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David Scott Mitchell.







THE  
SECESSION  
AND  
PERSECUTION  
IN  
TONGA.

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PRICE, SIXPENCE.

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SYDNEY :  
PUBLISHED AT THE WESLEYAN BOOK DEPOT,  
413 GEORGE STREET.

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FOR many months the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and its various Committees, have been deeply concerned to prevent, if possible, such a terrible calamity as the disruption of the Methodist Church in Tonga. With this in view, they persistently refrained from giving publicity to the various communications which were forwarded relative to this painful matter. The secession, however, officially threatened more than four years ago, having become a lamentable reality, the Committee entrusted with the protection of the civil and religious rights of the Methodist people under the jurisdiction of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference was compelled to give publicity to transactions which it was felt would cause heartfelt sorrow to the Methodists of every land. The documents embodying these transactions were accordingly placed in my hands, and in successive numbers of the *Sydney Weekly Advocate* articles appeared briefly narrating what had occurred. In this pamphlet these articles have been condensed, and by request the narrative is continued to the present date, use being made of unpublished letters and papers in possession of the Committee of Privileges and of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference of 1886. The report of the Deputation appointed by the General Conference to visit Tonga is also given, together with the resolutions adopted by the Conference on this painful case.

JABEZ B. WATERHOUSE.

Sydney, February 3rd, 1886.





## CHAPTER I.

### SECESSION THREATENED.

THE Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society which the General Conference of 1878 adopted expressly state that "in the intervals of the sittings of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, the Board of Management shall, with the concurrence of the President, possess the power of recalling any missionary." In the year 1879 circumstances arose which led the Board, out of regard to the interests of our work, to exercise this power, and to recall the Rev. S. W. Baker, who was then Chairman of the Friendly Islands District. The Board further resolved to send a deputation to inquire in Tonga into complaints which had been made seriously affecting Mr. Baker's administration of mission affairs, who were instructed to report upon these complaints to the next Conference. The deputation went to Tonga; and at the Conference of 1880 their report was taken into consideration, Mr. Baker being present, and allowed to offer any explanation of his conduct. By a unanimous vote the ministerial and lay representatives recorded their opinion that the Board of Missions "had sufficient reasons to justify the exercise of its power in recalling the Rev. S. W. Baker." The Ministerial Conference, whose province it is to deliberate on charges affecting the *character* of its ministers, also passed resolutions to the effect that with "reference to his interference with the politics of Tonga, Mr. Baker has gone beyond the bounds permitted to our missionaries,"—and that "in reference to Mr. Baker's conduct as a British subject, he has conducted himself so as possibly to bring about embarrassments between the Missionary Society and the British Government." Other resolutions were adopted, the last one reading as follows, "That Mr. Baker's recall be and is hereby confirmed, and that he have permission to rest for one year and to reside in New Zealand."

The action of the Board of Missions in recalling Mr. Baker and sending the deputation to Tonga, greatly displeased King George. At first he threatened to revoke the leases of our Church lands if the inquiry went on. He refrained, however, from doing this, but sent a letter to the Conference requesting that the Tongan Church should no longer be subject to the Board of Missions, but that it should

be an *independent* District—responsible direct to the Conference, as the Districts in the Colonies were ; and promising that Tonga would then support the European missionaries and other agents without being dependent upon the Missionary Society for any pecuniary help. When this request was laid before the New South Wales Conference, it was agreed that a letter in reply should be sent to the King, pointing out that the request was one which could only be granted by the General Conference—that this Conference would meet in Adelaide in May 1881—and that to prepare for the proper consideration of the subject, it would need to be brought before the next Tongan District Meeting, so that those immediately interested in the measure might express their opinion upon it.

When the deliberations of the Conference on his case were virtually closed, Mr. Baker embraced the opportunity of stating that it would be necessary for him, immediately on his return to New Zealand, to pay a short visit to Tonga, as he had to take back the body of the King's son, who had died at Auckland ; but he assured the Conference that he would strive to calm down the excited feelings which had been aroused in connection with his recall, and that he would do all he could to promote the peace of our Church and the interests of the Missionary Society. This declaration afforded much satisfaction to the members of the Conference.

During the year, information reached the General Secretary of Missions that Mr. Baker was again in Tonga, and, though still a Wesleyan minister, had taken office under the Tongan Government as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Comptroller of Finance. It was further stated that in his speech at the opening of the Parliament, the King had introduced the subject of the Church—mentioned his request to Conference that Tonga might cease to be a mission district and become independent—informed the Parliament that he had received a reply stating that the request would have to be considered by the Great Conference at Adelaide, and added that *he and his family would not contribute anything to the missions* until his request was granted. When the King left the house, Mr. Baker, as the Premier, undertook the business, moved and carried an address in reply, in which the Parliament pledged itself to support the King in the matter of the Church. As Mr. Baker subsequently admitted that in the speech it was declared that the contributions of the King and his family would be withheld from

the missionary meetings, and that he himself had to do with the preparation of the King's address and the reply thereto, this was surely a strange way to fulfil the promise made to the Conference!

The President of the New South Wales Conference felt laid under obligation to take action with reference to the proceedings of Mr. Baker. No satisfactory answer to the the President's letter coming from Mr. Baker, the Board of Missions formulated charges against him, and he was summoned to appear before the Committee of Discipline, to answer these charges. In course of time Mr. Baker replied, disputing the authority of the Committee of Discipline, and declining to come. He appeared, however, at the Conference of 1881, was put on his trial, and condemned on all the counts. A small committee was appointed to deliberate upon and recommend a judgment; but before it brought up its report Mr. Baker was openly asked to resign. He requested time to consider the suggestion, and at length formally sent in his resignation. This was accepted, the record being, "Shirley W. Baker, having accepted office under the Tongan Government, voluntarily retires from our work."

After this case was closed, and while the appointment of the ministers was under consideration, the Conference came to the conclusion that it would greatly conserve our work in Tonga if the Rev. J. E. Moulton was appointed Chairman of the District, and the former Chairman, the Rev. J. B. Watkin, was appointed to a colonial circuit. Mr. Moulton was thereupon appointed to Tongatabu, and was elected Chairman, whilst Mr. Watkin's station was fixed at Shoalhaven, in the colony of New South Wales.

About three months after this the General Conference assembled in Adelaide. When missionary matters were under consideration, inquiry was made relative to the action of the New South Wales Conference in removing Mr. Watkin. The reasons were given, and, after discussion, the General Conference, by vote, proceeded to "the order of the day." The recommendations which the New South Wales Conference had made, in order to carry out the request of King George and the wishes of the Friendly Islands District Meeting, were then submitted, and, after careful consideration, the General Conference resolved "That the recommendations be agreed to, and that from and after 31st December, 1881, the Friendly Islands District be no longer under the Board of Missions, but that it

be a District in connection with the New South Wales and Queensland Conference." It was also directed that a suitable letter should be forwarded to the King, informing him of the pleasure the General Conference had in acceding to what he had requested. The conclusion arrived at, it was thought, would be highly gratifying to his Majesty ; and with this conviction the Conference closed its sittings on May 28th.

On the following morning the President of the General Conference, Rev. Dr. Waugh, had arranged to leave Adelaide early, in the hope of catching the mail steamer for Melbourne, which was hourly expected. During the morning an official telegram was handed to the Rev. J. B. Waterhouse, the Secretary of the Conference, which, as the President had gone away, he was advised to open. It was as follows :—

“ Auckland, December 28th, 1881.

“ To the President-elect

“ Wesleyan Conference, Adelaide.

“ King and chiefs enraged at Watkin's recall. Decided to establish National Church, and get Watkin as first minister. King delayed at my request. President's letter unsatisfactory. No new plan acceptable. This the King's ultimatum :—Tonga to be an independent District like Auckland ; Watkin to be reinstated ; Tonga to be attached to New Zealand. Grant this, peace. Reject, one secession. Don't be deceived. The secession will be universal and popular. Reply paid.

“ SHIRLEY W. BAKER, Premier.”

Mr. Waterhouse immediately proceeded to the railway station, and found Dr. Waugh in the train, which was about to start. On reading the telegram Dr. Waugh said he would reply to it as soon as he could, and would tell Mr. Baker that the telegram came to hand after the General Conference had closed, and would inform him that the recommendations submitted by the New South Wales Conference, grounded upon the request of the King and the Tongan District Meeting, had been agreed to.

On returning home from the General Conference, the Rev. B. Chapman, secretary of missions, found waiting for him letters from the Friendly Islands, stating that the King on hearing of Mr. Watkin's removal was at first much displeased, regarding it as a blow aimed at himself ; but on

hearing Mr. Moulton's explanations, had expressed himself satisfied. When Mr. Baker, however, again visited Tonga the King returned to his former opinion. Mr. Baker then sent off his telegram threatening the General Conference with secession.

The Conference having closed, as already stated, before the telegram arrived, it was impossible for that body to express any opinion upon its contents. The telegram, however, possesses an importance which should not now be lost sight of. It fixes the date on which secession was first officially threatened, namely, May 28th, 1881. Then it commences by setting forth the recall of Mr. Watkin as having so enraged the King and chiefs that the Premier could authoritatively inform the Conference that they had decided to establish a National Church, getting Mr. Watkin as its "first minister." It is true he stated that he had used his influence to secure delay, but this was only to make known to the Conference the King's ultimatum. And what is this ultimatum? One portion of it is, that "Mr. Watkin be reinstated." This evidently means that he should be reinstated in his former position as Chairman of the District. Does it not seem strange that Mr. Baker, who had been a Wesleyan minister for years, is so ignorant of Methodist policy as to be unaware of the fact that the General Conference has no power to remove from office a Chairman elected by the vote of the ministers of his own Conference, and to appoint, without election, another minister to be Chairman of the District? Then, look at the words that precede this demand. Was it that Mr. Baker presumed a great deal, or was it that he possessed in a good degree the confidence of Mr. Watkin, that he dared, in this official manner, to speak of getting Mr. Watkin as the "first minister" of a Church to be established in opposition to the Church of which Mr. Watkin was at this very time a minister?

The other terms of the ultimatum are, that "Tonga be an independent district like Auckland," and that "Tonga be attached to New Zealand." The request which the King had already preferred was that Tonga might be made *independent* (that is, *independent of the support and control of the Board of Missions*), and connected with the New South Wales Conference as Queensland and other Districts were. This the General Conference cheerfully grants. The new demand is that Tonga be made independ-

ent and attached to New Zealand. This portion of the ultimatum, then, is not only that Tonga be made independent of the Board of Missions, but that it be *independent of the discipline and control exercised by the New South Wales Conference*, being henceforth allied to another Conference. It need hardly be pointed out how arbitrary and unjust was this demand. From the formation of the New South Wales Conference Tonga had been associated with it; and yet the General Conference is asked to make a severance without giving the New South Wales Conference an opportunity of considering the question—and this in face of the fact that in the deed by which the leases of our Church property in Tonga are held, the Conference which has the sole power of appointing ministers to the various chapels is the New South Wales and Queensland Conference. Then it was not known that the New Zealand Conference would accept the responsibility of having the Tonga District attached to it; nor had the European ministers in Tonga, or the officers and members of our Church there, been consulted as to their willingness to be transferred to another Conference.

And why is all this demanded? The explanation from the telegram is that the King and chiefs were “enraged” at what the New South Wales Conference had done in reference to Mr. Watkin; but might there not have been some exciting cause of displeasure in another direction? May not the Tongan Premier have also been “enraged” at the action which this same Conference, some four months before, had been compelled to take with relation to himself?\*

The fact that the General Conference was over before the telegram reached Adelaide, it is presumed, led the carrying out of the threatened secession to be deferred. But what was the state of Tonga at this juncture? There is evidence that during Mr. Baker’s absence things were somewhat settling down; for amongst the letters which the Rev. B. Chapman found on his return from the General Conference was one from Mr. Moulton, stating that the King had desired Mr. Watkin to remain until he could write to the President. Mr. Moulton went on to say that, as there

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\* In the London *Methodist Times* of November 26th, 1885, a Mr. Berry publishes extracts from a letter which Mr. Watkin had forwarded to him, giving information as to the causes of the secession. His words are these:—“I may say that the first false step was the recall of Mr. Baker in 1879. It was a most cruel, unjust act; for all that could be brought against Mr. Baker was that he had been assisting the King in carrying on the Government. . . . The next mistake made was my being removed from the Chairmanship in a very unexpected way. This act annoyed the King beyond measure, and had I encouraged his Majesty, secession would have taken place at that time, 1881.”

was a vacancy in the Haabai circuit, and as Mr. Watkin was now willing to go there, he, as Chairman of the District, urgently requested that consent be given to this arrangement, for he thought the concession would allay trouble. The request was strongly supported by the General Secretary of Missions, and on the very day of his getting back to Sydney the President of the New South Wales Conference gave his formal sanction to Mr. Watkin's proceeding to Haabai instead of taking his colonial appointment.

The concession, however, did not accomplish all that was desired. On Mr. Baker's return to Tonga, the Government, of which he was a Premier, proceeded to take possession of the day-schools which the missionaries had established in the towns throughout the group; and the Board of Missions, when informed of it, felt it a duty to pass resolutions which Mr. Moulton was requested to communicate to the King. The policy of the Government assumed an aspect decidedly antagonistic to our Church work; and it is not surprising that the relations became far from friendly between Mr. Baker, as the head of the Government, and Mr. Moulton, as the representative of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and the guardian of its interests in the Friendly Islands District, of which he was the Chairman.

A college was started by the Government, a rival to Tubou College, over which Mr. Moulton had presided for many years with such marked ability, that at a former District Meeting, at which Mr. Baker was present, the following testimony was placed on record: "The success of his labours is manifest from one end of the District to the other in the number of men occupying positions of importance in the Church, who have passed under his tuition." In course of time the Tongan Government notified that no young man would be eligible for a Government situation unless he had received training in the Government college; thus cutting off from employment under the Government all students who, in future, might enter Tubou College and receive their training there.

The missionary meetings were seriously interfered with. Chiefs and others holding appointments under the Government were forbidden to preside, and the contributions checked as far as it could be done. And this, though the Conference of 1876 had sanctioned the request of the Friendly Islands District Meeting that one-half of the amount raised for missions should go into the Tongan Home Mission Fund.

—a fund which was distributed by a committee composed mainly of Tongans. Other instances of opposition to our work might be given were it necessary to do so.

Mr. Moulton himself became the victim of displeasure. He gave huge offence, amongst other things, by translating, at the request and for the use of the British Consul, a petition to the Queen of England, which certain Tongans had prepared, asking for the removal of Mr. Baker from Tonga. At length Mr. Baker preferred against him a long series of charges, which were inquired into at the Tongan District Meeting of 1883. Whilst still in session the King sent to the District Meeting a letter dated Lefuka, October 30th, 1883, and addressed to the Conference in Sydney, in which the King asked for the recall of Mr. Moulton. The Minutes of the District Meeting and the letter of the King came in due course before the Conference of 1884, which body referred them to a large and influential Committee. After a patient consideration of the case, extending over several days, the committee brought up its report, which the Conference adopted. The first finding was as follows:—  
 “That though Mr. Moulton has been somewhat indiscreet in some matters, yet, in our judgment, no sufficient reason has been shown to lead us to doubt Mr. Moulton’s love for King George and for our Church and the people of Tonga, or to require his removal from the land in which he has laboured so long and so well. On the contrary, our opinion of Mr. Moulton’s character and conduct during all these years is unchanged.”

Instead of noticing at length the various particulars on which the Conference had to adjudicate, it may be more satisfactory if we give a copy of the letter which the Conference directed to be sent to King George. It was as follows:—

“Sydney, February 18, 1884.

“To His Majesty, George Tubou.

“Your Majesty,—

“The letter addressed by your Majesty to the Conference, under date of Oct. 30th, 1883, complaining of certain words used by Mr. Moulton to your Majesty as imprecatory, and of certain actions of Mr. Moulton as “fighting against the Tongan Government,” and because of these things asking for the recall of Mr. Moulton, was duly received. All the matters therein referred to were investigated by the Conference with the greatest care and thoroughness, and with the one purpose to do that which was right in the sight of God, so far as that should be made clear to us. The business was entered upon with much anxiety, prosecuted with much prayer, and closed

in the hope that the conclusions arrived at would commend themselves to your Majesty as the judgment of those who desire nothing that is contrary to the welfare of your Majesty and that of the Tongan people.

“The report of our enquiry, which accompanies this letter, will convey to your Majesty our verdict on the charges laid against Mr. Moulton, as also our inability to comply with the request that he should be recalled. Though we have not yet yielded to the wish of your Majesty, we have acted in the case from the conviction that sufficient cause had not been shown to justify such a step on our part; and we would further add that our decision has not been influenced by any pressure from without, either by petition or otherwise. At the same time, we would avail ourselves of this opportunity to assure your Majesty of the high esteem which we have for your Majesty’s character, of the profound interest we cherish in all that touches the prosperity of the cause of God in Tonga, and of our earnest wish that the people over whom your Majesty reigns may grow yet more and more into a united, godly, and prosperous community.

“Nothing that touches injuriously the Tongan Kingdom, either in its temporal or spiritual interest, can be matter of indifference to us. In proof of this, we need only remind your Majesty that for many years we have given unsparingly both men and means to plant the Gospel in the Friendly Islands—that we have sown churches and schools broadcast over the land, which have secured to the people the benefits of education and religion—and that the seal of God’s approval and blessing has been so manifestly upon our labours, that the triumph of the Gospel in Tonga has become a praise throughout the world. Love for your Majesty’s land took us to Tonga, and the same love still keeps us there. Anything that would work harm to the land would by so much cause us hurt, and produce in us the deepest sorrow. We are wounded when Tonga is stricken, and saddened when Tonga is distressed. We would, therefore, assure your Majesty that our heart’s desire and prayer to God is that both the kingdom and the Church of Tonga may prosper and be at peace, and we would pledge ourselves to your Majesty, in conclusion, to do all within our power, through the agencies of our Church, that will contribute to this end.

“Praying for your Majesty, grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ,

“We are, in the unity of the Gospel,

“Your Majesty’s obedient servants.”

This letter was duly forwarded, but it evoked no kindly feeling. The policy which Mr. Baker, as Premier of the Tongan Government, proceeded to adopt towards our Church, will be seen from the perusal of the following letter which the President addressed to the King:—

“Sydney, August 7, 1884.

“To His Majesty George Tubou, King of Tonga,

“Your Majesty,—

“I regret that my position as President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist

Church compels me to approach your Majesty in terms of respectful complaint. But, knowing as I do your Majesty's great love to the work of God in the Friendly Islands for so many years, I trust that you will consider the matter which I have to bring before you in the same spirit of justice and liberality which has characterised your relationship to the Wesleyan Church of the past.

"I have been officially informed by the Rev. J. E. Moulton, the Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, that the heads of towns in your kingdom have been ordered to take possession of the plantation-grounds of our head teachers on the first of July, now past. I deem it right to inform your Majesty, that, on receiving this information, confirmed as it was by letters from the Rev. Mr. Crosby, I convened a meeting of a committee appointed by the recent Conference to attend to matters affecting the Friendly Islands District, to which the attention of the Conference had been given, but which it was felt might require further attention during the current year. This committee, after carefully considering the information to which I have already referred, unanimously advised that I, as President of the Conference, should write your Majesty, and respectfully protest against the seizure of these lands.

"I do, therefore, thus solemnly protest.

"I would request your Majesty's attention to the following facts :—

"1. That these allotments of land were originally granted for the use of the head teachers in connection with the Wesleyan Church, who are engaged in Church work for the exclusive benefit of your Majesty's subjects in Tonga.

"2. That although it has been stated that no formal leases have been obtained for them in accordance with recent legislation in your Majesty's kingdom, yet the Wesleyan Church in Tonga has held possession of these plantation lands for a long series of years, in some cases dating back to the time when Christianity was embraced by the chiefs and people of the respective towns and villages, and uninterruptedly to the present.

"3. That the head teachers, whose subsistence largely depends upon these lands, are the recognised agents or officers of our Church, and next to native ministers.

"4. That, as recognised officers of our Church, the taxes imposed on Tongan subjects have been paid for them by the Church in consideration of their many and onerous services.

"5. Therefore for these, as well as for other considerations which might be urged, the seizure of the plantation-lands referred to is, in the judgment of this Committee, unjust, and opposed to the Constitution.

"6. I would further remind your Majesty that when the General Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church acceded, in the year 1881, to your Majesty's request that Tonga should be constituted an independent District, it was distinctly affirmed by your Majesty that if this concession were made, you and your people would support the work of the Church as heretofore.

"7. It should also be remembered that the services of the head teachers have been, and are still, exclusively rendered under our appointment and direction, to the good of your Majesty's people, and to advance the best interests of Tonga; and that they (the teachers) as itinerant-pastors, in places more or less distant from their own

homes, have willingly accepted such appointments in a spirit of self-sacrifice, which entitles them to honourable support, for, as St. Paul says, "The labourer is worthy of his hire," 1 Tim. v. 18. I cannot, therefore, but regard the taking away of these lands as being contrary both to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the kingdom of Tonga, and to the promises and agreements of past years, and for myself, as advised by and for the Committee, and as the representative of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, respectfully protest against this action, and I would fain hope that on further and fuller consideration your Majesty will revoke the decree, and as far as possible avert the disastrous results which would, in my opinion, certainly follow its execution.

"In order that your Majesty may know distinctly my own and the Committee's views and feelings in the words and sentences we have used, I have requested two members of the Committee, who have been missionaries in Tonga, to make a correct translation of, and which is to accompany, this letter.

"Praying that your Majesty may continue to be the object of God's protecting and guiding Providence,

"I have the honour to be,  
 "Your Majesty's sincere Friend, &c.,  
 "JOSEPH H. FLETCHER,  
 "President, &c."

No answer was received to this document.



## CHAPTER II.

### SECESSION CARRIED OUT.

The General Conference assembled in Christchurch, New Zealand, in November, 1884. During its sittings a communication was received from King George having reference to the Tongan Church. After careful deliberation, the Conference resolved that a Deputation consisting of the Rev. John Watsford of Melbourne, the Rev. F. Langham of Fiji, and the Rev. W. T. Rabone of New South Wales—three ministers personally known to the King—should visit the Friendly Islands, and interview the King and the European and native ministers, with a view to the recommendation of such measures as would, in the judgment of the Deputation, put an end to the divisions which interfered with the work of our Church there. The opinions of the various Quarterly meetings, and of the next District Meeting, were, as far as practicable, to be ascertained as to the King's request that Tonga might be separated from the New South Wales and Queensland Conference and attached to the New Zealand Conference. Should the Deputation deem it advisable to recommend that the Tongan District be transferred to the New Zealand Conference, and that Conference concurred in it, provision was made for giving effect to the recommendation. No time was fixed for the departure of the Deputation, but September of the following year was regarded as a suitable period for leaving, inasmuch as they could then be present at the District Meeting. The General Conference closed its sittings on Tuesday evening, November 25th, 1884.

