to observe neutral territory while reserving to himself the liberty of opening fire and carrying on war either within or with-

out the said neutral territory as he thought best for the interests of the German Firm, also reserving to himself the power of Boarding all row boats and canoes crossing Apia Harbor (also neutral) and actions as he might think fit in regard to their occupants and contents.

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

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BRITAIN EXTENDS PROTECTION

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

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

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

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

- 1st - I still trust to the love and friendly assistance which has ever been given by Her Majesty, the Queen and her Government, to my little land, and I still expect a continuance of such friendly assistance;

but I am truly grieved in it appearing to the Government of Great Britain, that the law which has been made by the Legislative Assembly of my kingdom, should have been done with the intention to cause a collision, or as an attempt to destroy the confidence of Great Britain to me and my kingdom.

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

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

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

Sir,

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

Although I have written so many letters about the Islands to yourself and your predecessors, I have only been allowed to give a very faint outline of what has been going on. ~~But I think you will hardly have failed to perceive,~~ from all I have said, that from the moment Prince Bismarck resolved upon creating German Colonies in the Pacific, international questions of an entirely new kind were sure to arise between England, Germany, and France. All three Powers, indeed, must sooner or later be driven to determine their own course without much regard to the wishes of Australasia. A very few words will show this to be true. So long as only France and England seemed concerned with settling matters in the Pacific, France was ready to make any Conventions about Raiatea, or the New Hebrides, and no other Power interfered: but immediately Germany stepped in with a Colonial policy, the relations of the three Powers altogether changed. While Germany was suddenly establishing herself in New Guinea, seizing New Britain and New Ireland, and advancing a claim to all the Solomon group, she was also extending her power in the Central Pacific by the forced treaty with Samoa. You will no doubt remember a short explanation by Mr Evelyn Ashley, of the negotiations for the delimitation of English and German "spheres of influence"; and these negotiations have in fact been going on ever since. I tried, as you know, to get the proposals communicated to the Colonies, but there were many difficulties in the way while the negotiations were still pending with Germany. Practically,

however, the two Governments are now agreed in essentials, and the arrangement will presently be recorded in an exchange of Notes. But during all this time that England and Germany were settling how to divide the western Pacific between themselves, nothing was being done to make things right with France; and it came at last to this, that presently France would find herself with only New Caledonia and the Loyalties, while everything else was to go either to England or Germany. Now there never was a chance of France being content with that kind of division; and, as I have more than once told the Government, I have long felt sure that it would end in the New Hebrides being assigned to her as a solatium. I am bound to say that I am more sure than ever that this will come to pass.

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

Now the interests of New Zealand and the Australian Continent in regard to the islands of the Pacific are not the same. New Zealand has shown her willingness to give up a great deal for the sake of union with Australia; but this having borne no fruit, the time has come where, if she chooses to revert instead to her traditional policy of uniting herself to the islands of the Central Pacific, she has a chance at last of seeing it done. Plainly, I believe it may be said that she has now the choice before her between getting Samoa, Rapa, and ultimately Fiji, at the cost of seeing the Hebrides pass to France, or continuing to insist

on the Hebrides Convention of 1878, at the cost of losing Rapa and seeing Samoa pass to Germany. For Samoa cannot be had unless New Zealand thinks it worth her while to buy out the German interests there; and this is why I said (in my telegram of yesterday) that so much hangs on her decision. It is now admitted to be a futile idea to counteract the "German-Samoan Council" by "English-Samoan" or "American-Samoan" Councils. Germany is determined not to leave her traders there without protection; and, with many fine phrases about Samoan independence, she will govern Samoa until she takes possession of it in the fulness of time. It is simply a question of whether it is worth our while to exchange positions with her, and become the preponderating nationality. If it is, she is ready to let us have Samoa; and such an exchange happens to be helped, at this moment, by the fact that the owners of German establishments there want to transfer their interests to New Guinea and New Britain. If it is not, and we are content with phrases about "Samoan independence", we must not complain if events are soon too strong for us, and the chance there is today does not return.

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

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

F. D. Bell.

(iii) The Proclamation of Protection.