Under date of January 10th, 1885, Mr. Moulton wrote, giving some startling information. Having to attend the Quarterly meeting of the Haabai circuit, he sailed for that island, which he reached on Tuesday, January 6th. He found that on the preceding day, taking advantage of some little local unpleasantness, a movement was made to commence the setting up of a separate Church. It was announced as being the wish of the King. Papers were sent round, asking the people whether they loved the King, and if so, to join his religion. Some holding official positions were threatened with loss of salary if they did not join.

The result was a considerable number of names was secured, and, acting upon the advice of Mr. Baker, the Premier, the petition in favour of the movement was sent through him to the King, who resided at Vavau. Hearing that the King did not approve of what was being done, Mr. Moulton left Haabai, thinking the project would be a failure. In this, however, he was mistaken. A day or two afterwards the Premier joined the King at Vavau, Mr. Watkin was sent for, and on Wednesday, January 14th, 1885, a meeting was held, and the decision formally agreed upon to establish the Free Church of Tonga, with Mr. Watkin as its first minister. This took place only seven weeks after the General Conference had closed; and when the King and Premier were aware that the Conference had appointed a Deputation to visit the Friendly Islands, who were armed with authority to recommend whatever measures they judged would "end" the unhappy state of affairs that had been complained of. On the following day Mr. Watkin penned a letter to the President of the New South Wales Conference tendering his resignation.

Vavau is the northern group of the Friendly Islands, and has for some time been the residence of King George. The Rev. J. B. Watkin was the superintendent of this circuit. When, therefore, the Vavau people were assembled together, and told by the King that he had now determined to establish the Free Church of Tonga, it is not surprising that the native ministers and the people at large followed the example of the King, the Premier, and their own minister, and nominally gave in their adherence to the new Church.

Haabai is the central group. The superintendent minister of this circuit was absent at this time, having obtained permission to visit the colonies in order to obtain medical advice. On the return of the Premier to Haabai, information was given of what had taken place at Vavau, and, as will hereafter be seen, successful action was taken to win over a large number of the people.

The Tongatabu circuit embraces the islands in the southern part of the group. Nukualofa is the head of the circuit, and here resided the Rev. J. E. Moulton, the Chairman of the District, and the Rev. E. E. Crosby. Tubou College is also built here.

In detailing the sad story of the secession we commence with extracts from communications sent by the Rev. J. E. Moulton.

The first is dated Nukualofa, February 3rd, 1885; in it he says,—“It is notorious that Mr. Baker has long been preparing for a secession, and that a church has been building on the King’s premises which would not be under the control of the Conference. While I was absent at the General Conference he tried to commence it at the island of Eua, but without success, only some half-dozen attending; but at the beginning of this year he took advantage of some discontent that prevailed at the principal church of Haabai—a discontent arising from the resentment of a number of trustees who had been outvoted on a question—and resolved to try again. This time he was more successful; a goodly number attended the services. Government officers were immediately sent out to write down the names of those who were willing to join. All sorts of stratagems were resorted to in order to win over the people. The general form in which the question was put was, ‘Do you love the King?’ Of course the answer was in the affirmative. Sometimes it was, ‘Do you love the King or Mr. Moulton best?’ or, ‘Will you be in the free Church or the enslaved Church? Are you willing that the Church money should go to Sydney or stay in Tonga?’ In this way many names were put down for the new Church, although the individuals had no wish to leave us. Nor was this all. One of our local preachers states that when the question was put to him he answered that he would remain in the Church he was to the end of his life. The officer immediately said, ‘Then you wish to fight against the King?’ The man replied, ‘I don’t wish to fight against the King, but I wish to keep to my own Church.’ The officer went away, and shortly afterwards a summons was served upon him for having said he wished to fight the King. It is true, he was acquitted; but it is such a terrible thing to be arraigned on a charge like that, that the bare possibility of it is sufficient to deter the people from speaking their minds. Nor were all the threats as harmless as this. One of our most devoted local preachers, who refused to join, has been tried for saying that the land belonged to Jehovah as well as the King; and has been sentenced to two years’ labour and banishment. It has been announced that any Government official who declares himself a Wesleyan will be dismissed; and this has been uniformly acted upon. Three heads of towns in Haabai, who nobly refused to change their lotu, have been dismissed, and several more in Tonga;

How many I have not yet ascertained. Caleb Valu, one of the Judges, when the question was put to him, answered that he loved his King and country, and prized his office and name, but he could not give up the Church of his father. He was immediately dismissed. These dismissals are harder to bear inasmuch as they lose all their arrears of pay, a most iniquitous custom which has lately been introduced. Money and place are as dear to the Tongans as to any people; but I am told that numbers yesterday took most joyfully 'the spoiling of their goods.' Some have lost their lands; and one chief and his people were threatened with severe measures, told that they would be 'salted and fried' if they did not turn; a phrase which would only provoke a smile with us, but, as every old missionary knows, is fraught with a terrible import to Tongans. What makes it harder for this chief to bear is the recollection that when King George was forsaken by all, his island clung to him, and fought for him, and it was by their help that he regained his power. As the chief pathetically exclaimed: 'My forefathers died of exposure and wounds in sailing about to establish this Church, and I am not going to forsake it now.' It must be remembered that all this is directly contrary to the Constitution, which accords perfect freedom in religious matters; and it also is an infringement of the treaty with Great Britain, as Roman Catholics, who are looked upon as under the protection of France, suffer no disabilities on account of their religion. Some, doubtless, will be disposed to sympathise with the secession as being a movement in favour of a national Church; but the high-handed way in which it has been carried out alters the case altogether. We cannot retreat in the face of intimidation and persecution, nor can we forsake those who have given up so much for us. So I have told the people that I shall stay on and make the best of it. A goodly number still stand in Haabai. The majority of the people of Tongatabu are with us, including most of the King's own family. The only town that has turned over did so under the threat of expulsion if they refused."

The second letter is dated Nukualofa, February 10th, 1885:—"The persecution of the Wesleyan Church in these islands still continues. The Premier is using every effort to make the people join the new Church, but with very partial success. At the present time the great majority of Tongatabu are with us; and their continuing in connection with the Conference has already cost them much. One

feature of these doings, which is a clear infraction of both Treaty and Constitution, is the dismissal of every Government officer who declares himself a Wesleyan. Mr. Crosby and myself attended the great meeting at which the King's letter was read. Immediately after the Premier had ceased speaking, the Minister of Police called the Mayors and town officers forward, and asked them individually whether they would join the new Church. Some of the old Tongan missionaries will remember Job Afu. He is the chief of a town now, and was one of the first called upon, I am told. It was a serious thing for him to lose his position ; but he did not waver, and was summarily degraded. Several others followed his example, and at the present time something like twenty heads of towns have been reduced to the ranks. Many of them, too, have lost considerable sums of money. It is the custom of this Government not to pay the arrears of salary to any one who for some reason or other ceases to be an official. One case is very hard ; he is owed four years' salary, and now he will lose it all simply for his attachment to a Church which until a few weeks ago was the Church of the King and nearly the whole land. But this is mild compared with other measures of intimidation. The people have been told that they will lose 'half their lands,' 'all their lands,' 'houses and lands ;' that they will be 'banished,' 'hung,' have 'their noses slit,' &c. And yet Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin are never weary of calling it the 'Free Church.' Many of those who have become nominally members of it have visited us with tears in their eyes, and bewailed the sad necessity which caused them to turn over. They were in mortal fear of losing lands, or what not. We are quite certain that the hearts of hundreds are still with us, and they would hail with delight any relaxation of the screw which would enable them to return to us. 'The best of all is, God is with us.' Numbers of the wild young men have had their hearts touched, and have joined the society ; not a few have got truly converted. One brave fellow got up in a fellowship meeting the other day, and said that 'his grandfather (a great chief here) had cast him off, and his parents had deserted him, because he would not forsake the old Church ; they had taken away his clothing, and even his bed. But his mind was made up that the 'lotu,' should be his all in all—his parents, his clothes, and his couch. What he could not understand was, that while he was a wild young fellow, and giving his

parents trouble, they did not do anything, but now he had turned, and was trying to lead a godly live, they had cast him off. I am sure the Conference and Church in the colonies will reciprocate the attachment of these people, and give us their sympathies and prayers. As I write, information has come to the effect that the King's messengers have just visited one of the highest chiefs here to get his final answer to take back to King George. His noble reply was : 'The King can do as he likes with my body, but my religion is my own ; I shall not change.' He said to one who called upon him immediately after : 'I wonder why the chiefs are so afraid of losing their titles ? Supposing they take mine away, will it keep me out of heaven, or, indeed, out of earth either ?' This is rather too literal a translation, but its meaning will be understood, I think."

The clause of the Constitution referred to in the preceding communications as guaranteeing religious toleration, translated into English, is as follows : "All are at perfect liberty to worship and serve God as they wish, and as conscience dictates, and to assemble for worship in the places appointed. But it shall not be lawful to use this liberty to do what is wicked and abominable, or to count as religion what does not harmonise with the law and peace of the land." The 37th clause reads as follows : "On this Constitution becoming the law, his Majesty shall on a fixed day take this oath, as also all who follow him on the throne, 'I swear before God to keep inviolate the Constitution of Tonga, and to rule in accordance with its laws.'" The 74th clause reads thus : "The ministers shall take this oath, 'I swear this before God. I will truly obey his Majesty King George Tubou, the rightful King of Tonga, and will keep perfect and inviolate the Constitution of the Kingdom of Tonga, and discharge my office to the best of my powers for the good of the King and this kingdom."

The Constitution of Tonga was first given by his Majesty in 1875. It was subsequently corrected by the Parliament, and finally agreed to by his Majesty's Cabinet and Privy Council, and approved by his Majesty, October 23rd, 1882. Scarcely two years and a-half had now elapsed since the Premier took the prescribed oath.

Mr. Crosby was the Wesleyan minister at Nukualofa, and under date of February 3rd, 1885, he wrote describing the setting up of the Independent Church of Tonga so far as it concerns Tongatabu.

At a meeting of Government officials held on January 27th, an announcement was made to the following effect:—"It is the will of the King that all State officials join the new Church, and whoever declines to do so must resign, and seek his pay elsewhere." At the time of this decree six months' pay was owing; and whoever refused to join the King's Church lost all the arrears of his salary. On the following Monday, Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin went to Kolovai to try and win over that western part of Tonga. Desirous of hearing for himself, Mr. Crosby attended the meeting, prepared to take down any remarkable observation. Mr. Baker, however, was mild in his language, and Mr. Watkin was silent. There was no attempt at voting, and the meeting was far from being a success. The next day a great meeting was held at Nukualofa; Mr. Watkin did not attend, and again, pencil in hand, Mr. Crosby took his stand opposite to Mr. Baker, but found nothing serious to record. Whenever either of our ministers were present at one of these gatherings, Mr. Baker abstained from using any strong language. He himself gives prominence to his avoidance of anything like threats; for when seeking to defend his conduct, in a letter addressed to Mr. Moulton which was written less than a fortnight from this date, and which Mr. Baker subsequently published, he says, "You are well aware of the nature of the order and command of his Majesty to the chiefs. You were present when the King's letter was read, and Mr. Crosby was at Hihifo and Mua, and no one can say there was any intimidation in what I said, for the proclamation of the King ran thus: 'If you have any love for me, join at once the Wesleyan Free Church of Tonga, and set it up in your respective towns.' There is no threatening in that language, and no order but this has been given to the chiefs. I have not issued any other, neither has the Government issued any other order." From details, however, which will be furnished hereafter, it will be seen that when any declined to accede to the King's wish that they should join the new Church, the subordinate officers of the Government regarded this refusal as disobedience to the King, and on this ground, in many instances, severely punished the people. At this early stage of the movement, the deposition of Mayors had been complained of. In his published letter of February 14th, 1885, Mr. Baker thus seeks to justify what had been done: "Who can say they were put down because they belonged to the Wesleyan

Church? No; because they supported you (Mr. Moulton), and also on account of their inability to perform the command of his Majesty, and set up the Free Church in their towns; for, of course, you would forbid them doing that, and, if they were still in the Wesleyan Church, how could they set up the Free Church in their towns? And, as requested by his Majesty, is it wrong then to remove them and fill their positions by others who can so act? Besides, only a very few have been suspended on account of their unwillingness to comply with the request of his Majesty and establish the Free Church in their towns. And is it not optional with his Majesty as to who shall hold positions in his Government? Besides, several of the Mayors were only *pro. tem.*, not having been officially appointed."

Comment on these words, written with Mr. Baker's own hand, is unnecessary. But the narrative shall now be resumed by Mr. Moulton. In his next communication he says: "Most important events have taken place since I last wrote (February 10th.) At that time Tongatabu was standing firm in its adherence to the Conference, and God had poured out His Spirit upon irreligious young men and women, who joined us in such numbers that the loss of old adherents was scarcely felt, at least in our principal places. Mr. Baker tried his best by public meetings (called 'fono's') and private interviews to get the people to turn over; but his success was small. The Crown Prince, Wellington, thereupon ordered the people of the capital to assemble, and made a 'fono' or official address to them, urging them to turn over to the new Church. His speech was of such a nature that our minister who attended came away in very low spirits, and told me that it would be a wonder if we had any adherents left. The Prince, in conclusion, assured them that as he had taken the matter in hand he meant to go through with it; and should hold meetings all over Tonga.

"He was not, however, suffered to carry out his threat. The very next week, while conversing with Mr. Baker, he fell down as if dead. The doctor was called in, but said at once that nothing could be done; *he was dead.*

"It is not the place here to dwell upon my feelings with regard to Wellington's decease. He was my pupil, and for many years a personal friend, whom not even Mr. Baker could altogether estrange; and the very morning he died I was preparing a letter assuring him that the old feelings of friendship remained.

“ Being detained by calms and contrary winds, I was too late for the funeral ; but Mr. Crosby, my colleague, who had been visiting Vavau, managed to get to Uiha in time. All sorts of indignities were put upon our people. They were barely allowed to be present at the funeral. One of them, the King’s own grandson, was turned out of the procession by Mr. Baker. Our chiefs and people were also expelled from the Kava ring. The old missionaries will know what that means.”

Mr. Crosby felt it his duty to write to the Premier on this subject. He therefore addressed to him the following letter :—“ Uiha, 20th March, 1885. Dear Sir,—There is no need to say with what pain I heard a crier proclaiming that the Wesleyans were not to share in showing respect to the memory of their Prince. That *he* would have approved such an act I do not believe. As for the order that the Wesleyans are not to stir abroad except at night, and the again sending them away from the *fai-Kava*, these things show the spirit that actuates the Free Church, and will, with the exclusion from the funeral, stamp it as a persecuting Church, will discredit its rulers, and will show how intensely the Free Church herself feels the difference between it and the Wesleyans. I therefore appeal to you as Premier to save the Government of Tonga from the disgrace it must fall into should these orders be suffered to stand.”

Our sole knowledge of this letter having been written is derived from its being found among the correspondence which Mr. Baker himself has seen fit to print. From the same source we gather other information. Thus, under date of March 21st, Mr. Crosby addressed the following letter to the Premier :—“ Dear Sir,—As I passed our church in Uiha this morning, I noticed preparations being made evidently for services to be held there tomorrow in connection with the Independent Church. Such a complete ignoring of our rights I strongly protest against. On a former visit the key was refused me when making application for it, and the church has been used regularly, I believe, for the services of the Independent Church. On making a second application yesterday for the key, the steward said Malabo had it, and refused to get it from him, though I can hold him responsible for it. At this time of grief I should wish to be the very last to create any unpleasantness and ill-feeling. I am prepared to yield a great deal rather than disgrace ourselves and others by paltry quarrels ; but this is a most important

matter. During our stay here you have had no reason to complain of the conduct of the Wesleyans, though they have been treated with marked disfavour; but my object is not to indulge in retaliation, and I shall be only too glad to come to an amicable arrangement, though we had intended to hold services ourselves in the church. It is for you, as Premier, to show your respect for law and right by interfering in this matter, and thus prevent future difficulties. May I request an early reply, that the affair may be settled as speedily as possible."

This letter clearly shows willingness on the part of Mr. Crosby to come to "an amicable arrangement" with the Premier as to the use of our church on the following Sabbath; but this did not accord with the will of the Premier; the church must be authoritatively taken possession of.

The Premier's reply is as follows:—"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day, and, under the present painful circumstances, must decline to attend to any business whatever. I have the honour to inform you that his majesty has commanded, in order to prevent any disturbance to-morrow (the Sabbath) at the religious services, that those who wish to attend the Tonga Wesleyan Free Church will worship at Uiha, and those who wish to attend the Wesleyan Church in connection with the Sydney Conference will worship in Felemea."

From this same source we give one more letter, and the reply to it. Under date of 22rd March, Mr. Crosby again addresses the Premier, and says, "Dear Sir,—Your letter of Saturday stated as follows:—'I have the honour to inform you that his Majesty has commanded, in order to prevent any disturbance to-morrow (the Sabbath) at the religious services, that those who wish to attend the Tongan Wesleyan Free Church will worship at Uiha, and those who wish to attend the Wesleyan Church in connection with the Sydney Conference will worship at Felemea.' Yet, strange to say, there was preaching at Felemea both morning and afternoon in connection with the Free Church. His Majesty's command will require considerable qualification and extension before it sanctions these services. I would also request your immediate attention to the many infringements and usurpations of our rights that are taking place in this very island; not to speak of other places in Haabai and Vavau. *Uiha*.—The keeping possession of the Wesleyan

church, and the using it for the Independent church. The preaching and speaking in it by Mr. Watkin and others connected with the Independent Church. The refusing to give me the key. *Felemea*.—The carrying the bell off and using it for the Independent Church. One of our men was forbidden only yesterday to use it. The refusing to give me the key and Bible of the church when I asked for them yesterday. Such illegal acts, taking place in your very presence, and with your knowledge of them, can but be an incentive to similar deeds throughout Tonga.”

The Premier's reply to this communication was as follows:—“Dear Sir,—In reply to your letter of 23rd inst., referring to a letter of mine of Saturday, containing the following statement:—‘I have the honour to inform you that his Majesty has commanded, in order to prevent any disturbances to-morrow (the Sabbath) at the religious services, that those who wish to attend the Tongan Wesleyan Free Church will worship at Uiha, and those who wish to attend the Wesleyan Church in connection with the Sydney Conference will worship at Felemea, and notwithstanding the same, that preaching was held at Felemea, both morning and afternoon, in connection with the Wesleyan Free Church; on enquiry I find:—(1.) The command was duly issued as stated in my letter, and all the visitors attending the Prince's funeral in connection with the Free Church attended the services at Uiha. (2.) The members of the Wesleyan Free Church living at Felemea duly received the fanogonogo, and, with their chief Soakai, were coming on Sabbath morning to Uiha to attend service, when they were met by the native minister who had previously been appointed to preach at Felemea, and who told them that the arrangement applied to visitors attending the Prince's funeral, and not to residents on the island, and so they returned with him to their own village. I am not aware on whose authority the native minister made such a statement, but I have reported the matter to the Rev. J. B. Watkin. With regard to your remark that many infringements and usurpations of your rights are taking place in this very island, I would respectfully reply that, if you consider your rights have been infringed or usurped, that there are law courts established in Tonga for the purpose of taking cognisance of such complaints, and I must therefore refer you to the same.”

In this summary manner did the Premier dismiss Mr. Crosby's complaints. Before this painful narrative is closed,

it will be seen how true was Mr. Crosby's remark, that the "illegal acts taking place in Mr. Baker's very presence," and with "his knowledge of them," would be "an incentive to similar deeds throughout Tonga;" whilst it will also be seen how futile were Mr. Crosby's efforts to secure redress in the Tongan law courts.

We now return to Mr. Moulton's letter of March 28. Referring to what took place in connection with the Prince's funeral, he remarks:—"Still our people stood out nobly. When told to withdraw from their rightful position in the ring they responded cheerfully."

He then goes on to say, "Our principal chief, Vaea, was most severely tried. The King sent for him, and recounted the devotion of his ancestors to previous kings, and reproached him with his refusal to join the new Church. Vaea answered that his life and property were at his Majesty's disposal, but his religion was his own and God's, and he should not give it up. Deputation after deputation was sent to him. They wept before him, they stormed, cajoled, threatened to take away his rank; but all to no purpose. His skilled seamen were commanded to desert his vessel, so that he might be in difficulties; but nothing could shake him.

"I have already told you how the King's own daughter, Charlotte, was turned out of the palace by Mr. Baker himself, so that Mr. Watkin might occupy it. Every effort was made to induce her to turn; but last Sunday morning she came up with a smiling face to accompany me to the service at the end of the island. All our adherents of note were there (except those in Tonga). Besides Vaea, we had seven of the King's family, all chiefs of the highest rank. On the Monday I left for Tonga, Mr. Crosby staying to look after the people, and our properties which had been violently taken away. On the Tuesday the King held a large 'fono,' at which Mr. Crosby was present. The importance of this 'fono' cannot be overrated, and is the main reason for my sending these hurried lines. After stating that it was quite true that he had shaken hands with me the previous day out of pure 'politeness,' the King proceeded to order the people to join the new Church, adding that he would give them to the last week in May, and then all who still adhered to us would *have to seek another country*. 'Fiji,' he said, was the nearest.' That in that month every vessel in Vavau and Haabai would be filled with people to go on with him.

to Tonga. 'And,' said he, significantly, 'if I say there shall be mischief, there will be mischief.' (Kabau teu behe ke kovi, e kovi.) This is the report I have heard, and the main facts are confirmed by Mr. Crosby." Writing to Mr. Moulton on the very day this "terrible *fono*" was held, Mr. Crosby supplies further particulars of what the King said. The vote of love to Mr. Moulton passed by the Tongan Quarterly meeting he called "rebellion." He spoke of a doctor's amputating diseased limbs, and said it would have to be done to those who would not be loyal to the State; in other words the Wesleyans were to be banished. The King used notes. Commenting on this, Mr. Moulton remarks: "Mr. Crosby says the King used notes, so we are not left in darkness as to the author of the policy. These notes were brought on by Mr. Baker to Tongatabu; and yesterday the King's orders were officially promulgated. The arrangements were cleverly made. On arriving here Mr. Baker learnt that our Quarterly meeting was to be held next morning. Orders were immediately sent out to hold a 'fono' at daybreak, his idea being to strike terror into the hearts of our local preachers, and so prevent them from putting in an appearance. By the good hand of God upon us he was defeated in this. Two hundred and fifty preachers answered to their names, and the absence of one hundred more was satisfactorily accounted for; our membership figured at one thousand five hundred (not counting Niuas, which is part of the circuit); our money was sufficient to pay allowances and expenses; and in spite of the terrible threats they had just listened to, our people rejoiced 'with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' The announcements at the two Nukualofa 'fono's' were terrible indeed. They were clearly told by the King's representatives that all who still continued in our Church after May would be banished; and they were assured that the King meant what he said. 'You talk about the Constitution and Laws,' said one of the officials, 'Bah! they are like this,' (stretching out his hand, palm upwards); 'if we chiefs choose to do like this' (turning the palm downwards) 'what is to prevent us?' Thus throwing overboard all their oaths and solemn promises to uphold the Constitution.

"At the west end of the town a most affecting scene took place. The chief ordered all who were resolved to hold to the old Church to get up and sit separate. One aged woman immediately arose, with her family, and walked over to the

allotted place. Her eldest daughter, who had been compelled by her husband to join the new Church, burst into tears and cried aloud. 'What do you cry for?' said her brother from our side; 'I am only sorry that this is not the crisis. Had the order been for those who belonged to the Wesleyans to stand up to be shot, I should jump up as lightly as I do now.' Many followed, most of them women, the men being principally Government employees. The chief seemed filled with anger as he saw that band of feeble women braving the power of the King, and threatened them most fearfully that if they did not 'turn over' he would have them flogged! He promulgated the same command and threat that had been announced at the other meeting, with the important addition that the King was coming in person to *break up our college* and send the students to their homes!

"I need not point out how these announcements alter the whole aspect of the case. So long as there was any chance of constitutional rule, we were willing to put up with persecutions and other disagreeables, but now that we have been plainly told that we are to be put down by the strong hand, it behoves us to consider what course of action we ought to pursue. It is futile to think of an appeal to the King; he is entirely in Mr. Baker's hands, and Mr. Baker's determination is plain.

"The great fear of the people is lest I should get faint-hearted and leave them; but I have assured them that they have nothing to fear on that score. What! leave these brave women and men who are willing to risk their all for their religion? Never! Nor do I believe there is one in your Committee would urge it. Our people are behaving splendidly, both in firmness and self-control; but I am constantly afraid of an outburst. As I write, one of our ministers has come to say that he has heard that orders have been sent from Nukualofa to take violent possession of our church at Maofaga to-morrow. I can scarcely credit it; for both Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin are here, and surely they must know the certain result of such a step as that. But, as the Government has led the way by taking possession of the one at Uiha, in spite of Mr. Crosby's protest, it is not impossible; though, as we have a large congregation at Maofaga, it would be a more glaring act of spoliation. I have sent word to the Minister of Police, but have little hopes of any notice being taken. I gave him notice the other

day that a raid was going to be made upon the plantation of one of our ministers, but he took no steps to prevent it; nuts were taken away to a large amount, and, when remonstrated with, he laughed. Mr. Crosby is trying the Tongan law courts with six cases by way of experiment; but it is not likely the judges will pass a sentence which would condemn the King himself.

"I cannot speak too strongly in praise of my young colleague. I despatched him to Vavau to look after our property there, and to enquire into the sentiments of the people. The energy and tact he has displayed have filled me with admiration, and also with gratitude to God for sending me such a helper. He tells me that he was most kindly received everywhere; the hearts of very many are with us, and they are only watching for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. Two towns actually applied to have Wesleyan services again, but he, very wisely I think, advised them to wait awhile. His report is that but for the defection of Mr. Watkin a great portion of Vavau would have remained with us.

"I have also received a letter from the Niuas, the fourth group of the Friendly Islands. The ministers there are standing firm, and the majority of the people. We have still a faithful band in Haabai; and in Tonga, as I said just now, we have over three hundred local preachers and fifteen hundred members (not including Niuas). Many hundreds in all four places, though they have left us through fear, have not joined the other church, and are only waiting an opportunity to return. As I write this, one of our ministers has come to report that in one of the islands numbers of the people returned to us as soon as the Government vessel left."



## CHAPTER III.

### INTIMIDATION AT THE "FONOS."

The remarks of King George, when addressing the chiefs and people at Uiha, have already been stated. Immediately afterwards "fono's" were held all over the land. Mr. Moulton remarks, a "fono" is an official meeting for proclaiming orders. It is akin to a Government sermon or service. The word has no exact equivalent in English. When Government would make known to their people what is the will of the King, a "fono" is held. At some of the "fono's" held in the different towns, the presiding officials urged the people to join at once the Free Church by telling them what the King had threatened if they did not turn over; a large armed force would come, there was not a rotten boat but would be repaired to carry over his men. At other meetings the Government representatives doubtless went beyond their instructions; and, assured that no law would be brought to bear against them whatever they might say or do, proceeded to utter threats and inflict punishment of a most violent character. The name uniformly applied to the Wesleyan Church was the *fakaogo* Church—a reproachful term indicating that it was a Church "subordinate," "waiting for an answer from elsewhere" "not free." From the evidence contained in sworn affidavits, we select extracts showing what took place at different "fono's." We commence with that at Nukualofa, the chief town of Tongatabu. One present says: "On Friday, the 27th of March, I attended a 'fono,' or enforced meeting, held by the Minister of Finance and the Mayor of Nukualofa. A man, named Juliasi Afu, was instructed to get up and read a paper. The paper was read, and it gave an account of certain words which had been made use of by King George of Tonga at a 'fono' held recently at Uiha. Amongst other things the meeting was informed that King George had said that the members of the *Jiaji fakaogo*, or 'Wesleyan' Church, might have two months to please themselves whether they would join the Free Church or leave his dominions; that they might go to any country they pleased if they desired to remain Wesleyans, but must not stay in Tonga; that they were free to go to Britain, but that at the end of May he intended to visit Tonga and would take all the Haabai and Vavau men with him. Not a rotten boat

should be left behind. After the paper had been read the Minister of Finance and the Mayor of Nukualofa informed the people that they were instructed to tell the people that the Haabaians and Vavauans would certainly come if they did not join the Free Church, and a great deal of intimidatory language was used."

Another person, speaking of a "fono" held the following day at another town, gives this testimony:—"——said it is not my proper work to give you a 'fono,' but I come by command. I will you the 'fono' of the King which he gave in Haabai. There shall no more be a *fakaogo* Church, (a name of reproach they give the Wesleyans) in Tonga, the kingdom of Tubou. There shall be only two Churches in Tonga, the kingdom of Tubou, namely the Free Church and the Catholic. He said also, the King has ordered that Haabai should provide the rifles and Vavau the needle guns. Another order of the King's is, there shall not be even a rotten boat in Haabai and Vavau which shall not be repaired to come to Tonga."

With reference to a "fono" held at another town, one present says: "—— frightened the people by saying, you who are still Wesleyans are rebellious, and fighting against the King, and you wish to hand over Tonga to foreigners. He said also that not even a rotten vessel would be left behind in Haabai and Vavau. And what are they coming for? Directly against you, to castigate you who are still *Jiaji fakaogo*. But do you turn over before the evil comes. For Tubou will come with the people of the other two lands and bend your necks and make you bow down. Are you pleased with the prospect? Turn over before the evil comes. He also said we should be expelled. . . . No other religion will be allowed in this part of Tubou's land."

At the "fono" in another town, this violent language was used: "You who belong to the *fakaogo* Church, turn over to-day. If not, your noses will be slit, your houses burnt, your plantations torn up, and yourselves beaten and banished. And you go at once—. Don't stop here any longer; and don't you talk to me about the law, for no matter how bad things are that we say, you won't be able to prosecute us."

"Under such circumstances," Mr. Moulton goes on to say, "it would not have been surprising if there had been a general stampede of our adherents. This, however, has not been the case. It is true our worship has ceased in a few

villages, but the people have sent me word that they have not joined the new Church, but are too terrified to hold service. There is little doubt that, as soon as the pressure is removed, hundreds, if not thousands, will return to us. At one town our principal Wesleyan, on declaring his intention to remain in our Church, was seized by two policemen and led off the place. The next man, after proclaiming himself a Wesleyan, took to flight. The remainder, terrified by the threats of the chief, did not venture to declare themselves, and yet, when I complain to Mr. Baker of the prohibition of our worship at that town, I am cynically told that there is not a Wesleyan left. Like the Romans, he 'makes a desert, and calls it peace.'

When the Government made use of our church at Uiha, and kept possession of it in the face of Mr. Crosby's protest, it will be remembered that he wrote to the Premier telling him that such illegal acts taking place in his very presence would act as an incentive to similar deeds throughout Tonga. And so they did. The following Sabbath ten churches were seized in Haabai alone. The same thing occurred elsewhere, and led to correspondence, parts of which we supply. On March 29th, Mr. Moulton wrote as follows: "I have to inform you that Lajike has taken possession of our church in Ahau, and prevented our people from worshipping there, and has announced that after to-morrow the Wesleyans will not be allowed to conduct a service in that town. As the responsible head of the Government, I appeal to you to take instant measures to reverse his proceedings, and protect our prosperity and rights." Mr. Baker at once replied, saying he would send on the morrow for Lajike, and after seeing him would write further on the matter. On the morrow Mr. Moulton had again to write to the Premier. His letter was as follows: "I have ascertained that the church where I am going to preach to-morrow morning, Haakame, has been nailed up by the Bule; so I must ask you to send an officer with me to open the doors. P.S.—The majority of the people at Haakame worship with us." Mr. Baker promptly replied, but it was as follows: "In reply, I have to inform you that my functions are simply administrative and not judicial, and I must, as I informed Mr. Crosby in reference to the Uiha church, again say, if you consider your rights have been infringed, that there are laws courts established in Tonga for the purpose of taking cognisance of such complaints, and I must, therefore, refer you to the same."

As if regarding themselves at liberty to enforce the King's command in any way they pleased, some of the representatives of the Government not only seized our churches and handed them over to the new Church, but actually prohibited our worship in their towns. The case of one of our preachers, who, on going to his appointment at a place called Haakame, was forcibly led away, and not allowed to hold service at all in the village, was also brought, at this time, under the notice of the Premier, but he referred Mr. Moulton for an answer to the reply he had previously given.

The next day Mr. Moulton received Mr. Baker's reply to his first complaint. It is as follows: "In answer to your letter of the 29th inst., informing me that Lajike had taken possession of your church at Ahau, according to promise I have sent for Lajike, and he informs me that he claims the church at Ahau as belonging to himself and people, insomuch as he and his people built it, and have paid for everything in connection with the same, and that neither you nor the mission had, in any way, anything to do with it; and that not only so, but he took possession of it with the permission of your teacher, who was then there. And, as to his not allowing the Wesleyans to hold a service in his town, he states that there is not a Wesleyan remaining still belonging to Ahau; that the only person who is still a Wesleyan is a visitor from an adjoining town.

"I have, therefore, in reply, to say that with regard to the Church, it being a dispute as to the ownership of certain property, I must refer you to the Tongan law courts, as stated in my previous correspondence, for them to decide the same. But, as to his interfering with the performance of worship in Ahau, I have instructed the Minister of Police to inform him the Government will not in any way sanction or permit any interference with the performance of worship, and any person guilty of so doing will, on conviction, be punished according to law, and that all Tongan subjects are free to perform their worship as they deem fit, in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences. I have also instructed the Minister of Police to issue the same orders to both the chiefs of Buke and Haakame."

With reference to what is contained in this letter, we learn from Mr. Moulton's communications:—

1. That the land on which the church at Ahau stands is secured to the Wesleyan Conference in accordance with the provisions of the Model Deed, which, some years before,

Mr. Baker had been chiefly instrumental in getting King George to sign.

2. Respecting the part the chief took in its erection, it appears the chief had been away while the church was building, and, having joined the new Church, suddenly comes into the town and prohibits any Wesleyan holding service in the church, at the same time seizing it for his own worship.

3. Instead of Lajike and his people having "paid for everything in connection with the same," a large sum was advanced by Mr. Moulton on behalf of the church, and is still owing.

4. The people whom he turned out and obliged to worship in a private house were the majority of the people in the town, and those who had taken the greatest share in building the church.

5. Instead of "not a Wesleyan remaining still belonging to Ahau," there were then, and at the date of our last advices there still were, a number of Wesleyans belonging to Ahau.

6. That portion of the letter will be read with pleasure in which Mr. Baker states that he had instructed the Minister of Police to inform Lajike and two other chiefs that the Government will not in any way sanction or permit any interference with the performance of worship, and any person guilty of doing so will, on conviction, be punished according to law, and that all Tongan subjects are free to perform their worship as they deem fit in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences. But the misfortune is, the part of the Constitution to which Mr. Baker refers was virtually a *dead letter*. The Premier contents himself with instructing the Minister of Police to make known to Lajike what is the law of the land, and in a subsequent letter speaks of this as "a sufficient reproof for any chief." Subsequently, acts of violence and instances of undoubted persecution occurred, of which Mr. Baker admitted he had been informed, and yet no circular was issued condemnatory of such proceedings, and no Government official was punished for a single act. When, however, Mr. Moulton printed a short circular informing the oppressed Wesleyans of Tonga of the deliverance of the Premier, that the Government of Tonga would not allow any man or woman to be illtreated on account of their religion—that all the Tongan people could follow their religion according to their consciences—and if prevented by

any one they will be judged—this, forsooth, is brought forward in support of the charge that Mr. Moulton's conduct was "tending to incite the people to sedition!"

7. As to Lajike's remark that "there was only one Wesleyan left, and he a visitor," Mr. Baker stated, in a subsequent letter, that he found on inquiry that "he was sent to his own town, to Kolovai;" and "it certainly would have been better for Lajike to have applied to the Minister of Police for the man to be removed to his own town, in order to prevent a breach of the peace, instead of taking the law into his own hands." What, however, has Mr. Moulton to say? He writes as follows: "As to the man who was removed from Ahau, he had resided there all his life—at any rate for very many years. So far from doing anything to produce a breach of the peace, he had not spoken a word except in reply to Lajike's question as to whether he would turn over to the new Church, when he said he should remain in the Church in which he had been brought up. Even when violently shoved along by the policeman as if he had been a felon, he did not resist, though it cost him an effort to restrain himself, being of a very high family, and renowned for his strength and skill in manly exercises. He says that for a moment he felt as if he must fell the policeman, and then he felt something in his heart that said, *Bear it for Christ's sake!* It is an assumption that this man had 'gone to the town to create disturbances;' in reality he was an old resident, and there was no disturbance at all except on the part of the Government who had turned them out of the church.

"As to the efficacy of the reproof, the best comment upon that is, that a week or two afterwards this identical chief turned all the Wesleyans out of Ahau, to the number of thirty or forty, and drove them down to Nukualofa. Nor has he been punished in any way, but sits on the judge's bench as usual!"

## CHAPTER IV.

### PERSECUTION REPORTED BY THE DEPUTATION.

Intelligence of the action of Mr. Baker and the King in setting up a "Free Church" reached Sydney in the middle of the month of February. The Committee of Privileges was immediately convened, who, after a careful perusal of the correspondence, advised that communications should be opened through the President of the General Conference, with the view of hastening the departure to Tonga of the Deputation, which the General Conference three months before had appointed. This was done. The Committee at the same time deemed it prudent to advise that none of the letters should be printed at that juncture, lest their publication should hamper the Deputation in their efforts to obtain a peaceful settlement of all matters in dispute. In New South Wales deference was paid to this suggestion, and it would have been well had a dignified silence been observed elsewhere. In another colony a letter was published giving expression to the writer's own views—views which were of a very pronounced character. On its reaching Tonga, early in April, the letter was used by Mr. Baker in a manner which the writer never contemplated. Translated inaccurately, and so giving a forced and erroneous meaning to some of the words, the letter, *as representing outside opinion*, was printed in Tonguese and dispersed far and wide, "causing," as Mr. Moulton states, "a night of agony to hundreds." They had risked everything, believing the Wesleyan Church would stand by its faithful adherents; and now it was represented the Conference would certainly desert them. The further use made of this letter, and the erroneous twist given to one of its paragraphs, may be gathered from an official letter which the Premier wrote under date of April 7th. In it he says, "The Tongan Government are in hopes that the New South Wales Conference will be induced quietly to withdraw from Tonga, handing over to the Church of Tonga the ministers' residences which they now have, trusting to the liberality of the King and the adherents of the Tonga Church to give what compensation they may be able to afford. The Tongan Government cannot for a moment suppose that the Methodist Church at large will consent to hold the undignified position

as that of a Church comprised of political opponents to His Majesty, rebels, and roughs, for such would be the position which it would hold if it continues to remain in Tonga." We need scarcely add that when the writer of the letter found the turn given to his remark, "that we can, if we choose, maintain a Wesleyan Methodist Church in Tonga; and if we do so, we shall doubtless have a number of adherents, for there has always been a party in the Friendly Islands politically opposed to King George," he expressed himself "very sorry" that he wrote as he did; still, the letter supplied Mr. Baker with a weapon which he effectively used to the "agony of hundreds."

In compliance with the request to hasten their departure to Tonga, the Revs. John Watsford and W. T. Rabone left Sydney on April 10th, and were joined in Fiji by the Rev. F. Langham. Thence they proceeded to Tonga, where they arrived on Friday, May 1st. The report which they drew up was presented to the New South Wales and Queensland Conference which met in January, 1886. The document having been published in the Minutes for this year, we are able to print it in a subsequent part of this pamphlet, and must request our readers to turn to the pages where it is given. We will now only refer to some of the cases of persecution into which the Deputation carefully inquired. The evidence forwarded is lengthy but very convincing.

We preface our remarks, however, by giving extracts from a letter sent to a member of the Deputation, which shows the workings and reasonings of the native mind. The writer says:

"A new thing has been created by Mr. Baker,—a new worship, a new Church. The Church now created is carried on by force, and is a terrible thing in its way. For this is the manner of it:—

"1. A great meeting is formed to explain therein the origin of this new Church—namely, the money—none of which was to be taken to white man's land, but should remain in Tonga, and all used there.

"2. The people are frightened to turn them from the Wesleyan Church to the Church now formed. And this is the style of making to fear. (1.) If a chief have a position in the Government, and will not turn from the Wesleyan Church to this one, he is to be deposed from his office. (2.) If either chief or commoner refuse to turn to this Church, his land shall be taken, and he himself shall be taken to an

empty island. (3.) It is forbidden to speak about this Church. If any speak of it, or speak otherwise than good thereof, he is to be punished, and punished severely.

"3. This over, the chiefs of towns gather their villagers together to speak to them, and turn them over.

"4. Then certain chiefs and scribes are sent to interrogate the people individually, 'Do you love Tubou or Moulton?' 'Whom will you worship with? Tubou or Mr. Moulton?' This sort of thing is going on in the land, and fearful is the doing of it, and its severity. I will now explain the things that are being carried on. The chiefs are deposed from their positions in the State when they do not turn to this new thing. At this, nothing further is done but they are informed more will be done. As this thing goes on, it becomes very serious. Officers are sent, and adherents of the new Church, to go into every house in all the villages, and every night to listen to what is said, whether anything be spoken of unfavourably of the new Church; and if any instance is found, punishment follows. The speaker is taken to the Court, and heavily fined. Many have, therefore, gone over (to the Free Church) because of persecution, for they were liable to heavy punishment for anything done or said.

"The question, 'Do you love Tubou or Mr. Moulton?' is replied to in this fashion by the people, 'We love Tubou.' 'With whom will you worship? With Tubou or with Mr. Moulton?' The reply is, 'With Tubou.' It is our habit to obey our chiefs in all things. If our chiefs tell us to do a thing, and it is quite clear to us that it is wrong, we must nevertheless do it. So in this matter. Numbers have gone over through fear alone; their bodies have gone over, their souls are with our Church. Numbers have gone in tears to the newly-created Church. Oh! it is a painful thing that I have now met with in my life. I cannot endure to see the religious people going against their wills to that Church. It is also an unfortunate thing that Mr. Baker has tempted with a bait some of the native ministers; their minds fall in with what has been held out to them. But there is a matter I rejoice in,—that numbers wish to die in our Church, and they undertake to endure all the hardships and pain of this thing. We are in evil plight. We are very miserable. I am like Esther, 'If I perish, I perish.' I shall not leave the Wesleyan Church. . . . By God's help I will follow this out!"

This feeling letter speaks for itself.

The following are instances of the manner in which the persecution is carried on:—A number of chiefs holding appointments under the Government have been deposed from their office, and its emoluments, solely because they refused to abandon the Wesleyan Church and join the Free Church. They were called up one by one, some twelve or thirteen in number, and asked by Mr. Baker whether they were determined to adhere to the Wesleyan Church. On replying Yes, they were told that they were deposed, and others would be appointed in their stead. Mr. Baker, on being asked by Messrs. Watsford and Langham, admitted to them that it was correct; he had acted according to the King's orders. Job was one of those thus dealt with. Another chief whom Mr. Baker deposed was Caleb, a magistrate. David Laatukefu was also dismissed from his office as policeman.

The case of the Wesleyans of two towns, Folaha and Nukuhitulu, who were expelled from their homes, deserves to be specially mentioned. The "fono" which the chief, Lavaka by name, held at Folaha lasted, it appears, some seven hours, commencing about eight o'clock in the morning and concluding about three. According to the evidence, those who professed themselves Wesleyans were bidden to pack up their effects and be off at once, or they would be thrown into the sea. Calling the people up one by one, Lavaka said, "Where will you worship?" When the answer was "I shall be of the Free Church," he would say, "You go into the shade." If the answer was, "I shall be Wesleyan," he would say, "Off with you and sit in the sun." Afterwards, addressing the latter, he told them to be off to Mr. Moulton, for he was their king. "But such as are Free Church," he went on to say, "you may stop here, for Tubou is your king." Appealing again to the Wesleyans, he cried, "Hasten to go, will you? for we shall not leave here until you have all gone. Go and obey Mr. Moulton. Take everything away and leave your houses for me to do what I like with. Perhaps I shall burn them." He ordered the Bea people to go and see that the things were carried down, and also said they should not have their tax lands, or their food. The tax lands, it appears, are the lands given to pay taxes from.

A proclamation made by this same chief is thus described by one who heard it:—Lavaka said, "What we are doing

now will be done all over Tonga ; and the last stroke will be at the College, a thing that has long been settled, for the King's fleet is coming to break up the College ; not even a rotten boat will be left behind. The Haabai students will be taken to Haabai, the Vavauans will be taken to Vavau, Hihifo to Hihifo, &c. And now, what Tubou and I have done, if it ends well, well ; and if ill, let it be so."

One present at the "fono" which this same chief held at Nukuhitulu says, "Lavaka exclaimed, 'Who of you will do the will of the King? Speak! I have driven away the Folaha people, so declare your minds. Whoever wishes to be of the Fakaogo Church, say so. Also the Free Church, speak.' Then spoke the man Joshua Afu, 'I shall be a Wesleyan,' and a great many said the same. They were ordered to lift their hands ; they did so, and Lavaka said, threateningly, 'Very well, we'll see by-and-by. Wait until the "fono" is over, and we will turn to and thrash you.' With that the 'fono' concluded, and he said, 'This is what we will do. Off with you at once, all of you, and carry away all your effects. Go to Mr. Moulton and live there. Leave this land of the King's to be possessed by those who do his will. Go at once, for we shall not leave till you are all gone.'"