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

Proclamation.

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

Basil Thomson

H.B.M. Envoy Extraordinary

to H.M. the King of Tonga.

- (iv) Thomson's interpretation of the Proclamation.
 [Thomson Basil to Rev. Egan Moulton. H.M.S. Porpoise, May
 19th 1900. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga,
 Nuku'alofa.]

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

Sir,

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

I have the honour to,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Basil Thomson

H.B.M. Envoy Plenipotentiary.

~~The Rev: Egan Moulton.~~

- (v) "only Tonga still survives"
 [Ko e Tohi Himi 'o e Siasi Uesiliani Tau'ataina 'o Tonga.
 No.391. Hymn written by J.E. Moulton. N.D. - late 19th
 century. English translation by Mele Seini Fifita.]

1. There is a small island in the ocean
 which did not believe in God
 and had no goodness whatsoever
 But, Halleluiah!
 Now, she is blessed.

2. To this island the gospel was brought
 And there came missionaries too
 The message of the Bible
 Was revealed to all
 And converted
 Were the chiefs with their King.

3. Foreign countries rushed to this part of the ocean
And they took to test the people of the islands
And there were many
of the islands that were taken over.
4. Though Tahiti took to religion
This did not save her at all
Fiji did the same
But it did not save her either.
Only Tonga,
Has still survived.
5. These was referred to by the prophesy
Two united olive branches
There should be a government, and there should be a church
In order to make a nation strong.
6. Son of Tonga, stand up and work.
Make use of your good fortune.
Always pray, ask God
To help and be with the Church
And protect
Tupou, the King.

(vi) Tupou II's Speech 1900: Thanks be to Britain for their love.
[The Gazette. The Government Proclamation Letter. Vol.XIV.
H.10. Nuku'alofa, TOGA. 11th July, 1900.]

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

.....
What of the interval between our last meeting and this? There have
been wars and destructive epidemics; together with famine, and various difficul-
ties:- But glory be to Heaven for God's love, that peace is still with Tonga,

and the Chiefs of Tonga are still Chiefs, and the people are still under the flag of Tonga; and thank God it is still the same; Who would expect us to reach this day - but fortunately we are still on Tongan soil, But who would know about the future whether we would face difficulties or good fortune; but all is with God.

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

THE ADDRESS IN REPLY

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

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

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

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

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Items listed under (B) Secondary Sources in this Bibliography have been consulted to provide background historical information and to obtain clues to documents, and contemporary opinions. Extracts and documents reproduced in the collection, however, have only been selected from the items listed under (A) Primary Sources.

The following Bibliographies and Inventories have been a fruitful source of clues to source material:-

1. Dickson, Diane and Dossor, Carol. World Catalogue of Theses on the Pacific Islands. Canberra. 1970.
2. Dictionary Catalogue of Printed Books - Mitchell Library. Tongan items.
3. Preliminary Inventory No.3. Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission.
4. Preliminary Inventory No.4. National Archives of Fiji.
5. Snow, Phillip. Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma. Canberra. 1969.

Detailed references, including Archival catalogue numbers, have been provided where possible to assist students to locate materials for themselves if they wish to follow up, in more detail, documents or extracts quoted in the Collection.

SUMMARY OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES.

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- (i) The Palace Records Office, Nuku'alofa.
- (ii) Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.
- (iii) National Archives of Fiji, Suva.
- (iv) Central Archives of the Western Pacific High Commission.
- (v) Hawaiian State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- (vi) National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.
- (vii) The Library of the General Assembly, Wellington, New Zealand.
- (viii) Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
- (ix) Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
- (x) Australian National Library, Canberra.

2. Published Primary sources.

- (i) Tongan Government Publications.
- (ii) British Government Reports and Miscellaneous publications.
- (iii) Handbills and Pamphlets.
- (iv) Journals and Diaries.
- (v) Modern Translations and editions of Explorers Journals.
- (vi) Contemporary published works.
- (vii) Newspapers and Magazines.
- (viii) Missionary Reports.

B. SECONDARY SOURCES.

1. Theses and unpublished material.
2. Published Secondary Sources.