The people thus driven from Folaha made their way at once to the minister's residence at Nukualofa. Mr. Moulton writes : "I was out visiting a sick person when the news came that a crowd of men, women, and children had come to my house, carrying their scanty bedding, and saying that they had been banished from their homes and told to come to me, because they would not give up their religion." Mr. Moulton immediately wrote, informing the Premier of the treatment these persons were receiving on account of their being Wesleyans, when the Minister of Police was instructed to find out whether it was true, and if so, to take them back to their own town. As the fugitives were worn out with fasting, with sitting many hours in the sun, and then having a long walk to Nukualofa, Mr. Moulton supplied their wants. After resting on Mr. Moulton's premises that night, they were taken back the next morning to their homes. In a letter which Mr. Baker wrote four days afterwards, he says, "It is strange that though some were told by their own chiefs to take no heed of Lavaka's command, but to remain in their homes, yet they went to Mr. Moulton. This certainly looks like something else than expatriation,

and that there are wheels within wheels." What it was which Mr. Baker saw, we cannot say. To us, the case is clear as day. The chief said he was acting by the King's orders. He bade these poor Wesleyans not to turn to the right or left, but go straight to Mr. Moulton's house. He told them he should wait with his people until they had gone, and that if they did not go they would be thrown into the sea. They obeyed their chief; and when the facts were brought under the Premier's notice, all the punishment the chief received was the information through the Minister of Police, that "the Government would not sanction the ill-treatment of any man on account of his religion!" Where are the "wheels within wheels" which Mr. Baker discerns?

Threats of personal violence were of frequent occurrence. In one place, the principal chief intimidated those belonging to the Wesleyan Church by telling them that if it were in the old days he would hack them to pieces with an axe and play ball with their heads. His language was so violent that the people all went over. "But," says the narrator, "the weeping is terrible which the men and women made through the compulsion—being carried unwillingly to the religion. All wept, both small and great. . . . The thing is very grievous; so very, very many wish to be Wesleyans, but that religion is driven away, and on that account they are turning over. They still join us in heart, some chiefs and many people. I am certain that were it allowed for both religions to stand in this land, there would not be a single person in the new Church."

In other places, threats of a less violent character were not only uttered, but were carried out. Flogging was even resorted to. If we needed independent testimony, we might refer to the columns of the *New Zealand Freeman's Journal*, where its Tongan correspondent adduces cases to give significance to his thrice repeated but ironical words printed in capitals, "*Protestants never persecute!*" But we forbear quoting from such sources, the information supplied by our authorised representatives being ample and conclusive.

Other instances of persecution were those of adherents of our Church who had been banished to uninhabited islands. When at Haabai, Mr. Crosby heard that some women at Nomuka had been banished on account of their religion and taken to an uninhabited island. He investigated the matter at once, and found there were seven women who had been thus banished.

The Deputation learnt that at another town, Haano, three young unmarried women, who were Wesleyans, were sent for by the chief, who told them if they turned to the Free Church they could stay there, but if not, they would be banished. According to their testimony a letter was read to this effect, "I, King George, write to you, David Havea, to take the women who worship with the Wesleyans to Kao, and Filimore is to take them." Addressing one of them, the chief said, "Will you turn or not?" Vakasili replied, "I will go to Kao." He put the same question to the second, and Susannah replied, "I'll go." He asked the third, a school girl, and her answer was, "I'll go too." This took place on the Saturday, and the chief ordered they should leave on Monday. The King's brother, who resides four miles from Haano, sent word to the women to walk down to his town, and he would take them over himself. They were ready to start when Susannah's friends tied her up, and beat her till she agreed to give up her lotu. She was then allowed to remain. On Tuesday the other two were taken over to Kao, which is an uninhabited isle, composed of a mass of jagged rocks rising almost perpendicular from the sea; the principal peak towering to the height of 5000 feet. Landing at all times is exceedingly difficult, but is impracticable when the sea is rough, as any boat approaching near is almost certain to be dashed on the rocks. On this occasion the boat was compelled to keep a considerable distance from the rocks, but heedless of the danger to their lives, the King's brother ordered the young women to jump into the sea and swim to the shore. Seeing how perilous it was thus to attempt to reach the steep, surf-beaten rocks, the resolution to brave the consequences of steadfastness gave way, and they expressed a willingness to turn to the new Church. On doing this, they were brought back to their own town. Had they plunged into the foaming billows and been drowned, what, think you, would have been heaven's verdict on the case? And who is prepared to condemn these poor girls, if at last fears for their life gained the ascendancy? In a moment of weakness Cranmer recanted. Under similar circumstances how should *we* have acted? As to Susannah, who, when beaten, had said she would turn, the application of the lash did not extinguish her attachment for the Church of her choice. Love for the lotu led her to venture again to the native minister's house whilst service was being held; but she was

not suffered to remain there long, for her mother, entering, seized her by the hair and dragged her out! How sad there should be on the part of a mother such an exhibition of a return to the vindictive passions of heathenism!

Shortly afterwards the Wesleyans of another town, Lofaga, were threatened with banishment to this same Kao. Kao, as we have already remarked, is uninhabited. It has a few cocoanut trees upon it, but no proper food can be had there, as there is no level ground for cultivation. Water is scarce except on the summit of the mountain, where there is a depression containing a quantity of rain water. Under date of May 3rd, our native minister wrote, informing Mr. Moulton that on the previous Tuesday a number of Wesleyans had been banished from Lofaga and taken to Kao. He had gone with them to the island, but had returned in order to accompany others who were to be deported the next day. He further stated that Paul Vi brought a letter, which he read. It professed to be from the King, and it ordered "Fanua, Setelo, and all who were still Wesleyans to turn; if they did not, they should be put on board at once and taken to Kao, to a part called Tobuefio, to that place only; they were not to go to any other part, if they did they should be punished."

Describing what occurred, the writer says, "When asked, Setelo answered 'I shall not turn,' and I replied thus, and all the Wesleyans. In the 'fono' the people of the new lotu were commanded to sit away from the Wesleyans. The number of Wesleyans was seventy-three men and women, not counting the children; but when they were banishing them some got frightened and turned over. Still, there are a great number who are sailing with us to Kao. We are quite at home there; but the best of all is, no talking about our lotu and our liberty. We are left at liberty to do our work for our souls."

From subsequent communications we learn that about one hundred persons were banished from Lofaga to Kao, in virtue of the King's order. One of the highest chiefs, however, wrote to the King on behalf of the exiles, and the King sent back orders that the people were all to be restored again, which was done.

Another matter which claimed the attention of the Deputation, was the forcible possession taken of our churches. According to their report, all our churches in Vavau have been taken possession of, and are now used by the new

Church. This Mr. Baker admitted. Possession had also been taken of all the churches, excepting one, in Haabai. This Mr. Baker also admitted. Several churches in Tongatabu have also been seized ; not those churches only in places where we have now no followers, but others where we still have members and adherents. In some cases our teachers have not been allowed to enter the buildings, and in others they have been forcibly put out.

It may be remembered that when Mr. Crosby complained to Mr. Baker of the infringement of our rights in the taking and keeping possession of our churches at Uiha and Felema, the Premier referred him to the law courts established in Tonga for the purpose of taking cognisance of such complaints. He, therefore, sent for the chief of the police in Haabai, whose business it was to issue summonses, and asked when he could grant him some. He replied that Mr. Baker had told him he was to have nothing to do with it. In answer to the question, "Is it not your duty to give me these summonses?" he said it was his work, but he must go by Mr. Baker's instructions. Mr. Crosby then asked, "Who is to give me them?" He replied, he thought it was Moale Finau. When asked where this man was to be found, the answer was, he was going to Tonga.

As this interference on the part of Mr. Baker with the ordinary working of the law courts—although he declared he had no judicial functions—was placing an inseparable barrier in his way, Mr. Crosby went to Mr. Baker and asked the meaning of all this. Mr. Baker acknowledged the truth of what the chief of the police had told Mr. Crosby, but sought to explain it by saying that he understood Mr. Crosby wished to prosecute a chief for using a church our ownership of which was disputed by that chief—that, therefore, it would be a civil, not criminal action, and he, therefore, referred him to Moale, whom he called the clerk of that court. Mr. Crosby replied that all he required was liberty to use the courts, civil or criminal, should he wish it. After telling him that in case of criminal action he could get the summons from the chief of the police, Mr. Baker went on board his vessel without giving any fresh instructions to that official, who again refused the summons to an Englishman whom Mr. Crosby employed to represent him. The attempt to bring the cases before the court thus proved a complete failure.

The attention of our readers has already been drawn to the fact that Mr. Moulton failed to obtain any redress from the Premier when he brought under his notice the seizure of our church at Ahau, and the nailing up the door of the church at Haakame by the Bule, or ruler. In the latter case, Mr. Moulton wrote: "It is not the action of a mere individual Tongan that I complain of, but of the Government representative in that town, who has forcibly expelled our preacher, excluded our congregation from our church, and fastened the doors." Mr. Baker replied, saying: "I need not remark that you are as fully aware as I am that, though the Bule Kolo in that town is a Government representative in Government matters, yet he holds no Government position with regard to the lotu, and the action he has taken is not as Bule Kolo (a representative of the Government), but as a private individual, and he claims the church as belonging to him and others, seeing he and they built it, and have defrayed all expenses in connection therewith. Whereas you, on your part, and the mission, have not spent any money on it or paid for building it, or for anything in connection therewith. Whether it is his or yours is, therefore, a matter of dispute, and, as I have already stated in my previous letters, I must refer you to the Tongan courts to settle such disputes."

This church at Haakame, like that at Ahau, was secured to us by lease; and instead of being built, as Mr. Baker asserted, without any money being spent on it by Mr. Moulton or the Mission, it, like the other church, was heavily in debt, the money having been advanced by the Mission. Failing to obtain any redress from the head of the Tongan Government—assured it was useless to expect a Tongan court to issue an order that would virtually condemn the King and Premier for what they had done at Uiha—remembering Mr. Crosby's inability to get even summonses issued because the officer had been told by Mr. Baker to have nothing to do with them—and feeling his responsibility to protect the property which the Conference held in trust for the Wesleyan Church—Mr. Moulton deemed the only course left was to appeal to H. B. M. Acting-Consul for the protection of our rights as guaranteed by the treaty between Tonga and Great Britain. He, therefore, wrote, informing him of the seizure of churches under the direction of the Wesleyan Conference in Sydney, and secured to them by lease.

With the view of checking, if possible, the violent proceedings which were now going on in almost every direction, Mr. Moulton also made an appeal to the Minister of Police, and under date of April 10th received his reply, which was as follows:—"I received your letter, and it is true it is my office as Minister of Police to prevent disturbance in the land. But the thing you have reported to me for prevention is difficult to me, for I have no grounds for action, for it is a dispute and not an act of violence. For the chiefs say they are their own churches that they have laid hands upon, for they built them, and I know it is true that they built them, but I do not know how they were built. They say there was no money paid for them by the ministers, and so when you tell me to prevent their taking them by force, it is as if you said they were yours. So I inform you that you had better have the things tried first in the courts, and when it is clear to whom the churches belong, then I shall have power to act. For, although the Premier has tried to prevent it, is it not still going on? It is also my mind that they should not lay hands upon anything until the matter has been judged; but the chiefs say, let the Government stand on one side, for it is their own affair; and, therefore, until it has been tried, this sort of thing is sure to go on. And this is my answer also to your letter of April 3rd, 1885." Where, but to the Consul, could Mr. Moulton reasonably look for redress?

With regard to the *extent* of the secession, the Deputation stated that all Vavau had turned to the new Church, nearly all of Haabai, and more than half of Tongatabu. In this last island they computed there were between two and three thousand remaining with our Church.

And what is said respecting the *near future*? In their report are these words:—"Mr. Baker informed us—and this is the general expectation—that King George will now soon arrive in Tonga, with all his people from Vavau and Haabai, armed; and then, referring to our people, he said, "Some will be hanged, and others banished."

## CHAPTER V.

### CONTINUED PERSECUTION. THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH.

We now give extracts from letters written after the return of the Deputation.

Under date of May 14th, Mr. Moulton writes: "Since the Deputation left the prosecution has continued, in spite of Mr. Baker's promise that no Tongan should be ill-treated in consequence of his religion. It is true that Mr. Baker, on application, prevented one church from being taken away, and also sent back some of our people who had been banished; but it is evident that his officials have had no positive orders to abstain from acts of persecution, and they are well aware that, do what they may, they will not be punished.

"The last two days I have spent in visiting the towns at the back of the island, preaching and holding trustee meetings. I was deeply touched with the steadfastness of our people, and their resolve to be true unto death. I ended my visit at the principal town of the district, Mua. The chief there, one of the highest in the land, frightened by the rumours of the King's intended descent with an armed force upon the towns where there were still Wesleyans remaining, had resolved to compel his people to turn over. In order to give his words effect, he caused to be beaten in the most brutal manner one of our people, on the pretext that his demeanour was not respectful. They tell me he received ninety-eight (98) lashes, and I can believe it, for he presented a frightful appearance when I visited him a few hours after. During the flogging he was asked if he would turn over, but he refused. The chief then sent for our principal people, and told them that all who should come to our service next morning would be banished.

"I shall not soon forget that morning. I had heard during the night that some of our prominent men had given way, and scarcely expected to see half-a-dozen at the preaching, especially as we had heard that the Government had sent orders to another larger town called Vaini, that all Wesleyans were to be taken to a barren rock about thirty miles from land. To my surprise, however, on entering the church I found a full week-day congregation, not less than

one hundred adults being present. I had the greatest difficulty in getting through the service; the thought of the night of agony these poor people had passed, and the recollection that their presence involved the giving up of what a Tongan holds dearest, quite overpowered me. But by-and-by power from on high came down upon us, and it was long before we could conclude the service. Two or three might be heard praying at once, and shouts of 'praise the Lord!' filled the place. No one would have thought them a people about to be banished; there were no more downcast looks, but a cheerful readiness to go there and then.

"On my way down I called at Vaini, and found that the men had been directed to return, as no order for their banishment had been issued; but no one has been punished for making the announcement. To the honour of our people be it said that only one flinched, while forty of them packed up at once and prepared to go into banishment.

"Half-an-hour ago, one of our ministers from the western side of the island came to say that all the Wesleyans at the principal town had been ordered away by the chief, who said he had received his orders from Mr. Watkin on the previous Sunday. There can be no doubt that Mr. Watkin did take a message from Mr. Baker to the effect that he was to do his utmost to make the people turn over, and the chief says he has tried every plan he can think of, and there is nothing left but this—banishment. I sent Mr. Crosby with the man to Mr. Baker, and he has promised to stop it; but what we complain of is that he does not once for all prevent it by a circular to his subordinates. It is impossible to avoid the feeling that he stirs up with one hand what he puts down with the other.

"As I write, some eighty or so exiles are having rest and refreshment on my premises. They are from the town I mentioned above. The chief, it seems, got Mr. Baker's message to the effect that he was not to expel the people, but took no notice of it, as he had received a message from Mr. Baker, through Mr. Watkin, on the previous Sunday, to do his utmost to make the people turn. I have written to Mr. Baker, and he seems to support the chief. So much for his promise to stop persecution. The chief has vowed to expel the Wesleyans of three other towns; but I hope they will refuse to go without force being used, that we may see what the intentions of the Government really are.

“Still I have good hope of a satisfactory settlement of our affair. All we ask is, cessation of the persecution, restoration of our churches, and freedom of worship. That we should have to ask for it, seems an anachronism ; that we should have a difficulty in getting it, seems absurd. But so it is. Mr. Baker’s officers are going all over Tonga now, telling the people that the King has determined that the Wesleyan religion shall not exist in his dominions. And this immediately after his promises to the Deputation.

“If the people only hold out, and maintain the peaceful demeanour they have hitherto shown, our victory is certain. I am amazed at their patience. It is true I am incessant in my efforts to repress all vindictive and rebellious feelings, but a greater power than my words must be at work to effect this. It is rather hard, after all these efforts of mine, to find it stated in the Auckland papers, by ‘Our own correspondent,’ that the Consul has called my attention to certain ‘seditious’ pamphlets, and informed me that I shall be held responsible for the consequences of their circulation, &c. I need scarcely say there is not a word of truth in this. The Pro-Consul himself indignantly denies it, and called upon Mr. Baker to ask from whom the report emanated. Mr. Baker repudiated all knowledge of it. Meanwhile, of course, the effect has been produced.”

Mr. Crosby writes, under date of June 15th, 1885 :—  
 “You will be pained to learn that persecution is as rife as ever ; that the speeches of the Government officials are as extravagantly threatening as ever ; and that the churches so lawlessly taken from us, and used even by the Premier and by Mr. Watkin, are still kept from us. On the other hand, you will be pleased to hear that the people are displaying heroic patience. When the story of this year in Tonga goes forth to the world Wesleyan Methodism will have no reason to be ashamed of many of her Tongan converts ; they have shown a quiet firmness that is simply splendid. There are not a few who will bear comparison with the martyrs and the best Christians that the world has known. While in the case of some there may be mixed motives for thus enduring all that unrestrained and angry chiefs could do to them, yet with many the stand is made ‘for the right.’ There is no need to expose the glaring inconsistencies in the Free Church leaders and teaching ; they dare not say to the people, ‘You are free to do right.’ There would hardly be a member in the Church to-morrow

if this afternoon assurance was given to the people that they were really free to listen to conscience.

“That Mr. Baker is the prime mover in the abominable ‘fono’s’ that are held, the following incident will show. On Sunday, June 7th, a high chief went up to his town of Nukunuku to hold one of these official town assemblies. He held it on the Monday, and told the people that it was no wish of his thus to keep on at them. But Mr. Baker had sent to him three times, and Mr. Watkin once on the Sunday—the very day he got back from Niua—and so he had been forced into coming. He confessed to being afraid to do any more of that kind of work. He had put down his town ruler because he was a Wesleyan, and the new one he put up died within a week or two after; and now his son was very ill, possibly dying. He did not like these things, but what was he to do when Mr. Baker told him to do it?

“On the Tuesday afternoon the chief returned to Nukualofa, and Mr. Baker immediately sent him to go and hold another ‘fono’ next day at the same place, because the people had not turned over. The chief pleaded illness, and has not yet obeyed that command.

“Another chief, named Halaholo—whom you have already heard of as being very cruel and threatening to his people, the inhabitants of Eua—has had his people over at an island to build a house for the king. Mr. Baker knows all about the man’s brutal nature, and yet gave him leave to have the island to himself and his people, and issued an order forbidding anyone to go there. We are not surprised to hear rumours of thrashing, &c. ; and on Saturday evening, June 13th, the Consul having at a moment’s notice got the written permission of Mr. Baker, he and Mr. Moulton went over in the dark, and found what they had heard was too true. Three men had been thrashed, and others were to be. Halaholo said straight out it was because of their being Wesleyans. Thus was he carrying out his threat that he could and should do what he liked with them, and which Mr. Baker says that he dare not do. As regards the not daring to banish the people, I need only say there are one hundred people now residing in Nukualofa, and whom Mr. Baker knows have been banished!

“Haabai just now is quiet—our people have shown themselves to be determined to keep to our Church, and take what comes of it. That this is their own choice, and not the

work of a white, is evidenced by the fact that for some time they have been left entirely to themselves and their native ministers, with David Tonga as their head, and a grand leader he is. The people's hearts are warm with love, and are greatly helped of the Lord. They feel they *must* stand.

"As to what mood the King will be in when he pays his threatened visit to Tonga no one can tell. Two very unfavourable reports have been brought in during the past week. One, that the King has declared his intention of hanging two of the chiefs who are still with us! The other, that he has sent the following letter:—'I, Tubou, inform you, even though it be evening when I arrive, that at the first place where the disobedience is great, I will be there at once.' Such a short and pointed letter carries its own interpretation all too plainly.

"Not only have the churches not been given up, but two or three have been seized within the last week.

"One of our bravest men is called Cranmer. His house has been beset nightly, himself and wife attacked and thrown at; his house twice set on fire, the second time being burnt to the ground, with most of his household possessions. He has been most unjustly charged with slandering Mr. Baker, and has been sentenced to a year's hard labour and £5 fine. Yet he is happy, and as brave as ever.

"A European has taken oath that he was present at a 'fono' held in Vavau by the King about May 18th, and the King gave orders for all the boats to be got ready for going to Tonga. Everybody was to prepare weapons, such as guns, swords, axes, clubs, &c., no women, old men, or children were to go. And he declares that there has been a large trade in axes and knives, &c., and that the Germans have dealt extensively in arms and ammunition; but that this about the Germans is hearsay on good authority, the rest he can vouch for.

"One piece of injustice has not yet been gone into, but there is no doubt about it. The Government gave permission to the Roman Catholics to have some of the soldiers on Corpus Christi day to fire at the procession of the Host, and some of the Wesleyans, who were soldiers, had to attend."

The following account is furnished of the proceedings of Maatu, the Governor of Niuva Tobutabu, and, in virtue of his office, a member of Parliament and of the Privy Council, when he went to Niuva Fooou to set up the Free Church there.

"A chief named Filimoehala refused to join the new Church, and his title was taken from him, as also his land. Maatu ordered the lads in our Church school to be sent away, each one to his own town. Orders have been given to hold Government town meetings in each town, and the chiefs have issued the order that those who do not turn over to the new Church are to provide all the food and kava for the feast after the meeting, those turning over being exempt. A decree has been made, that was to come into force as soon as Maatu sailed, that no Wesleyan is to be allowed to go to his plantation, and officers have been set up to watch, and should they find any Wesleyan breaking the rule they will be severely punished.

"One thing looks very strange. If a man in the Free Church be tried and found guilty, or, rather, evidently ought to be found guilty, he is acquitted; whereas Wesleyans are found guilty, and heavily punished, when the charge is plainly trumped up. And I have heard that the judge and Maatu have just said that it will be useless to summon anyone in their Church, for he will not be condemned or tried; but that whatever there is against one in our Church will be tried, and he will be condemned at once. Whoever would not turn over was sent for again and again till he gave in.

"These town meetings were held night and day for a week, and the Wesleyans had to provide the food. When anyone turned over he was excused the meetings, and the providing food. The people have been told that they must not turn back to our Church, and should anyone turn back he will get a very heavy punishment.

"James Latu, our minister at Niua, has been summoned for a sermon preached at Agaba on Wednesday, December 26th, 1883; he got the summons May 20th, 1885."

When the chiefs showed themselves so subservient to Mr. Baker, we do not wonder at a high-spirited Tongan dame rating her husband with the fact that he and other chiefs were now "Mr. Baker's little children," and "the obedient servants of a foreigner!"

In the hope of putting a stop to the persecution, the Committee of Privileges addressed a letter to Her British Majesty's Vice-Consul, and in due course received the following reply:

"British Consulate,

"Tonga, July 15th, 1885.

"Rev. Sir.—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 11th June, enclosing a copy of a resolution of the Committee of Privileges of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference



of the Wesleyan Church, requesting me to take such measures as may seem to me to be necessary to put a stop to the persecution of the members and adherents of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga by authority of the Government of Tonga.

"In reply, I would beg to convey to you my assurance that, as far as may be consistent with my position in this country, I will exert myself to obtain the desired result as expressed in the resolution.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

"(Signed) HENRY F. SYMONDS,

"Her Majesty's Vice-Consul.

"The Rev. the President of the Wesleyan Conference."

At the same time there arrived a letter from the Rev. J. E. Moulton, which no one can read without deep emotion. It is as follows:—

"Tonga, August 1st, 1885.—My feelings as I write, are best described in the words of the Psalmist, 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream,' for the fleet and most of the warriors left yesterday for their homes, and we are not only alive and unhurt, but triumphant. But I must take up my narrative where I left it.

"It will be still in your memory that the King some months ago announced that he was intending to hold a festival in May, and that he would bring with him all his forces, and banish all the Wesleyans to other lands; also, that we were assured again and again by officials in official meetings that the King intended to carry out his threat, and that the people in Haabai and Vavau were buying rifles and axes, and cutting clubs; also, that we had affidavits of proclamations of several chiefs of high rank to the effect that some of the Wesleyans were to be hanged, and others shot or banished. The Deputation, when here, firmly believed that evil was intended. Father Watsford burst into tears, and said, 'I don't like to leave you, Bro. Moulton, to pass through the crisis alone.' As the days went by, the Government and chiefs got more and more ferocious. One chief quoted Mr. Baker as his authority for the details he gave of the slaughter that was to come off; how the Wesleyans would be drawn up in lines on the plains and shot down. The proclamation (recent) of the infamous Lavaka lies before me. Some would be burnt, others 'cooked,' 'warmed up,' and their bones torn out and burnt! (This fono was to have been held by Mr. Baker, but at the last moment he sent Lavaka.) All this occurred after the Deputation left.

"Every scheme that malice could suggest was tried to worry our poor people into joining the 'Free' Church.

'Fono's' (you know the word by this time,) were held incessantly, and each time some newly-devised torture was brought to bear. One day they were told that all their plots of ground were to be taken away; the next, the Wesleyans were to find provisions for the warriors who had come to kill them; another day the drum would beat, and they would be ordered or advised to cut up their bales of cloth, and wear or dispose of them, as the army would plunder the town. One chief solemnly affirmed that he had received a letter from Mr. Baker to the effect that the King had written him to say that the moment he arrived, no matter what time of day it was, he would immediately attack those who opposed his will. Numbers did destroy much of their property, in the belief that it would shortly be taken from them. In several cases families were thrown into confusion by being forbidden to go to their plantations, while members of the other Church were told to take the pick of them. In this way our poor people were 'killed all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter.'

"Of course we lost hundreds. I was like a Job, with messenger after messenger coming with evil tidings. So many had turned over in this town, and so many in another, or a church had been closed. I hope none of my brethren will ever have to pass through a similar trial. It was a day of 'rebuke and blasphemy;' 'we walked in darkness and had no light;' and it was only by staying ourselves on the name of the Lord that we were enabled to bear up against despair.

"At last the people were all summoned to Nukualofa, to await the coming of the King, and we took advantage of it to hold our Quarterly Meeting. We felt it a hazardous step, as the current was running strongly against us; our people were insulted in going along the streets, and would probably be deterred from attending; and if the attendance was small the effect would be most injurious. Many advised its postponement; but my motto has ever been '*solvitur ambulando*,' and I have long felt that our strength was to go on, and that quietly and firmly to carry out our Church arrangements gave the people confidence in our stability; so I resolved to hold it. To our great joy it was crowded at the early morning service, and when we came to count up our numbers we found we had over eight hundred members left, representing at least two thousand five hundred

adherents. The finances, too, were satisfactory, and there was sufficient money to pay the native ministers and the current expenses of the circuit.

“We had most delightful proofs of the temper and devotion of our people. I had sent word to the ministers not to ask for ticket money from those who had been banished; but they would not be excused, and paid in a very decent amount, although some of them were confined to a bit of a sandbank, all communication with which was forbidden. The best of all was, ‘God was with us,’ and warmed our hearts so with His love that we forgot for a while the dark cloud that was hanging over us, or, if we thought of it, we were inclined to believe it would ‘break in blessings on our head.’ Another pleasing feature of the meeting was the voting in new ministers (hired local preachers at present) to take the places of those who have left us. The superiority of the new ones to the old ones was so palpable that the preachers and office-bearers got quite enthusiastic. All felt that there was no Ichabod written upon us yet. I think that meeting was the turning-point in our fortunes. We have had no wavering since. All gained confidence from seeing how numerous we still were; and the dismay depicted on our enemies’ faces (Mr. Baker’s in particular, who watched us from his verandah) acted as a tonic. Mr. Crosby and I, as we returned from the meeting, felt assured that, whatever the King might do, there were some hundreds who would not quail, but would be ‘true till death.’

“We had not long to wait. On Saturday, July 4, we were awoke by the firing of a gun, and then such an uproar arose as I have never heard before. Drums beating, guns firing, bells ringing, and then the terrible war-whoop. I am free to confess it froze my very marrow; and how those poor sheep of ours could hold out I did not know. The fellows on the other side went yelling about that the hanging had begun; and some of the chiefs held a ‘fono’ at once, and tried in the confusion to ‘rush’ the people over. If ever the father of lies was abroad it was that morning; and how the people managed to hold out is a mystery. Still not a man, woman, or child, gave way.

“The fleet consisted of some sixty boats and small vessels, and contained about eighteen hundred warriors. There was every indication that they had come on ‘business.’ A strong guard was formed round the King’s palace, armed with axes and rifles; and they were very ready to use their arms too,

for some of our people were knocked down in coming to our early morning meetings. The first thing King George did was to take away the titles of the chiefs who still remained faithful. This was contrary to the Constitution, and looked ominous. Then, orders were sent to bring every Wesleyan into town. Not one was to be left; ill or well they were to come; 'even a corpse was to be brought, unless it had begun to smell.' You can imagine the feelings that would be generated by such orders; most of all the conviction that the King was bent upon mischief. The hearts of a few failed them when they saw their friends who had been ill for years, and women on the eve of confinement, put in carts and jolted down to Nukualofa. But, on the other hand, the spirit of my brave Tongans rose to the occasion. One woman, who had just given birth to a child, said to her husband, 'You go down, but promise me that as soon as the hanging begins you will come and fetch me, and let us die together.' Another, who had been left behind as too ill to move, when the (false) report reached him that the hanging had begun, managed to get on horseback and came crawling down. When his friends expressed their surprise, his answer was, 'I was afraid that I should be too late to be hung.' Two women, class-leaders, I know of, who having been left behind ill, crawled down when they heard the day was fixed. It strikes me that this heroism equals Thermopylæ.

"At last the day was appointed. Who in Tonga will ever forget the previous night? Late in the day we had heard from a chief who had just come from the King, that His Majesty had distinctly stated that if the people did not turn over at the 'fono,' *e Kovi* (it would be bad for them.) This, coupled with his talk at a previous 'fono' of it being sometimes necessary to lop off diseased limbs, took away all hopes that some had entertained, and the people prepared for the worst. I announced that we would have an early prayer-meeting, and told them to come to the church at once at the sound of the bell, lest we should be prevented. Few slept; there was wailing in the various encampments all night—not our people, mind you, but their friends, who came to implore them to turn over. In some cases, when the time came, they tried to hold them back by force, but the devoted men, or women, or girls, burst from them and came running up the hill to the church. It was pitch dark when the bell rang. Before Mr. Crosby and I could get to the church it

was full. The people, however, continued to pour in until there was scarcely standing room, and crowds had to remain outside. None of us will ever forget that morning prayer-meeting. There was no mistake about it; these people were looking death in the face. The King might or might not mean it; but if words meant anything he did. There were the men with axes at the foot of the hill, and many of the women as they had come along had heard them say, 'Yes, we'll have some of your heads off directly.' There were a good many pale faces, as you may imagine. In some I seemed to see a hard fight going on; but as soon as the service began all that vanished. Such prayers! not many; but all to the mark! And when David Tonga started one of our new hymns, the rush of feeling was overwhelming;\* all fear and agitation vanished; and, when suddenly the great drum struck for the 'fono,' there was no hesitation; all were ready to take whatever came. Blessing them in the name of the Lord, we sent them forth. We would gladly have accompanied them, but feared it would irritate the King. It was grand to see them go down the hill, and to note how the leaders worked to the front. There was almost a race as to who should be first. At least a score had quietly determined when the hanging came to rush forward at once and offer their necks, so as to give the people courage.

They say King George's face visibly altered as he saw the mass of people surging in, and no wonder, for there were at least 2500 (the Government estimate, I hear, was much higher.) I need not say how anxiously we watched and prayed. In about half-an-hour we saw a movement among the people, and then half-a-dozen pushed out of the gate; the foremost a youth hopping on one leg. We knew at once that the result was favourable. Several raced up the hill like boys to tell us that it was all right; no one was to be put to death. The King was grieved at the opposition of his people, &c., but the laws would be observed. I need scarcely say the revulsion of feeling was very great. 'We were like them that dream.' Could it be that the crisis was past, and all was well? Everyone had said the Tongans could not face the King. The King was Mr. Baker's great

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\* The hymn sung on this memorable occasion was an adaptation of the 23rd Psalm, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want," &c. When the fourth verse was taken up, "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for Thou art with me," we do not wonder that "the rush of feeling was overwhelming!" The hymn will never be forgotten in Tonga.

card, and when he played that the game would be lost, &c. And was the thing really done?

“ We knew perfectly well, however, that the conflict was far from ended ; the tide had been running too strongly to stop all at once. The chiefs had been at first unwilling to join the new Church and take measures against the old ; but Mr. Baker had stirred them up until they had got quite hot in the matter, and had gone to such great lengths, that to stop was almost impossible. They were furious with shame at the result of the King’s ‘fono,’ and, supported by the presence of the armed men, they ventured again on deeds of violence. These were harder to bear than the old ones ; and I had great trouble with some of our high-spirited fellows to keep them from retaliating ; but I assured them the game was ours if we could only have patience. One chief, exasperated at our success, burst the doors open of our fine church at Maufaga, and held service there. I had heard something of his intention, and had demanded protection from the Government. Mr. Baker, whose policy lately has been one of procrastination, was a little too late to stop the outrage, which, occurring after the Consul had asked protection, was a serious matter. He hurries to the King and begs him to see to it ; the King sends for the chief, and gives him a rating that will reverberate to ‘ultima’ Niua, and we shall have no more church snatching.

“ I wrote you some time ago, that, encouraged by the King’s hostility, the Vavauans had determined to break up our College by force. The lads came in a panic to tell me this ; but, as usual, I said, ‘ Let us wait and see what colour it is,’ a figurative expression I need not explain. Again and again we heard the threats repeated, but took no notice ; and the lads, seeing that I was not put about, settled down again, not more than four or five leaving us. On the 20th July, however, one of the prefects came rushing over to say that the warriors had come in force to bind the students and carry them off. I ran into the College and found it was only too true ; they were cording the boxes, and preparing to carry off their friends. The women were weeping, and the men looking gloomy. Some of the Vavauans were armed with axes, and others with clubs ; some say firearms also, but I did not see any. I felt the game was ours now unless we made a blunder. I took down the names of some, and turned all out that had axes, but seeing them coming in like a flood, I sent for the Minister of Police, and retreated to

the inner fence to keep them out as long as possible. My hardest task was to restrain the passions of our own people. Talk of thunder-clouds! you should have seen their faces as they watched what they called the insult to their missionary! They would have flown at them like bulldogs at the lifting of a finger. But we had had six months of conflict together, and they obeyed me implicitly. One young chief I shall never forget. He was a sight to see, as he stood, with his arms tightly folded, grinding his teeth, and lowering at the foe. I must say I felt ugly myself when I came upon a man armed with a club; why a club should look worse than an axe I don't know, but I nearly lost my temper when I saw that sign of savagery and heathenism. I suppose Goliath felt the same way when he saw David with the staff in his hand. In came the Europeans and the Consul, who offered to swear in special constables to protect us; but I refused, and told the Minister of Police I would leave the matter in his hands. It was doubtful for some time how it would end, but we succeeded at last. The King and Premier were both alarmed, and in the reaction that set in the armed guard with axes was dismissed, and the fleet and warriors hurried home. My premises became so sacred that nobody ventured to enter for a week without special leave. The chiefs, too, all feel grateful to me for not proceeding to extremities, and have told the King their mind plainly, that if I had been ill-disposed towards the country, as Mr. Baker had represented, I should not have acted as I did: and that if I had not been forbearing they would now be in 'queer street.' The visitors have gone away with altogether different feelings to those they came with; and I have sent Mr. Crosby to Vavau to take advantage of the reaction.

"It is one of the difficulties of our position here to know 'when to fight and when to fly,' as the hymn-book has it. And you really cannot help us in this. As Mr. Chapman wrote me years ago, it is necessary that you should leave us to take the initiative. I have been blamed for steps which I am now more and more convinced were the wisest possible that could be taken, and which have saved us hundreds of adherents. Here I may observe that a recommendation of the Deputation has been published which has cost us scores; I allude to that in reference to the use of the churches. It is quite true I made a recommendation somewhat similar at the very first, but with a difference. I said that I was willing to allow them the use of the churches

in Vavau where there had been *no persecution*; the Deputation say 'where we have *no people left!*' The consequence is, that, where our people are few, the chiefs are worrying their lives out in the hope that they will all turn, so that they may get the use of the church. I may remark, however, that the course of events clearly shows that great care must be taken not to do anything which would vitiate our right to our Church property.

"Our Tongans are greatly concerned lest they should be detached from your Conference. They say, Sydney sent them the lotu and has ever since watched over and done their best for them; and, rather than leave Sydney, they have already risked the displeasure of their King. You cannot go against that. And why should you? My humble opinion is that you ought to be proud of their attachment. Where is there another Conference in the world where a body of people have faced persecution and death sooner than leave them? You are bound by every noble sentiment to stand by and cherish them.

"And we are not such a feeble folk after all. We are over three thousand strong, and are increasing every day. Mr. Baker's numbers are not to be trusted. He took a census (two in fact) last week, and in one town *eighty* of our people were omitted. We have over one thousand members; that will be enough for you. It is true we have lost a great many native ministers, but we have sufficient to carry on the work, and our enemies themselves being judges, the new men are far superior to the old.

"You may think me warm, but if you heard the Vavauans talk you would be warm too. They—many of them—have said, 'If Mr. Watkin had only held out a day, had made the least resistance in the world, a number of us would have stood out as you have done in Tonga. But not one word did he say to keep us faithful.' I enclose a letter which Mr. Watkin wrote to one of our ministers to induce him to leave us; but he had mistaken his man, who was not to be turned. I have only just received it, or would send a translation. By-the bye, both he and Mr. Baker deny that telegram, and a notice of which appeared in the *Advocate* of May 23. He is reported to have used the word 'falsehood,' ('toi') so I got the letter photographed, and distributed it, but again it was denied. They have assured

the people they have no intention of abandoning the new Church. You may depend upon it they are only playing with you.

“We have, at the present time, eight native ministers and ministers on trial left; and five who had been employed as hired local preachers previous to the secession; ministers in everything but that their names are not on the Conference Minutes.

“I have not yet exhausted my budget, but I am sure your patience is gone. My excuse must be the highly exciting occurrences of the last month. With all respect to the conscript Fathers of our Church, I question if any of them, except an old Fijian missionary, has been through such scenes as have tried my nerves lately—scenes overshadowed by the wings of Life and Death. And I am not a cold-hearted man; I have felt deeply the harrowing of our people’s souls, as my numerous grey hairs show, and I cannot write impassively in describing what has happened.

“My brave colleague, Mr. Crosby, must not be forgotten. He has done splendidly, and is now on a visit to all our stations in the north. If I mistake not, we shall have news from him shortly.”



## CHAPTER VI.

### PERSECUTION THROUGH THE LAW COURTS.

Under date of September 10th, 1885, Mr. Moulton writes :—

“I hope you have received my last two letters. The intelligence contained in them was of a somewhat cheering nature ; but I forewarned you that we might reasonably expect fresh difficulties. This augury has proved only too correct. There was then a temporary cessation (in part) of the persecution, and we hoped the King would consent to allow the two Churches to go on side by side. Thanks, too, to the good offices of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Symonds, a portion of our Church property was restored, or its restoration promised. But no sooner was the pressure removed, than so many of our old adherents joined us that the Government became alarmed, and in order to prevent any further accession to our numbers they instituted fresh persecutions. So stringent were the measures they took that several took refuge in the Roman Catholic community, while some others ceased to attend any worship at all.

“Our own people had just returned to their towns after a long detention in this place, and had scarcely begun to repair the damages to their property and plantations when they were again torn from their homes and commanded to take their families, animals, and goods into Nukualofa, the chief town. All the Wesleyans in Tongatabu were gathered here, avowedly for the purpose of expatriation. No exception was made. When one complained that one of his family was an invalid, and could not walk, he was told to drag him along the road with a rope. Most of their animals and much of their property had to be left behind to the tender mercies of other people. Nor was this all ; they were forbidden to visit their homes or plantations without a permit ; and this permit was often difficult to obtain, and frequently refused altogether. One man applied for leave to go and bury his child which had died in the country. The Minister of Police replied that he was very sorry to refuse him ; but the King's order was that on no account was a permit to be granted to any Wesleyan. The poor man's heart was full ; but when told he would be at liberty to go if he turned over to the Free Church, he replied, ‘ No ; I'm not going to barter my

religion for it ; go (turning to the messenger) and tell the friends to bury the child' The prohibition to visit their plantations is the more serious from the fact that this is the planting season ; and there is the prospect of famine, if the plantations at this time of the year are neglected.

"The obtaining a supply of food for such large numbers confined to the camping grounds is a great difficulty, as it has to be brought from a distance, and with permits granted for a day only. Meanwhile, depredations are being committed on their nut plantations, and all redress is refused. One poor fellow has just gone out of his mind in consequence. Chiefs have announced at their official meetings that complaints from Wesleyans will not be listened to ; and as a proof of this summonses have been refused us.

"The laws, in fact, seem to exist only to be used against us ; the most weighty clauses of the Constitution when on our side are ignored, whilst the minutest regulation is brought down upon our people with sledge-hammer force. Does one of our pigs get out into the road, a summons comes, and we have to pay from three to six dollars ; but are the plantations of a Wesleyan robbed of nuts to the value of scores of dollars, a summons is refused, and by Mr. Baker himself. The day before yesterday numbers of our poor folk were 'run in' for not being present at an official meeting. The law releases from attendance such as are sick, or unable from proper causes to attend. On this occasion, one old woman, blind and deaf, who had not been present at such meetings for years, was summoned and fined 9s. Another had stayed away to nurse her dying child (which is since dead) ; she was fined 9s. Another had been told by his chief that it was a meeting for Free Church people only, and that he was at liberty to go to his garden. He did so, and was summoned for it. He stated the reason, and the judge promptly said, "fined 9s." Another man was summoned for slander ; the case was absurd, and even this judge did not see how to bring him in guilty, so he sent him to a jury. The jury acquitted him. The other party (the Government) appealed, and it was heard by the judges in banco ; he was again acquitted, and we thought the matter was ended. The Government party, however, *sent it down again* to the police court ; this time the judge had got his instructions better, and the man was sentenced to *two years' convict labour and a £15 fine* ! The most curious part of the proceedings was the way in which the judge got

over the law which forbids a man to be tried twice for the same offence. The man's representative (for he was ill himself) pointed out the law; the judge replied, 'Yes, that is for felonies.' 'But,' said the defendant, 'the law says, felonies *and other offences*,' (*hia matea mo hu hix.*) Oh, replied the judge, 'we are *not going to take notice of that small addition!*'"

One of our ministers, Caleb Valu, son of one of the staunchest Christians in the old times—(every missionary knows Simione Valu)—has just been fined 150 dollars or two years' hard labour for slandering Mr. Baker. The charge was perfectly absurd, so much so that we took scarcely any notice of it; the words he uttered were perfectly legitimate and allowable; but there it is. It has taken Mr. Baker a long time to get the sentence. He has had him several times before the court without success.

"The King has just set sail for Vavau, breathing out threatenings against our people there. As a sample of what he meant to do, he clapt the captain of our boat in prison without any charge or trial, and carried him off on board the next morning."

Shortly after this, the Hon. J. B. Thurston, the acting High Commissioner, visited Tongatabu. The King, we regret to say, was away in Haabai, and the High Commissioner did not see him, but he had an interview with Mr. Baker and the leading chiefs. As one result of this visit, he was able to send to Sydney the gratifying intelligence that the Government of Tonga had entered into an undertaking to restore to the Wesleyan mission the free use of the lands on which the churches were built, and which were leased to us. Other matters were under consideration. All interested in this painful subject must feel grateful to his Excellency for interposing his good offices. We are sorry, however, to find that after the departure of the High Commissioner threats of a most violent character were uttered by those in authority.

In a letter, dated October 19th, Mr. Moulton resumes his narrative:—"The names of those who were to be hung were given out, and in some cases the day fixed; chiefs lifting their hands to heaven and swearing by all that was holy that this time there would be no drawing back. However, I had clearly predicted that such would be the case, and assured the people that, appearances notwithstanding, things were going on well; so nobody was greatly moved. As I

write this, there is news that the Wesleyans are to be dismissed to their homes, and allowed to exercise their religious rights, but it lacks confirmation.

“During the festival which was held in the months of July and August, numbers of the Vavauans visited me, and repeatedly insisted on the fact that the universal defection of Vavau from our Church was owing entirely to Mr. Watkin’s having made no stand whatever. I was assured on all hands that, had he stood by his colours only for one day, numbers would have had the courage to avow their real opinions, and hold by the Wesleyan Church; but they ‘looked and there was no man.’ They told me that hundreds were mourning in secret the sad necessity they were under of worshipping in the new Church, and would gladly hail an opportunity of returning. This information was confirmed by letters from friendly Europeans in Vavau, who urged that I should lose no time in establishing a missionary there, and was corroborated by the report furnished by Mr. Crosby.

“Just at that time an announcement was made that all our churches would be restored to us, and I received a notification from the Government to the effect that they would expect us to keep the grounds connected with our buildings in order, according to Tongan law. This seemed to give us the desired opportunity of taking up our work again in Vavau; and after careful selection I sent a band of hired local preachers and one Conference minister, David Finau, to look after our property in Vavau, and preach as occasion offered. All this was entirely within our rights, but King George was fearfully enraged, and started in pursuit in the Government schooner. On his arrival he immediately ordered David Finau to be brought into his presence, and asked him what in the world he had come for. David with great propriety answered that they had a two-fold mission,—they had come as ministers of the Gospel, and also to look after the Church property. The King replied that if they had come to live and keep in order the Church lands it was all right, but if as ministers he should not recognise them, as he was resolved to have no Wesleyans in Vavau. He then sent for all who had rejoined us, and on their declaring themselves Wesleyans he ordered them on board ship for deportation to Haabai and Tonga.

“He also held a ‘fono’ at which he gave orders to seize and bring down to the port any Wesleyan minister who might be sent to a station in the country, and that all persons

who joined us were to be deported. Saddest of all, he sent for Ana Katu, the widow of one of our most valued ministers, who a few years ago put an end to his life in a fit of insanity. The poor, broken-spirited woman went tottering into the dreaded presence of the King, and when asked to what Church she belonged, in her fear faltered out 'the Free Church.' 'Swear it,' shouted the King, and ordered a Bible to be brought. She shrank from taking such a solemn oath, but at length the vehemence of the King frightened her into swearing that she would never return to us. Since then the poor woman has had no rest, but spends her days and nights in weeping. She told me that as she goes past our church, she cries out, 'Jehovah, Thou knowest it was not my mind, but fear overcame me!'

"On Mr. Crosby's return from the Niuas, I paid a visit to the north. I found David in fine spirits and health in spite of the difficulties by which he was surrounded. In none of the noble band did I see any fear or hesitation. But they had had up-hill work. Orders had been given that no one was to take them any food, or help them in their work, or sell them anything. The King, too, in giving back the churches, had added every bit of land that had ever belonged to us, in order, as he said, that they might not be able to hoe them; and he ordered the officers to keep strict watch, and if they were not clean to be down upon them at once. 'I think,' said he, 'they will want Batumaha-ga to help them'—(a Tongan Briareus or Hercules.) However, David was equally determined to accomplish the task. He cleverly got out of many of the pieces of land by pointing out that there were no buildings upon them, adding 'we, whatever may be said of us, do not seek lands, but church sites.' Buying some lanterns, he then set out, lanterns in one hand and a hoe in the other. After working all day he would light the lanterns and hang them on a tree, and go on hoeing until midnight.

"In spite of the prohibition, food was occasionally brought them, but at great risk. One old schoolfellow who brought them a loaf was immediately hauled down to the port by the officers, and arraigned before the court for having said, some six months ago, on the occasion of the Prince's death, "I wonder what the King thinks of these frequent visitations in his family;" he was condemned to two years' imprisonment, or rather convict labour, and shipped off to Tonga.

“Under these circumstances it is scarcely to be wondered at that the Vavauans have not yet fulfilled their promises of joining us in considerable numbers; but our men there have abundance of proof that the assurances we received were quite correct, and that as soon as we have won our religious freedom, our Church even in Vavau will be as flourishing as ever. This, next to the steadfastness of our people in Tonga and Haabai, is the most encouraging event that has happened since the commencement of our troubles.

“After making arrangements for the support of our ministers there, I started for Haabai, where I found our poor people in about as difficult a position as can be imagined. The King had ordered the Wesleyans all through this group to be torn from their homes and taken to the mission premises, and forbade even their going to the sea for shell-fish or a wash without a permit. I enclose one of these permits as a specimen.” (Translated by a returned missionary, it is an official paper permitting seven men who are mentioned by name to go for an hour in order to wash.)

“Nor were they to plant anything, but might be allowed to go for a day or two to their islands and fetch a little food. Ask Mr. Davis or Mr. Stephinson, who have lived in Haabai, what that means. Often all the time allowed in the permit would be exhausted in the beating up against contrary winds; but no matter, the orders were peremptory and they would have to return. Charlotte, the King's own daughter, herself one of the deported, said to me, ‘They are trying to kill us off by starvation.’ An Englishman in Lifuka said to the officers, ‘Cut their throats at once if you wish to destroy them; don't kill them by inches.’

“Without a moment's delay, I relieved their minds as to their being starved. I knew I could rely on our Sydney Wesleyans as far as that. I succeeded in getting some yams from Vavau, and made arrangements for a supply of bread if necessary. And here a new trait in the Tongan character manifested itself. Hitherto their mouths have always been wide to take whatever we chose to give them; but now they are most reluctant to take help from us. When I began to enquire about the quantity of food they had, they begged me not to trouble about it, as they had enough. Their pale faces told a different tale; but not wishing to check this new up-growth of most commendable feeling, I left the matter in the hands of the minister in charge, enjoining him

on no account to let them suffer, but to supply their necessities as soon as they became apparent.

“I held the Quarterly Meeting, and found we had still some three hundred people in this ‘burning fiery furnace’ of persecution. I felt proud of the ministers and local preachers—some thirty or so—as I looked round upon them and thought of what they had gone through. Terrible had been the sifting of our Church; chaff and light grains had gone long ago, and this was the solid heavy corn, meet for the Master’s garner, or rather, I would hope and say, for seed corn. As in duty bound, I put the question remitted from the General Conference in *re* connexion with another Conference than Sydney. The answer was immediate and emphatic. The circuit steward jumped up in a moment and said that his mind was the same as it had ever been. New South Wales they knew; New South Wales was their fatherland in the lotu, and had watched over them most assiduously; he could see no reason why they should leave it, and to New South Wales he meant to cling. Others followed in the same strain, and the vote was unanimous to continue in connexion with the New South Wales Conference.

“In finances there was, as might be expected, a balance on the wrong side; not very much for three quarters during which persecution has been raging, but still a large sum, namely, £84 13s. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? Half of them had been banished twice, and on their return the first time had found their plantations and nuts all but destroyed; and all were now in banishment, debarred from using what resources remained. What was to be done? The ministers were ready to accept a reduction of their salaries; but I was sure you would not wish that. Their allowances are low enough at the best, and some of them have nothing but English food now to depend upon. No; it was plain to me that this was a case for relief—relief full and instant to be of service; so I paid the debt, drawing a cheque for £90 so as to include the expenses of visit, food, &c. In order to meet this cheque, I now ask that funds to this amount may be paid immediately into the Union Bank. I ask it earnestly and confidently, feeling quite sure you will recognise the special circumstances of the case, and the claims which these people really have upon the Church of New South Wales. Few as the people in Haabai are, yet if they were free they would pay every penny of their expenses. It

is the banishment which has floored them, and to whom should they look in their helplessness if not to that colony which they recognise as their mother Church. I consider it matter of proud reflection to the New South Wales Conference and people that it should so have administered the affairs of the mission here as to have inspired a profound feeling of gratitude and trust towards them. With the Psalmist we say,

‘Thou hast been mindful of us,  
Thou wilt bless us.’

“I cannot touch on any other subject now, having much work before me which must be done. Our college speech day at Nukualofa is just over, and was a great success; the hall was crowded with Free Church people as well as our own. In spite of our troubles we have managed to introduce some new features into our work. Oh, for freedom!”



## CHAPTER VII.

### RECENT OPPRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

From communications forwarded in the months of October and November, it appears that the annoyances and petty persecutions to which the Wesleyans were subjected continued as grievous as ever. In Vavau a perfect system of boycotting was adopted. No one was allowed to give, lend, or sell anything to the Wesleyans there, or to render them the slightest help. Under date of October 3rd, Mr. Crosby wrote to the Premier, bringing under his notice the state of our people at Haabai. "The Wesleyans," he remarks in his letter, "numbering some three hundred men, women, and children, are all kept confined in the mission-house premises, and are forbidden to leave them without permission. You are thoroughly acquainted with the dimensions of the mission-house enclosure, and the consequent cruelty of the imprisonment. Not even the people of Bazai are allowed to live in their own houses, but all the Wesleyans from every place and island are cooped up in that very limited space. Formal application has to be made for written permits, if they wish to leave the mission-house, even though to go to a house near at hand, and two or three men are stationed to see these orders carried out. And when permits are granted to go to the plantations, there is a strict order that no planting is done; the people may only gather food, and the length of time allowed (and which is stated on the permits) is cut as fine as possible—for example, one hour to go and return in."

Mr. Moulton also wrote informing the Premier of outrages which were being committed at Niua Foou. In one letter he says:—"In the month of September, Joel Nau, the minister, his children, and forty of his people—men, women, and children—were seized and bound, by order of the acting-Governor, Tuia, and Joel himself was thrown into prison. In the month of October the Wesleyans were marched to Azaha and detained there, not being allowed even to get water without a permit. Their friends are not permitted to bring them food, and their ministers are debarred all access to them. It is superfluous to remind you of your oft-repeated declaration, that the Government of Tonga will not allow its people to be molested on religious

grounds ; the great laws of right and liberty, to say nothing of humanity and charity, demand that a stop be put to these doings. I have the honour to inform you that a vessel, the *Olive*, sails to-morrow, and will call at Niua." In another letter he writes :—" I have the honour to call your attention to the conduct of the Government officials in Niua Tobutabu, who refuse to receive complaints or appeals from the Wesleyans there, or to issue summonses, telling them that there is no law for the Wesleyans. The gaoler has also informed the prisoners that unless they turn over to the new church, their work will not count."

These letters the Premier merely acknowledged as received.

Under date of November 16th, Mr. Moulton wrote to the Premier informing him "that the Wesleyan minister appointed to preach at Bea yesterday was prevented by Lavaka from entering the church, and also assaulted by him." Mr. Moulton added ; "I beg to remind you of your emphatic assertion that 'the Government will not permit any interference with the performance of worship,' and would ask you to take steps to prevent our ministers being molested or hindered in the discharge of their duties." Four days afterwards Mr. Baker acknowledged the receipt of the letter, and added : "In reply, I would respectfully say, as there is not a solitary Wesleyan adherent at Bea, you cannot be surprised, under the circumstances, at the course pursued by Lavaka, and must be fully aware that when you made such an appointment it could only tend to a breach of the peace." In replying to this communication, Mr. Moulton writes : "I have the honour to submit that, even on the supposition that your surmise was correct as to there being no Wesleyan adherent in Bea, it would still be matter of 'surprise' that our minister should have been molested in the discharge of his duty in a land where the law—as stated by the Premier himself—permits no interference in the performance of worship. What does cause surprise is, that the head of the Government should have spoken of this unwarranted assault without one word of condemnation, and thus indirectly countenance it. But in fact a Wesleyan resident in Bea was actually on his way to the church, with his family, at the time of the assault, and was deterred from entering by seeing the violence of Lavaka. There was nothing in what we did to provoke a breach of the peace, and I must again ask, in the name of the Wesleyan Church, that our religious liberties be protected."

Mr. Baker's reply to this letter we give in full :—

M.C.  
No. 176.

“Premier's Office,  
“November 30th, 1885.

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th inst., and beg leave to enclose a copy of regulations passed by the Legislative Assembly, which received His Majesty's assent on the 18th inst., and which are now the law of the land.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“SHIRLEY W. BAKER, Premier.”

“Rev. J. E. Moulton.”

The following is a translation of these two regulations :—

“In order to prevent the disturbances which spring from the ecclesiastical arrangements of the present time, the King and Tongan Parliament enact as follows :—

“1. It is forbidden to a religious body to preach a sermon in a town where there are fewer than six (6) adults in all, men or women, natives of the town ; anyone breaking this law shall on conviction be fined twenty dollars.

“2. It will not be allowable for anyone to go and take charge of a place in any church if there are fewer than thirty (30) adults according to the Constitution, but the people who will be allowed to go and take charge of a place are ministers, assistant ministers, and hired local preachers whose names are on the roll of the Church (literally ‘great book.’) On breach of this law it will be allowable to lords of manors or heads of towns to expel him, and to take his land and give it to one who has none but pays taxes.”

With reference to the words “according to the Constitution,” used in this second regulation, it may be simply remarked no such law is to be found in the Constitution !

As soon as this communication reached Mr. Moulton, he at once wrote to the Premier acknowledging the receipt of the letter enclosing the copy of the regulations prohibiting preaching where there are fewer than six adults, and forbidding the sending agents to take charge of a church where there are fewer than thirty. He added, “I beg to enter my protest in the name of the Wesleyan Church against both these regulations as being a direct contravention of our Saviour's command to preach the Gospel to every creature,—as being contrary to the great law of religious liberty, which prevails all over the civilised world,—as being a breach of the Constitution of Tonga and of the liberty secured thereby, and also the treaty with Great Britain,—and further as an infringement of the rights hitherto enjoyed by

the Wesleyan Church, and on which the leases were granted." When acknowledging the receipt of this letter the Premier tersely says "I beg leave to respectfully differ from the remarks contained therein."

With regard to this legislation, it will be noticed that the preamble sets forth that these regulations are enacted "to prevent the disturbances which spring from the ecclesiastical arrangements of the present time;" but what are these disturbances, and who causes them? Do they not arise from the action taken by the Tongan Government with the design of breaking up the Wesleyan Church? Is it not the Government itself which causes them? And could not the Government effectually stop them by announcing that no interference will be tolerated with the provisions of that clause of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of religious worship,—a clause which, standing as it does in the First or Freedom part of the Constitution, every member of the Parliament is solemnly pledged not to repeal or alter.

The first regulation prohibits preaching a sermon where there are fewer than six adults, "natives," or "rightful inhabitants," of a town. These latter words have been interpreted with a latitude which has caused much injustice to be done to our people in different towns. The second regulation, whilst allowing ministers, assistant ministers, and certain hired local preachers, to take charge of a station, prohibits the sending of other agents of the Church to take charge of any place where there are less than thirty adults. No such restriction is placed upon traders; they can send a man to any town to take charge of whatever goods and property they may have there; but the same privilege and right are denied to the superintendent ministers of the Wesleyan Church.

A few instances will show the use to which this legislation is put. In Hofoa we have a number of adherents, but owing to the detention of our people in Nukualofa the preaching was discontinued. With the new year, however, it was resolved to begin the services again, the Wesleyans having, as they counted six adults, rightful inhabitants. The Government representative in the town admitted only two, counting a father, but refusing to count his two children, though they were adults, and one of them married. The Minister of Police, on being appealed to, counted the two grown-up members of the family, and thus recognised four. The other two whom the Wesleyans had included

were rightful inhabitants on their mother's side, and their father had settled in the town on his marriage with their mother. Yet they were not allowed to count, and consequently there could be no Wesleyan preaching.

Maufaga is the head-quarters of Roman Catholicism. The town is made up of wanderers from all over the group, and it is doubtful whether there are six rightful inhabitants altogether. On Monday, January 4th, 1886, the Government representative called a town meeting, and forbade the Wesleyans and Romanists to hold another preaching service, but did not forbid the Free Church, though it certainly has not the six. The coupling of the Romanists with the Wesleyans was of course only for the time being. There is little fear of their being punished for breaking this law; for the Tongan Government has a certain amount of respect for France and for French men-of-war. The chief further ordered all the Wesleyans to remove speedily from the town, except two whom he acknowledged as belonging to the place. When the "fono" was over, our preacher went to the chief and pointed out the obvious unfairness of his orders in that he had wholly spared the Free Church, and quoted the Constitution. He expostulated with him for expelling the Wesleyans, and forbidding their holding any service on the ground that there were only *two* who could count as really people of that township. The preacher was then asked to name the Wesleyans, and this time the chief counted *seven*! This incident shows, however, the ambiguity attaching to the word *totonu* ("rightful") and the use to which it can be put at the will of a chief.

At Matahau the chief and Government representative attempted to stop the Wesleyans from holding service on the Sunday, on the ground that the law required there to be six men *and* six women; whereas it reads "six adults in all, men *or* women."

On that Sunday two men rejoined our Church from the Free Church; but, before the day had closed, their plantation, hut, and all its contents, were destroyed by fire. On the Monday the chief held a "fono," asked these two men why they had rejoined the Wesleyan Church, and then expelled them, together with a third man, from the town. He also said the Wesleyans must have service in the bush, not in the church; and referred to the fact of their hut having been burnt down, without saying one word in condemnation of the act of incendiarism. On Monday, December 28th, at

another "fono," he ordered five leading men to leave the town, forbade their going again to their plantations, and indulged in the wildest language about hanging the Wesleyans.

At Bea our church was supposed to have been given back, but it was not till November 15 that any effort was made to use it. On that Sunday a native minister was sent to hold service in it, but was prevented by the chief, who violently assaulted him. No further attempt was made to take possession of the church, but a native paid teacher was sent to live in the house and take charge of the church property. He was immediately told to leave the town or he would be turned out. He remained, however, in the house. On the following Tuesday he was brought before the court for not having hoed the church ground. He pleaded that we had not obtained possession of the church, and referred to the conduct of the chief when the native minister wanted to preach in it. The judge, in reply, stated that while there might be a dispute about the church, there was none about the land on which it stood, and which the Government recognised as leased to the Wesleyan Church; and that, therefore, the laws touching the land must be observed, whatever quarrelling there might be about the possession of a building on that land. The native teacher was told he was regarded as the representative of the Wesleyan Church, but he must not be allowed to plead his superintendent's orders for anything he might do. The poor fellow was fined, with costs. The next day he was sent for by the King himself, and told to remove from Bea. When Mr. Moulton brought the case under the notice of the Premier, the reply given was, that "as the order issued by His Majesty is in accordance with the law of the land," he was "not prepared to interfere in the matter!"

When Mr. Moulton inquired what "law of the land" the Premier referred to, his letter remained unanswered. Probably Mr. Baker had in view other legislation which he had carried through the Tongan Parliament. One enactment gives power to the chief or Government to do what they please with the plantation land of a man not being *totonu* (that is "rightful inhabitant," or native), and it rests also with them to decide whether the man shall remain there or be expelled. The law reads thus,—“If there is a stranger residing on a manor belonging to a chief, whether he has come into it by marriage or what, not being a native of the town or estate, the lord of the manor, or the Government,

may do what they please with his block of land, and may decide whether to allow him to continue there, or send him to seek a piece of ground at the place he came from. There is nothing in the law to define what constitutes a man *totonu*, or "rightful inhabitant" or "native." In one case a man was banished who had been a resident in a town for twenty-five years, and in another a man was expelled whose father and grandfather were residents of the town. As all the land is taken up and allotted, the sentence of banishment which has already been passed upon a few of the Wesleyans carries with it the confiscation of the plot of land on the cultivation of which they depended for their maintenance, whilst there is no probability of their obtaining any plantation land elsewhere.

In letters written by Mr. Crosby so recently as January 6th, 1886, instances are given, showing how this legislation is being carried out. At a town called Fahefa the Wesleyans could only muster four rightful residents; so they determined to dispense with the preaching, and simply hold a prayer meeting. Yet the Government representative ordered a man to leave the town simply because he took part in this prayer meeting, though there can be no doubt but that the man is a rightful inhabitant of the town.

At another town called Nukunuku, not only was our church broken open when the preacher in charge refused to give up the key, but three Wesleyans were ordered to leave the town and go elsewhere. A member of the Free Church was also commanded to go to Haabai with his family, though he had lived all his life at Nukunuku, his offence being that he allowed his grandchild to be brought to Mr. Crosby for baptism. The man went to Nukualofa to await a vessel for Haabai; but in this particular instance the King interfered, and ordered him back to Nukunuku.

At Kologa five persons who rejoined the Wesleyan Church were at once ordered to regard their plantations as no longer their own, though the chief allowed them to get the food they had planted.

At Buke a man of some position stood out bravely as a Wesleyan, though his children and relations have joined the Free Church. The Government representative, however, took his plantation away, and left his name out of the roll of inhabitants. The Minister of Police, on being appealed to, managed to persuade himself that the Government official had acted right in not regarding him as a rightful resident.

But the man said that if *he* did not belong to the village his children did not, and yet they were allowed to remain ; and in fact, if *he* had no right there, the Government representative, being his nephew—the son of his sister—had still less right to count among the people of the village. The Minister of Police then discovered that he did belong to the village, and promised to see the Government representative ; but nothing has come of it, and the man has lost his plantation.

Another enactment gives a chief power to summon home any one of his people who has not a Government permit to reside elsewhere, on pain of forfeiture of his tax-lands. It is as follows : “ Lords-of-the-manor and town-rulers are hereby empowered to order any who have blocks of land on the estate to come and live in their own town, unless they have a permit from the Government to live elsewhere ; and if any one disobeys, it will be lawful for the lord-of-the-manor or town-ruler to take away his tax-land and give it to another who is a tax-payer, but has no land.” It will be apparent what a frightful power is here given to a town-ruler to interfere with the appointments of those of our native ministers and other agents who may possess, by inheritance or otherwise, a plot of land in any place to which the authority of such town-ruler extends.

Another enactment requires a Government permit to be obtained before any one at a public school is allowed to enter another educational establishment. It reads thus : “ While any one is still at the public school, not having been released from attendance by certificate, it will not be allowable to enter another educational establishment without a Government permit.” This is manifestly done to put a barrier in the way of pupils who may be desirous of entering the popular college of which Mr. Moulton has been the Principal for so many years. For any such pupils to obtain a permit from the Government, it is to be feared, will henceforth be an insuperable difficulty.

Numerous other documents might be printed showing how unjustly the Wesleyans are being treated, notwithstanding the existence of the Constitution which has been paraded as Tonga's Magna Charta. But the perusal of these details is wearisome, and sickening. We conclude therefore by giving two letters referring to the case of a hired local preacher of stainless character, who is now working as a prisoner.

Under date of December 4th, 1885, Mr. Moulton wrote the following letter :—“Hon. S. W. Baker, Premier,—Sir,—I have the honour to bring under your notice the case of Akabusi Taualube, one of our ministers in Haabai. He was summoned to appear before the court last month on a charge of stealing a few nuts from a plantation. His defence was that it was his brother’s *abi*, who had requested him to take charge of it during his absence in Tonga. The reply was that the Government had taken it away. Akabusi subjoined that it had not been announced to either himself or his brother, nor were they aware of it. Akabusi was then condemned to six months’ convict labour. His brother on hearing of it applied to Iki, the *bulekolo*, who was in Tonga at the time, to know if the *abi* had been taken away. The reply was ‘certainly not,’ and a letter was written to the authorities in Haabai informing them of the fact. Akabusi, however, is still working as a convict under the charge of theft. Comment upon this case is needless, and I have the honour to ask that you will give orders to have this injustice redressed.

“I would also call your attention to the harsh conduct of the authorities of Haabai towards the Wesleyans, who are still detained in Lifuka and the mission premises. It is hard enough to have their liberty taken away, but their difficulties are increased by the purely local arrangements there. The Wesleyans have to get a permit even for a wash in the sea ; and, to obtain a permit at all, they have to ‘boaki’ to Isileli Fehoko, who sends them to Abiata, who furnishes a ‘tohi’ (permit), which they have to take to Latukakau and Moli before they can use it. It is not easy to find them both at home, and hours are wasted in what is often fruitless search, and thus the short time granted them is frittered away. In one instance, when Moli could not be found, and the man (Wycliffe Vea) venturing to rely upon the fact that Latukakau had seen it used his permit, Moli ordered him to be beaten, and he received fifteen lashes.

“I have also the honour to remind you that the Wesleyans in Haabai are strictly prohibited from planting food, and their stock of food is nearly exhausted ; and to ask, in the name of civilization at least, that such barbarous conduct be put an end to, and our people allowed to return to their homes, or at any rate to have more freedom of movement accorded to them, and liberty to provide the necessaries of life.”

The following is an extract from the letter of the town ruler of Lifuka :—" I am writing you about the conviction of Taualube (Akabusi). Thomas (Akabusi's brother) came to me and told me about it, for he and Akabusi and myself had spoken about the plantation. They were to look after it, hoe it, etc., and have the use of it till someone needed a plantation. As long as they had it they could do as they liked with it : and now, I hear, the matter waits my decision. If Akabusi has been convicted, he is not guilty. Do you, therefore, speak to Kaho (the chief gaoler), for if he has been convicted, he is not guilty, and that is all I have to say about the matter."

After receiving the letter from Mr. Moulton, the Premier could not plead ignorance of the case ; yet, at the date of our last advices, there had been no redress—Agabus was working out his sentence.

Under date of December 24th, 1885, Mr. Crosby writes :—" Since beginning this letter information has come to hand confirming my fears, that the new 'lotu' laws would be used to oust our ministers from some of the islands. We have always had a minister in Haano, an island in the Haabai Group, but owing to the fierce persecution we cannot comply with the requirements of the new law, as to the number of adherents which are necessary to enable our minister to remain there. The consequence has been that the chief has given him notice to go at once, or he will be bound and taken away. The chief also informed our superintendent minister that he must leave, or he would be fined 20 dollars."

In most of the islands we have valuable church properties, but it is questionable whether Mr. Baker will allow to any Wesleyan agent the right of remaining as the guardian of our property.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### REPORT OF THE DEPUTATION, ETC.

In the published Minutes of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, lately held in Sydney, the report which the Deputation that was appointed to visit Tonga presented to that Conference is given at length. From this official publication we now quote :—

The following is the Report of the Deputation appointed by the General Conference of 1884 to visit the Friendly Islands, and interview the King and the European and Native Missionaries, with a view to the recommendation of such measures as would, in the judgment of the Deputation, put an end to the divisions which have interfered with the work of our Church in the Friendly Islands District, and to report to the New South Wales and Queensland Conference of 1886.

We expected to leave on our mission in September or October, 1885, but reports having reached Australia that there had been a secession from our Church in Tonga, we were urged by the President of the General Conference, the Tongan Committee in Sydney, the Committee of Privileges of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and by ministers in Melbourne, invited to consult with the Rev. John Watsford, to hasten our departure to Tonga. Two members of the Deputation accordingly left Sydney on April 10th, and were joined by the Rev. F. Langham in Fiji, and we proceeded at once to Tonga, where we arrived on Friday, May 1st, and immediately entered upon our difficult and delicate work. In doing this work we felt that our only hope was in God, and we looked to Him for His help and blessing, and we know that He has been with us, and we believe has guided us in all things. We went as peacemakers, determined to make any concessions that did not oppose the right. We did not go as the allies of either party, prepared to oppose the other. Before the others landed we agreed that in accordance with etiquette one of our number should first go to the Hon. S. W. Baker, the King being in Vavau, and learn from him at what hour we could have an interview with him. This was done, the Rev. John Watsford proceeding to the King's house, saw

Mr. Baker, and arranged that the Deputation should meet him at three o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Baker intimated that the Rev. J. B. Watkin would be present.

We have carefully inquired into all cases of persecution, and other matters brought under our notice, taking nothing on mere report, but examining the parties concerned, or those who were eye or ear witness of what occurred, and so fully informed of all particulars. We have been unanimous in our conclusions, having seen eye to eye in all things. There has not been a single matter of any importance on which we have differed, and we cannot but believe that the great majority of persons, with the information before them that we have had, would have come to the same conclusions. We have in all things aimed at doing the right and accomplishing the one work given us by the Conference to do, but we believe we have not given satisfaction to either party.

After careful examination and inquiry we give the following as the true state of things in Tonga, on our arrival and during our stay there:—

#### STATISTICS.

*Church Members and Adherents*:—All Vavau had turned to the New Church, nearly all Haabai, and more than half of Tongatabu. Mr. Baker told us one day that only about one-third of the people of Tongatabu were Wesleyans. The population of the island was supposed to be nine or ten thousand, so that would mean that about 3000 were Wesleyans. Another day he said we had not more than 1300 or 1400 people. Mr. Moulton thinks we have about 3000. We have concluded that between 2000 and 3000 remain with our Church. On Sunday we saw a large congregation of 500 or 600 at Nukualofa. Mr. Rabone had about 300 at the western end of the island. Mr. Crosby had good congregations at Mua, and many other services were held. They call the new Church the Jiaji Tanataina, which means Free Church. The Wesleyan Church is called Jiaji Fakaogo, which means a Church that has to wait for orders from somewhere else, or a Church not free. This is a new term, and is used in reproach. We found Mr. Baker supreme, in all but name, the King of Tonga. We told him so, over and over again, and he could not deny it. On every side we heard, "Tubou is king, but Mr. Baker rules." In the Government of the land he sets up one and puts down another, and everything seems to be under his hand. In all our conversations with him this

was the impression made on our minds. He is everything in the New Church. It is simply misleading to speak of Mr. Watkin as its head. He can only do what and as Mr. Baker directs him. No one can for a moment fail to see this. Persecution, fierce and cruel persecution, has been carried on against our people. The plan pursued in establishing the New Church has been this: In every town and village great meetings of the people are frequently held, to which all are summoned. The letter of the King is read, or his command is made known by the ruling chief, and sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should all turn to the Free Church. Threats were held out against any who do not turn. If they turn to the New Church, or to Popery, they are not molested; against those who do not turn to one or the other, persecution is at once commenced. It was impossible to give all the cases that came under the notice of the Deputation: we select a few.

1. Chiefs put out of office under Government (see written statement forwarded by Deputation No. 1). In a letter from Mr. Baker to H. B. M. Pro-consul he says, referring to the deposition of Mayors, "Besides, who can say they were put down because they belonged to the Wesleyan Church? No, because they supported you, and also on account of their inability to perform the commands of his Majesty, and set up the Free Church in their towns."

2. Men and women driven from their homes and lands. (See statements No. 2, 2A, 2B.)

3. Personal violence. (See statements No. 3, 4, 4A.)

4. Banished to uninhabited islands. (See statements No. 5, 4, 6.)

5. Forcible possession taken of our churches. (1) All churches in Vavau. Mr. Baker admits. (2) All churches but one in Haabai. Mr. Baker admits. (3) Several churches in Tongatabu. Not those Churches only where we have now no people, but others where we have. In some cases our teachers have not been allowed to enter the churches, and in others have been put out. (See statements No. 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 10A.)

6. General persecution. (See statements No. 11, 12.)

We have charged Mr. Baker with these cases of persecution, and he did not deny them. He and Mr. Watkin admitted that there had been cases of persecution. Mr. Baker tried to explain them away by saying that they were persecuted, not because they were Wesleyans, but in concert

with Mr. Moulton. The last evening we were in Tonga, having to meet a large number of our people, we wrote to Mr. Baker, asking him if we might tell them that no man would be persecuted for his religion, but that each would be allowed to worship God according to his conscience, as the Constitution of Tonga provides. He replied—"I have already informed Mr. Moulton, M.C., No. 36, of March 31st, and which Mr. Moulton has already printed in one of his circulars, that 'I have instructed the Minister of Police to inform the chiefs of whom Mr. Moulton has complained, that all Tongan subjects are free to perform their worship as they deem fit, in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences.' I have since instructed the Minister of Police to inform all the chiefs concerning the same." This letter shows that on March 31st, Mr. Baker said this to Mr. Moulton, and yet persecution had been carried on ever since, and some of the worst cases occurred just as we arrived, in the end of April and the beginning of May. When we visited King George at Vavau, he would give us no direct answer to our question, "Will each man be allowed to worship God according to his conscience, as the Constitution of Tonga provides?" Again and again we asked the question, but he only replied, "There can be no peace while Mr. Moulton is here." Mr. Baker informed us, and this is the general expectation, that King George would soon arrive in Tonga with all his people from Vavau and Haabai, armed; and then, referring to our people, he said, "Some will be hanged and others banished." Mr. Baker told us many times that the people are not persecuted because they are Wesleyans, but because they are with Mr. Moulton, who is opposed to the Government. Whatever mistakes Mr. Moulton may have made, there can be nothing to justify the bringing of such grave and unfounded charges as the following:—Mr. Baker declared over and over again to us, that Mr. Moulton was working to secure the annexation of Tonga to Great Britain, and that he was in league with other foreign residents here to secure this. Mr. Moulton says there is not the slightest foundation for saying this; that he was not in favour of annexation, and has made no move in the world to secure it. Mr. Baker told us that Dr. Buckland, H. B. M. Pro-consul, had said to Mr. Moulton, that if there was any bloodshed in Tonga, it would lie at his (Mr. Moulton's) door. We asked Mr. Moulton if Dr. Buckland had said this; he informed us that there was not

a word of truth in it. We asked H. B. M. Consul, who has just returned to Tonga, if Dr. Buckland had said this. The next morning he wrote to us to say, that Dr. Buckland had authorised him to give the statement a most unqualified denial. Mr. Baker learned of Dr. Buckland's denial of the statement, and he came to us and said we had misunderstood him; that when he told us of what Dr. Buckland had said, one of us had asked him if he himself had heard Dr. Buckland say it, and he had replied "No; a white man told me." No one of us can remember asking this question, but that is unimportant. It is clear that the report has been circulated, and the impression made on our minds in hearing it from Mr. Baker was that he himself had heard the statement made by Dr. Buckland. On Mr. Baker's own showing we should not have known otherwise had not one of our party asked the question he says we did. Referring to the persecutions mentioned above, we repeatedly told Mr. Baker that he was responsible for the whole of it. This he denied. He had already, he said, ordered to be brought back to their homes some of the people who had been banished, and that he had notified the chiefs that if they continued to do these things he would undo them. At that moment we were passing the island of Kao; we reminded Mr. Baker that there were now some twenty of our persecuted people on that island, where they had been banished simply because they would not turn to the New Church (we learn from letter No. 6 that many more had to follow.) Mr. Baker admitted the fact, saying they should not be much longer there, that he had written to the King to send a boat to have them returned to their homes. We asked, "What if your orders to the chiefs to have them brought back were not complied with? He said, "I would write again." "And if still your command was disobeyed, what then?" we asked. Said he, "We should then try who was the stronger." We pointed out to Mr. Baker that the chiefs were only obeying the command of the King in what they did; that, if he, Mr. Baker, could undo these things, he could prevent them, and so the responsibility rested on him. It was reported that Mr. Watkin said at one of the New Church meetings at Vavau, "I am a British subject, and, therefore, cannot advise you to take possession of the Churches, but if the King tells you to do it, that is another thing." Mr. Watkin denies that he said this; but the trustees who took possession were members of his Church,

and he entered no protest against this act, administered no censure on them for what they did ; but, on the contrary, endorsed their action by preaching in the churches on the following Sunday, and was prepared, with Mr. Baker, to defend the seizure when the Deputation pointed out the illegality of what had been done. After long conversations with Mr. Baker, he said he now clearly saw that they had acted illegally, and that he would recommend that the Churches be restored.

With this sad state of things before us, came the questions, What can we do ? What can we recommend We determined, however, bad as things were, and however little the hope of success, that we would still try and bring about a reconciliation. But here we met with many difficulties : (1) Our ministers and some of our people here think it is impossible to effect a reconciliation ; some, would, perhaps, go further, and say that under existing circumstances it is not desirable, inasmuch as all was under Mr. Baker, and our people have been so cruelly persecuted. (2) Letters published in the Colonies, and letters written by leading ministers to Mr. Baker, have made our way very difficult. One letter, published in Melbourne, was printed in part in Tonguese, and published by Mr. Baker to show what ministers and chief laymen in the Colonies thought of these things. One sentence especially in this letter gave great pain to our persecuted people—the part which says that those who would remain in the Wesleyan Church would be only those “politically opposed to the King.” In a letter from Mr. Baker to H.B.M.’s Pro-consul, dated April 6th, 1885, he described members of the Church that would be left to us as “political opponents of his Majesty, rebels and roughs.” The next day the Melbourne letter referred to was published in Tonguese by Mr. Baker. Now, from all we have heard and seen, we do not hesitate for a moment to say, that this is a vile and cruel slander on our people. We have met hundreds of them, and they say : “We love the King ; we do not believe that this is his doing ; we are not opposed to him ; we only want to worship God as we have been accustomed to do.” Mr. Baker informed us that one minister had written urging him to insist on Mr. Moulton’s removal, and Mr. Watkin being made Chairman of the District. Another minister had written pressing Mr. Baker to contend—1. For the Tongan District being annexed to the Victoria and Tasmania Conference. 2. The removal of

Mr. Moulton from Tonga, for the man who had cursed the King should not be allowed to remain in Tonga. Mr. Baker showed this letter to one of the Deputation, and offered to show it to another. We complain of these letters. The Conference sent us to Tonga to learn the true state of things, and then recommend what we considered best in order to peace being restored ; and here are our brethren at a distance, who could not possibly know the true state of things, urging Mr. Baker to insist on certain conditions which would make our work impracticable. Mr. Baker referred to these letters when speaking to the natives and to us. To the natives he said, "This is what ministers and laymen in the Colony want." To us he said, "You want more than the fathers in the Colony ask for." We, however, determined to proceed. After interviews with Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin on one side, and Mr. Moulton and our people on the other, we came to the conclusion that we would propose the four following recommendations in order to a reconciliation :—

1. That the Tongan District should be separated from the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and be connected with the Victoria and Tasmania Conference.

2. That Mr. Moulton's request, made two years ago, and which he was prepared to repeat, if by that a reconciliation could be effected, that he be allowed to remove from Tonga to a circuit in New South Wales, be complied with.

3. That Mr. Watkin be allowed to withdraw his resignation, that he suffer no disabilities because of anything that has taken place, and that his request, presented two years ago, to be allowed to remove from Tonga to a Colonial circuit, be complied with.

4. That the most suitable ministers that could be found in any of the Conferences be sent to carry on the work in Tonga.

Mr. Baker said he would agree to the first, second, and fourth recommendations, but that he objected to the third, and assured us that the King would never consent to Mr. Watkin's removal. He also said that if Mr. Moulton and Mr. Crosby were removed, and Mr. Watkin allowed to remain at the head of the New Church, he and Mr. Watkin could in two or three years, say by the next General Conference, so prepare the New Church that it might be connected with one of the Annual Conferences. We urged that what we proposed should be accepted, showing how much we gave way for peace sake, and how little was

required of him, but all in vain. We then expressed our intention of proceeding to Vavau, to pay our respects to the King, and place our proposals before him, although assured by Mr. Baker what the result would be. We went to Vavau. Mr. Baker wrote, asking for a passage in our vessel, which was at once granted. Arrived at Vavau, Mr. Baker landed, and sent off word that the King would see us at seven o'clock. We arrived at the King's house a little before our time. Mr. Baker was not there. We had all met the King some years before, and he knew us all, especially Mr. Rabone, but he would speak no word to us till Mr. Baker came. We sat at the table for at least ten minutes, the King at the head. Mr. Rabone spoke to his Majesty in Tonguese, but he made no reply. Mr. Langham spoke in Fijian, but no reply. Mr. Baker came, and our recommendations were laid before the King. He said he could not consent to Mr. Watkin's removal. We then asked that our people might be allowed to worship God according to their conscience, as the Constitution of Tonga provided. To this he gave no satisfactory answer, merely saying, "There can be no peace while Mr. Moulton is here." From the above it would be seen that what the King and Mr. Baker demanded was, that Mr. Moulton should be removed, and Mr. Watkin reinstated in office; but we could never recommend this.

1. It would, we think, be altogether opposed to what was fitting and right to make a brother Chairman of the District who had just separated from us; who, if he had been faithful to his vows, could have prevented the separation altogether, or to the extent it had taken place; and who was absolutely under the direction of Mr. Baker.

2. Our people would not join the New Church. They regard Mr. Baker as the cause of all the evil, and they look upon Mr. Watkin as entirely subservient to him.

3. If Mr. Watkin has not been a party to the persecution, he has not protested against it; has not, as far as we know, tried to prevent it; and has not administered discipline on any of the members of his Church guilty of it.

4. There could be no confidence in the future. We have no guarantee, that if any act of any Conference were obnoxious to Mr. Baker the same thing would not be repeated.

Having settled this, we then carefully considered the question whether we could recommend that as a Church we should withdraw from Tonga altogether. After much

thought, going over the ground again and again, and earnestly praying to God for help and direction, we came to the firm, unanimous resolution that we could not recommend this; because,—

1. It would be unjust and cruel to our persecuted people to leave them.

2. It would not heal the breach, for our people have made up their minds not to join the Church under Mr. Baker and Mr. Watkin.

They said to us, "We do not follow Mr. Moulton because he is Mr. Moulton. If Mr. Moulton went to the New Church we would not go. If you take Mr. Moulton away we can die, for we have shaken hands with death; but we will never join the New Church. We wish to live and die Wesleyans, and we do not believe in the New Church, because it is a political movement of Mr. Baker's and Mr. Watkin. If you go away and leave us, and forget us, we shall meet again, and you will understand us then, if you do not now." It is easy to say, "Retire;" but before God we have had to ask, "Is it right to do so? Will the cause of truth and righteousness be really promoted by our doing so?" We think not. Could our friends have heard our dear old native minister, John Faubula, who had been preaching the Gospel over forty years, and many others, pleading with us, they would never think of leaving them. Nor can we abandon those God-fearing but weak Christians who are nominally members of the so-called Free Church, who have been driven by threats of persecution, or by absolute cruelty, into a Church with which they have no sympathy, and which, many of them, indeed, regard as a political institution, but who are secretly true to our own Church, and who long and pray for this reign of terror to cease, that they may again be connected with the Church of their fathers, with which are all their pleasantest recollections and strongest sympathies. It would be cruel in the extreme to leave these, who would only rejoice were it possible for them to follow their own inclinations, without that oversight and loving care which they have hitherto received from their own missionaries, of whose fidelity they are fully convinced. And we think it would be little less than a calamity to abandon those who, at the present moment, are openly among the opponents of our Church, not a few of whom were, until this unhappy secession was precipitated, among their staunchest adherents and true to

the Church of their fathers. We cannot but believe that when freed from the evil influence under which they have been led into the excesses which have characterised the secession, they will be ashamed of the part they have taken, and there will be a revulsion of feeling against the movement which has been so injurious to their best interests, and will turn with loathing against it, and seek to connect themselves again with that Church which they know in their inmost souls has been the instrument in God's hands of their regeneration and elevation, and whose influence and institutions have been promotive of all civil, social, and religious liberty and blessing. We cannot but hope that in answer to the prayers of His Church, God will interpose on behalf of the unhappy people, and the rulers of Tonga be induced to cease their harsh and oppressive measures, when the services of their missionaries, and the institutions of their Church, would again be sought after.

Having, then, determined that we cannot recommend our withdrawal as a Church from Tonga, we had to consider the very delicate question—Do we recommend any change, and what? In dealing with this question we would remember that Mr. Moulton has done a great work for Tonga, has been true to our Church, and has sincerely desired, we believe, ever to promote the glory of God and the good of Tonga. It is right, too, that we state that the people remaining with us greatly respect and love Mr. Moulton, and it would grieve them sorely if he were removed. Still, in view of the complications which have arisen, the impossibility of any friendly communication between the two parties, together with the fact that Mr. Moulton has expressed himself strongly as to the impossibility of any reconciliation being effected, we are convinced that a change is desirable, and recommend that at least one experienced minister should be appointed by the next Annual Conference to our Church in Tonga. In concluding our report, we would urge that earnest prayers be everywhere made for poor, divided, and unhappy Tonga, and may the Great Master hear and speedily answer!

JOHN WATSFORD,  
 FREDERICK LANGHAM,  
 WILLIAM T. RABONE.

Bau, Fiji, May 16th, 1885.

The following letter from the Rev. F. Langham was also read, and the Conference resolved it should be printed as an addendum :—

“ Bau, December 31, 1885.

“ To the President of the General Conference,

“ Dear Mr. President,—There will be laid before the Conference to assemble on the 19th proximo, the report of the Deputation appointed to inquire into the difficulties, &c., which have arisen in the Tonga District. As I have changed my opinion with respect to one recommendation on which the Deputation were unanimous last May, it seems to me to be my duty to inform you thereof, for the information of the Conference. The recommendation I refer to is in the closing paragraph, and is to the effect, that the Rev. Mr. Moulton should be removed, and another experienced minister be sent. All the rest of the report I adhere to still. But it seems to me now that to remove Mr. Moulton would not accomplish the object we aimed at when we agreed upon this part of our report. On the contrary, it would, I fear, further the purpose which Messrs. Baker and Watkin evidently are determined by any means to accomplish, viz., the extermination of Wesleyan Methodism from the Tonga District, and it certainly would very much add to the distress and to the difficulties of our devoted people who would not leave us even if Mr. Moulton were removed; for they would have to suffer without the support which his presence gives, and which I am inclined to believe no other missionary's presence could give;—no other missionary, I mean, who could be secured at the present time. The recommendation referred to was certainly a concession to the Tongan Government. But the cruel persecution which Mr. Baker said should be stopped, ‘and every Tongan be allowed to worship God according to the Constitution’ which has been carried on to the present time, with the most ferocious brutality, relieves us, in my opinion, of any obligation to consider the Tongan Government, while it justifies, I think, the adoption of whatever course will give the greatest confidence and support to those who are resolved, come what may, to remain true to the Wesleyan Methodist Church, especially, too, as there seems to be now no probability of a reconciliation being effected, whatever we may do, between the Tongan Government and the Wesleyan Church. Messrs. Baker and Watkin stated to us that if Mr. Moulton were removed, the people (seceders) might be prepared (by them) to be again united with one of the Conferences in two or three years; but I had a suspicion at the time that they were not sincere, and from all that has transpired since, I am fully persuaded that the suggestion was simply a ruse on their part. Perhaps I ought to exclude Mr. Watkin from this charge because he seems to be entirely in the hands and under the direction of Mr. Baker. I repeat, Mr. President, that in view of the deliberate and persistent violation of the promise made by Mr. Baker, to stop the persecution of our people,—in view of the cruel outrages committed upon the innocent, defenceless, and long-suffering adherents of our Church, who have nobly stood by their colours, and who have been strongly influenced thereto by the courageous stand which Mr. Moulton has made, and for whom, perhaps, no substitute could be found so thoroughly in touch with our people, all of whom believe

in him, and would be grieved by his removal, and whose removal would lead some of our people to abandon us;—in view, too, of the fact that the Tongan Government has, so I am informed on good authority, represented the Acting High Commissioner's words, that he had not come to interfere between the King and his subjects, as an approval of the action of the Tongan Government against Wesleyans;—and in view of the fact that Mr. Moulton has abandoned, so I judge, the publication of circulars which were irritating to his opponents and unfortunate for his friends, and which pained the Deputation, &c., I do not feel that I can now support the recommendation to withdraw Mr. Moulton from Tonga. I have, of course, informed the Revs. Messrs. Watsford and Rabone of the views I hold, and that I am addressing you thereon.

“I am, dear Mr. President,

“Yours faithfully,

“FREDERICK LANGHAM.

The letter from the Rev. W. T. Rabone was also directed to be printed:—

“York Street, Sydney,

“January 28, 1886.

“Rev. Richard Sellors, President of the Conference, Sydney.

“Rev. and dear Sir,—As one of the members of the Deputation to the Friendly Islands, I fully agree with the Rev. F. Langham in the reasons given by him for the retaining of the Rev. J. E. Moulton in Tonga, the circumstances having so materially changed since our visit.

“I am, &c.,

“W. T. RABONE.

“P.S.—I have already, at greater length, in an address to the Conference, verbally stated this.”

#### RESOLUTION OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS' DISTRICT MEETING BEGUN AT NUKUALOFA, NOVEMBER 16TH, 1885.

“The question having been put to the Quarterly Meetings in Tonga as to whether they wish to be removed from the New South Wales and Queensland Conference to another, and it having been answered in the negative by the unanimous vote of those meetings, this District Meeting unanimously requests the Conference not to make any change.”

The following letter from the Tongan native ministers in District Meeting assembled was next presented and read:—

“Nukualofa, November 24th, 1885.

“To the New South Wales and Queensland Conference.

“It having appeared to us likely that you would seek some course of action on account of the disturbance which is going on here, and as it is plain to us that you will not be able to touch Mr. Baker, as he has left us, while Mr. Moulton still walks according to the orders of Conference, and stands by the right, as you very well know,

therefore we take measures in time, lest your course of action should look towards him, knowing he is one who is still in the hands of the Conference, and should take the form of removing him from Tonga. The Quarterly Meetings requested the Financial District Meeting to write a letter and let you know their wishes—namely, that you should not remove Mr. Moulton. And we, the financial District Meeting, also support their request. It is plain to us that you will want to know why we wish to keep him. 1. We wish to keep him because we see his entire devotion to the work of his office—namely, the charge of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga; moreover, his carrying on the college with all his strength, an institution the value of which is not seen mistily, but stands out like Kao and Tofua.\* 2. Are you not aware that the Tongan ship is out of sight of land at the present time, and is struggling with the waves and the gale, and numbers have been swept away, and some have sunk, while we are but few now? And if by any chance he had not been here all our people would have been swept away by the violence of the squall we have been caught in. Well, now, as he has maintained our fight when all was lost, and has opened up for us a way to a good state of things, can we be forgetful of him? No. Therefore, should the Conference look toward taking him away, please to remember this our request, and let him remain in Tonga. 3. Another ground of our wishing to retain him is on account of the Bible and other books. Are we not greatly pleased that we have got the New Testament by his translation? We have no doubts in our mind concerning it, like some who have said such and such things concerning it; but it is plain to us that the translation he has made is exceedingly correct and good, and it is the veritable tongue of Tonga. And if we are pleased at the accomplishment of his translation of the New Testament, how much more if he is allowed to go on with the translation of the Old Testament, which he is already engaged in, to say nothing of the hymn-book, histories, biographies, &c. Now, if it shall seem good to you to do according to these words of ours, well, the Old Testament is sure to be finished, and the other many things which he is preparing for us. And to think for a moment of paying attention to what the other side say! Have they not left you, while we still hold to you? And to think for a moment of his going away—and we deserted! Ah, then would come true the words of the old Tongan in his prayer. ‘Our case would be pitiful indeed!’ Our love to you—signed by me—

“DAVID TONGA,

“By order of the District Meeting of the Tongan ministers.”

The address which the Rev. J. E. Moulton delivered to the Conference, and which at its request was reduced to writing, briefly summarizes facts enlarged upon in the preceding pages of this pamphlet, and is as follows:—

The Deputation left on May 8, and the persecutions broke out again almost immediately. At one town the chief, frightened by the rumours of the King’s intended descent with an

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\* Two lofty mountain peaks rising abruptly from the sea. Kao is estimated to be 5000 feet high.

armed force upon the towns where there were still Wesleyans remaining, had resolved to compel his people to turn over. In order to give his words effect, he caused to be beaten in the most brutal manner one of our people, on the pretext that his demeanour was not respectful. They tell me he received ninety-eight lashes, and I can believe it, for he presented a frightful appearance when I visited him a few hours after. During the flogging he was asked if he would turn over, but he refused. The chief then sent for our principal people, and told them that all who should come to our service next morning would be banished. Many of our people deserted us during the night, but not less than one hundred adults were present at the preaching.

Two days after the Wesleyans of the chief town in the west of the island (Kolovai) were banished from the town by command of their chief, who had received his orders from Mr. Watkin on the previous Sunday. There can be no doubt that Mr. Watkin did take a message from Mr. Baker to the effect, that he should do his utmost to make the people turn over. The exiles numbered some eighty or upwards, and were still living on the other side of my fence when I left for the Conference. They are the immediate descendants of Mr. Thomas's early converts, and have always been looked upon by the King as most trustworthy followers.

During this and the following weeks the most ferocious "fonos" were held, and the most terrible threats uttered. The people were worried incessantly to turn over, and many yielded. On one island the chief brutally thrashed three men, and was about to treat another in the same way when the British Consul entered the house and confronted him. The chief acknowledged that the punishment had been inflicted on account of their being Wesleyans. Up to June the churches taken from us number eighteen in Tongatabu alone.

In the month of July the King arrived with a fleet of sixty boats and small vessels, containing about 1800 warriors armed with axes and rifles. The titles of the chiefs who continued faithful to us were taken away. Orders were sent to bring every Wesleyan into the town. Not one was to be left; ill or well, they were to come; even a corpse was to be brought, "unless it had begun to smell!" The feeling generated by these things was a conviction that the King was bent on mischief. The most remarkable heroism was

shown by our people. One man, who had been left behind sick, when he heard that the hanging had begun (it was a false report) managed to get on horseback, and came crawling down, saying to his friends, "I was afraid I should be too late to be hung." Two women who had been unable to come down with their friends, had themselves conveyed to Nukualofa as soon as their babies were born, to die with their husbands. On the day fixed for the King's "fono" we held a prayer-meeting while it was still dark. There could be no doubt as to the King's intention. The chiefs, with scarcely an exception, had said in their official proclamations that his Majesty would hang or shoot some of the Wesleyans; Mr. Baker had expressed to the Deputation his opinion that the King really meant it, and as our people passed along on their way to the church the guards told them they would soon have their heads off. Still, there was little flinching, and when the drum beat they marched down to the palace without hesitation. Between two and three thousand presented themselves before the King, who, to everybody's surprise, dismissed them without proceeding to extremities. An attempt was shortly afterwards made by a party of warriors to break up Tubou College by force. This, however, was unsuccessful, and recoiled upon the actors, who were ordered by the King to their own islands.

At the Public School examinations our Wesleyan children were excluded, and the prizes they had won given to those belonging to the other Church. In August our people were allowed to return to their homes, and many of our churches were given back to us. A considerable number of our late adherents immediately returned to us, and a still greater number were prepared to follow their example as soon as it was plain that they could do so with safety. In order to prevent this, the King ordered every Wesleyan into Nukualofa again. They were to bring as much of their property as they could carry, as it was not likely that they would be allowed to remain. This edict drove away most of those who had rejoined us, and many of those who had stood firm hitherto. They had but just returned to their homes after a long absence, and had found everything in a ruinous condition, and the prospect of a further banishment was too much for their faith. They did not, however, join the New Church—at least only in name—but remained neutral, waiting for better days. This banishment lasted about four months. They were not allowed to visit their homes except

by permit ; and these permits were by no means easily got, and clogged with conditions which rendered them often useless. In Haabai, the Wesleyans were, in addition, confined to the mission premises, and strictly forbidden to plant any food. One great hardship was that they were not allowed to visit friends or relatives who might be sick, even when dying, or to bury them when dead. This was the King's special command, and was carried out in several instances which I inquired into. In Vavau, all who declared themselves Wesleyans were deported to other islands, and proceedings taken against some of them in the courts on frivolous charges, and they were condemned to imprisonment with hard labour. The ministers, also, whom I had sent to take the place of those that had resigned, were warned that they were not to exercise their functions, orders being given that if they attempted to take up their stations they were to be removed by force. One poor woman, the wife of an old native minister, was made to take an oath on the Bible that she would not return to the Wesleyan Church, and has suffered untold misery in consequence. The Law Courts were made use of as a means of persecution. However trivial the charge, the Wesleyan was certain to be found guilty ; while in many instances those who joined the New Church were acquitted, or had their sentences remitted. One of our leading men was lost to us in this way. He had been staunch to us from the first, and had not feared to go down into the valley of death ; but having by a *lapsus lingue* called the King a "barbarian King," by mistake for a "Protestant King," he was threatened with imprisonment for twenty-seven years, but the prospect was held out that he would be pardoned altogether if he turned over. This he accordingly did, with great reluctance, and was forgiven.

Special mention should be made of Agabus, one of our native ministers (properly catechist), who was condemned to work as a thief for six months for drinking a few nuts from his own plantation. The attention of Mr. Baker has been called to this. It is not contended now that the plantation was not his ; and yet he is made to work out his sentence. The case of Lavaka, too, is deserving of mention. He was the only one in Vavau who did not join the State Church, and the King imposed on him the task of keeping all the Church properties in Vavau in order. He attempted to perform this, but after a few days' hoeing, finding it a hopeless task, he most reluctantly joined the Government Church. On

our sending ministers to Vavau he immediately rejoined us, and was banished at once by the King, who also sent orders for him to be tried before the Haabai Court. The charges were to the effect that he had deceived the King by promising to join the Free Church, and afterwards returning to the Wesleyan. Both charges broke down, but the Judge exclaimed, "No matter; the King is angry with you, and you must have two years' convict labour and pay a fine."

In the month of September we were favoured by a visit from the Hon. J. B. Thurston, who visited the encampment of the banished Wesleyans, and made certain representations to the Tongan Government, and left, promising to return after a few weeks to see how matters were then. But little amelioration, however, took place in the condition of our people for some time; but they were, the most of them, eventually released from the durance vile in which they had been held, and allowed to return to their homes.

This partial relief, however, has been counterbalanced by the passing of certain Acts of Parliament which are evidently aimed at our Church, and intended to prevent the resumption of our work in those places where our numbers have been greatly reduced. One Act is to the effect that it shall not be lawful to preach where we have not six adults bona-fide natives of the place. Another prohibits our sending agents to take charge of any place where there are less than thirty adults. This has been already acted upon, the King himself sending a posse of policemen to bring away our catechist from a place where our people are few. There is another law which allows the chiefs or the Government to expel from the town anyone who is not a native. It does not define what is necessary to constitute a man a native of a place, and has been acted upon in one case where upwards of twenty-five years' residence can be proved, and another where father and grandfather have resided. As all the land is already taken up and allotted, this is equivalent to a sentence of confiscation of property on all to whom the Government or chiefs take a dislike. By another enactment a chief can summon home any one of his people who has not got the permission of the Government to reside away from his town, on pain of forfeiture of his tax-lands; and by another our children are prevented from residing in our college or training institutions without a permit. We have already protested against the two laws which especially affect our religious liberty, and hope the Conference will support that protest,

and also take measures, through the High Commissioner, or otherwise, to have those laws rescinded.

The above refers to facts that have occurred in our immediate neighbourhood, of which we are in the main eye-witnesses, but we have further learned by letter that our out-stations are in an even worse condition. In Niua Tobutabu our two ministers are bravely holding out, one at each end of the island; the handful of people still remaining faithful being under the permit-system; as if they were convicts. They were also in dread of starvation, having no land to plant upon, and the provisions which I had sent them not having arrived. In Niua Foaou the minister and forty of the people—men, women, and children—had been seized and bound; the minister had, in addition, been thrown into prison. I am also informed by an Englishman who has lately arrived in Sydney from that island, that the Government have worried the people by hurrying them away from their homes and placing them under police surveillance, until all but two or three have succumbed.

In regard to our present prospects, though brought so low we do not despair. We have only returned 2000 adherents; but this does not include those who, though they have given in their names as belonging to the State Church, yet do not attend their services, and are only waiting an opportunity to rejoin us. Some estimate these as a majority of the people; they certainly are very numerous. It is the opinion of everyone, native or European, with whom I have conversed, that the bulk of those who have left us will return as soon as they can do so in safety. In proof of this, there is the rush that took place when our people were first allowed to return home, when whole villages came over to us *en masse*. There is also the fact that at the time of my leaving we were having accessions to our numbers in every village and town; and in one or two places only the officials remained in connection with the State Church. But I myself am not quite so sanguine. I think that for some time at least the adherents of the New Church will be numerous on account of the influence of the native ministers and chiefs, though I fully believe that, were our religious liberty secured, we should be the Church of the majority, and should be easily able to support the three circuits, as at present.

In conclusion, I would emphasize the four difficulties that confront us at the present time—(1.) The District debt.

(2.) The persecutions which are being carried on directly, and indirectly through the Law Courts. (3.) The attitude of the King, who has written to Queen Victoria, and, on receiving her reply, intends to settle the affairs off-hand. This is from his own lips. His chiefs tell us the letter is an inquiry as to whether he can do what he likes with his people. If the answer is in the affirmative, he intends to hang the Wesleyan leaders. (4.) The recent legislation. It is in regard to these difficulties we ask the assistance of the Conference. We would remind you that you are our mother Church; that, though we ask help now, yet we were once able to give it, and we gave with both hands; that, though we may be troublesome to you, yet you cannot be ashamed of us, for we have taken joyfully the spoiling of our goods, and have faced banishment and death rather than violate our consciences. We have not deserted you, and you cannot, will not, desert us.

Rev. Joni Faubula also addressed the Conference, his speech being interpreted by the Rev. W. G. R. Stephinson. Joni is an aged native minister who has been preaching in Tonga for more than forty years. His father was the principal chief of the island of Lakemba. When Mr. Cargill came there, Joni helped to teach him the Fijian language, and assisted him when writing out the alphabet, &c. He was the first that Mr. Cargill baptised in Fiji, and has the honour of being the first of the noble band of local preachers raised up in that then cannibal land. Being persecuted on account of his having embraced Christianity, and his mother being a Tongan, he left Fiji and went to Tonga, where for nearly half a century he has been a devoted and successful labourer in the Lord's vineyard. He said the Tongan people would not leave the Wesleyan Church. It might be a very easy thing to cut off his head, but it was a very difficult thing for him to go from his Church. It took a long time for the Gospel to come to Tonga, but this new religion had sprung up very quickly indeed. They must understand that the people would not go from their lotu (religion). He had heard in different ways and from different quarters that they might cast Tonga off, and if so the people might die, but they would not go from their religion. He urged the Conference very earnestly not to take Mr. Moulton away, for he was the wealth and the light of Tonga, as pertaining to their souls. He hoped they would understand that the people of Tonga did not

want to be connected with any other Church; they would not be connected with any other Church than Sydney, for Sydney was their father Church, and they would stand by it. He concluded his address by saying, "That is the end of what I have to say, for in very much speaking there is evil."

In reply to questions, he stated that the threats he himself had received were very great indeed. His personal property was gone, and in the town where he was missionary they had taken away his plantation, the only reason for these things being that he was in the Wesleyan Church. In the town where he was missionary the property belonged to the Church; that in Haabai, which had been taken away was his own inheritance.

When these documents had been read, and the Rev. J. E. Moulton and the Rev. Joni Faubula had addressed the Conference, an animated and protracted discussion ensued respecting the course which it was most advisable under existing circumstances to adopt. By a large and decisive vote the Conference affirmed it as its conviction that the interests of our Church at this juncture rendered it imperative that Mr. Moulton should remain in Tonga. The following are the resolutions which were subsequently adopted:—

1. After earnest and prolonged discussion on the state of our Church in Tonga, this Conference, with saddened feelings, places on record the result of its deliberations.

2. The Report of the Deputation appointed by the last General Conference to visit Tonga having been laid before the New South Wales and Queensland Conference of 1886, in accordance with the resolution of the General Conference, was received and carefully considered.

3. The Conference heartily thanks the members of the Deputation for hastening, at much personal inconvenience, their visit to Tonga, and recognises the ability and kindly spirit with which they sought to accomplish the difficult task assigned them.

4. The Conference is deeply pained to find that at the time of the visit of the Deputation, the members and adherents of our Church were in different places being cruelly persecuted on account of their refusal to turn over to the New Church set up by King Tubou and his Premier, the Hon. S. W. Baker, whilst in various parts of the group forcible possession had been taken of our Churches.

5. It regrets to learn that the efforts of the Deputation to bring about a reconciliation were unsuccessful, and that the promises made in answer to the appeals of the Rev. John Watsford and his associates, that the Wesleyans might be allowed to worship God according to their consciences, as the Constitution of Tonga provides, have not been fulfilled.

6. The Conference expresses its warm sympathy with our people in the painful trials to which they have been subjected for so many months, and views with much emotion the patient, heroic, and martyr-like spirit they have so generally displayed.

7. It further records its approbation of the fidelity with which the Chairman of the District, the Rev. J. Egan Moulton, and his colleague the Rev. E. E. Crosby, B.A., in the face of grave difficulties, have sought to protect the rights and properties of our Church.

8. As it further appears from the Minutes of the Friendly Islands District Meeting, that the Quarterly Meetings in Tonga, and the Annual District Meeting, strongly object to their transference to another Conference, this Conference is of opinion that no change should for the present be made in their connection with this Conference.

9. In view among other things of the manner in which the secession has been brought about—the number and claims of those who remain steadfast to their adherence to the Church—and the strong grounds which exist for believing that numbers who have left would at once return if freedom of worship were allowed—the Conference concurs in the opinion expressed by the Deputation, that we should not withdraw our agents from the Friendly Islands,—a field of Missionary toil in which the Methodist Church has successfully laboured for more than half a century.

10. The Conference, after anxious and prayerful thought, regrets that it is compelled to dissent from the recommendation in the Report of the Deputation, that the Rev. J. Egan Moulton should be removed from Tonga. The facts that the matter of compensation for our Day Schools which have been resumed by the Tongan Government, and the seizure of our Church property, have not yet been settled—that the Tongan District Meeting has unanimously requested the re-appointment of Mr. Moulton, and has sent up as a Deputation, their oldest Native Minister to urge this request,—that the members of our Church throughout the Friendly Islands have such confidence in and such love for him, and are so

urgent for his continuance among them—that two of the members of the Deputation have, since the Report was drawn up, expressed by letters to the Conference, the opinion that Mr. Moulton's removal would not now accomplish the object aimed at when the proposal was first made—that the Conference has not at its disposal any experienced Minister whom it can send in his place—that his removal would, in our judgment, cause the general interests of our Church to suffer most materially—all combine with other reasons in forcing this Conference to the conclusion that the retention of Mr. Moulton at this particular period is essential to the best interests of our Church in Tonga.

The financial condition of the Friendly Islands' District was brought before the Conference by Mr. Moulton. It appeared that Vavau, the northern part of the group, had failed to pay its quota for the year 1884, thus creating a debt of £383. During 1885 meetings for raising money could not be held in the other circuits, as so many of the Wesleyans were in banishment; whilst nothing could be done in the way of removing the debt on Tubou college, as the students were tabooed from rendering assistance. Owing to these and other causes the District debt had reached the sum of £2000.

A proposal that a Tonga Relief Fund should be established at once met with the hearty approval of all present. One after another the members of the Conference rose—now a minister, and then a lay-representative—and promised subscriptions; so that in about an hour's time no less a sum than £650 had been entered on the subscription list. The Missionary Meeting was held the same evening in York-street Church, and after a noble collection amounting to £52 had been taken up, an announcement was made respecting what had been done that morning in the Conference by way of showing practical sympathy with the persecuted Tongans. Members of the congregation immediately began to express concurrence with the movement, by promising subscriptions of various amounts, and before the meeting closed the subscription list had reached the gratifying sum of £920. Up to the time of these pages going to press, public meetings have been held in the suburbs of Sydney, as well as in the great centres of population in the country, also in Brisbane and other parts of Queensland. Wherever the Deputation has travelled the greatest sympathy has been shown, giving substantial proof that the Fund has the hearty co-operation

of the Methodist people in New South Wales and Queensland; and we trust that our struggling Church in Tonga will be cheered by the support of all our friends into whose hands these pages may come. It would doubtless strengthen the Missionary feeling in our Colonies, if Mr. Moulton and his travelling companion, Henry Taliai, were able to devote a longer period in visiting the various circuits. But Mr. Moulton is anxious to return to his sphere of nearly twenty years' arduous and successful toil; and it is imperative that he should be in Tonga as early as possible. The amount already promised is £1,650 0s. 0d. and the Treasurers have received £834 6s. 4d. We need all the assistance promised, and much more. Kind reader, ere you put this pamphlet aside, please send the Treasurers a cheque for the persecuted Church in Tonga, that this emergency may be met, and the work of God carried on with cheer during the present year.

#### THE FINANCIAL AFFAIRS OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS' DISTRICT.

The Conference further resolved:—

1. That the financial condition of the Friendly Islands' District having been brought under the notice of the Conference, it was resolved that a special subscription list should be opened at once for the relief of Tonga.

2. The Conference further authorises the Rev. J. Egan Moulton to visit the Circuits in connection with this Conference to solicit help for the Tongan Relief Fund, and expresses the hope that the appeal will be liberally responded to.

3. This Conference commends Mr. Moulton and his cause to the sympathy and help of the Circuits in the other Conferences.

#### INFORMATION RELATING TO THE SECESSION IN TONGA.

That the Conference authorises the publication, in a pamphlet form, of the information concerning the Tongan secession which is in the possession of the Committee of Privileges and of the Conference, to be edited by the Rev. J. B. Waterhouse.

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