

W. Pearce
AGENT-GENERAL FOR COMMUNE DE FRANCEVILLE

THE SLAVE TRADE

CONTENTS
IN

THE NEW HEBRIDES:

BEING PAPERS READ AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW HEBRIDES MISSION,

HELD AT ANIWA, JULY 1871,

AND

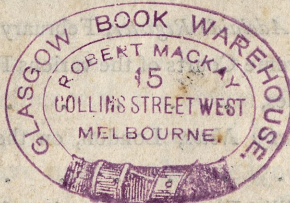
Published by the Authority of the Meeting.

EDITED BY THE

REV. JOHN KAY, COATBRIDGE,

SECRETARY TO THE FOREIGN MISSION COMMITTEE OF THE REFORMED

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.



EDINBURGH:

EDMONSTON & DOUGLAS, 88 PRINCES STREET.

1872.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY
BRISBANE

THE SLAVE TRADE

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Appeal to the Ministers and Members of the Presbyterian Churches supporting the New Hebrides Mission,	5
Minute of Meeting of New Hebrides Mission,	39
Bishop Patteson's Memorandum,	44
Queries regarding the Deportation of Natives of the South Sea islands, issued by the Anti-Slavery Society,	48
Answers by the Rev. Joseph Copeland, Missionary, Futuna, New Hebrides, .	48
Do. do. Rev. J. G. Paton, Missionary, Aniwa,	58
Do. do. Rev. Thomas Neilson, jun., Missionary, Port Resolution, Tana, .	60
Do. do. Rev. William Watt, Missionary, Kwamera, Tana,	61
Do. do. Rev. Peter Milne, Missionary, Nguna, New Hebrides,	63

APPENDIX.

Report by Mr Robert Gray, Immigration Agent, Brisbane, to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, regarding Removal of South Sea Islanders by British Vessels to Fiji and Queensland, and Letters therein referred to, . . .	67
Reply to the above Report by the Rev. John G. Paton, with accompanying Letters,	72
Report of Trial of Captain Longmuir, of <i>Challenge</i> , for Attempted Kidnapping, .	80
Correspondence in Reference to the Charge of the Purchase of Four Men for a Musket, at Nguna,	83
A Profitable Trade, from the <i>Adelaide Register</i> , February 17, 1871, . . .	84
Copy of Memorial to the Supreme Courts of the various Presbyterian Churches in Britain and the Colonies,	86
Leading Article from the <i>Daily News</i> , London, on the Murder of Bishop Patteson,	88
Report of Meeting held in Willis' Rooms, London, in reference to Kidnapping in the South Seas,	90

PREFACE.

iv

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following extract from the minutes of the Annual Conference of Missionaries labouring in the New Hebrides will serve to connect the Editor with the papers which compose this pamphlet :—

“ANIWA, NEW HEBRIDES, July 3, 1871.

“It is resolved that the papers on the slave trade read and submitted to this meeting be published in the form of a pamphlet; that Mr Inglis be appointed to arrange these documents, and prepare them for publication; that the pamphlet be published at home; that the Rev. John Kay, Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, be requested to superintend the publication of said pamphlet, and that Mr Kay and said Committee be requested to make the necessary arrangements for the printing, publishing, and circulating the same.”

I have had much pleasure, in the interests of truth and justice, in undertaking the work thus intrusted to me, and have found that, from the forcible and striking manner in which the Missionaries have put their case, my labour has been very much confined to seeing the pamphlet through the press. As Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, I have marked from the first the tendency of the “Polynesian Labourers’ Act” to degenerate into a slave trade. When you have, on the one hand, the loud demand for labour in a young colony, together with the action of unscrupulous agents, who find a large gain in supplying that demand by any means; and when, on the other hand, you have natives who are ignorant, and all but defenceless, it is not hard to say what the results will be. These results have developed themselves in the New Hebrides, and in other island groups of the Pacific, with startling rapidity. More than once the attention of various departments of State, and even of the Imperial Legislature itself, has been called to this important matter, but it seems to me that the gravity of the crisis has not been sufficiently appreciated. It is hoped that this pamphlet will do something towards presenting the

matter in its true light. It is the production of men who have no mercenary ends to serve, whose hands are clean, whose words in all their transactions with the Mission Committee, and with the Church, have been characterised by transparent candour and truthfulness.

In reading over the manuscript and proofs of this pamphlet, one name, occurring again and again, has filled my heart with a feeling of deepest sadness. I refer to that noble missionary, Bishop Patteson. While Mr Inglis and others were quoting that "memorandum," so characteristic of the man in its sobriety of judgment, and in its righteous abhorrence of oppression in every form, it could not be given them to know that the very evil against which the Bishop of Melanesia lifted his voice was one which would, at no distant day, number himself among its many victims. God grant that the blood of this righteous man, not crying for vengeance, but for justice and right, may stir up our legislators in this coming session of Parliament to take such steps as shall, at once and for ever, put down this miserable traffic. My own feeling in the matter is, that the appointment of men-of-war to watch the working of this "Polynesian Labourers' Act" will not effect the desired end. Nothing short of absolute prohibition will, as it seems to me, serve the purpose; for, let enactments ever so strict be laid down for regulating the traffic, I believe means will be found to evade them in the future, as means have been found to evade them in the past; and the traffic will go on till some other terrible disaster, worse even than that which has already occurred, will rouse the nation to a sense of the foulness of the blot which she has permitted to rest upon her escutcheon.

I have only further to state, that I am prepared to place unreservedly at the service of such of our public men as may interest themselves in this question all the information regarding it which I possess. So far as the successful prosecution of missionary effort in the South Seas is concerned, the subject of this pamphlet is of deep importance to all the Presbyterian Churches in Britain and in the Australian Colonies. To the Churches more directly interested in the New Hebrides, it is a question of the continuance or abandonment of a work commenced in faith and hope—a work in which it has pleased the Almighty very abundantly to bless their efforts, but which is threatened with destruction, unless instant means are taken to avert the impending calamity.

JOHN KAY,

*Secretary to the Foreign Mission Committee of the
Reformed Presbyterian Church.*

COATBRIDGE, BY GLASGOW, N.B.,

December 25, 1871.

AN APPEAL

To the Ministers and Members of the Presbyterian Churches supporting the New Hebrides Mission, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr Steel, Sydney, Agent of the New Hebrides Mission, by the Rev. JOHN INGLIS, Aneityum, New Hebrides, Missionary from the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

Rev. Dr STEEL.

ANEITYUM, NEW HEBRIDES, June 15, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of addressing through you, as our agent, an Appeal to the Ministers and Members of the Presbyterian Churches supporting the New Hebrides Mission, calling their special attention to the slave trade, as carried on in this group.

You are aware that, for the last five or six years, the missionaries on this group have, either in their individual or collective capacity, or in both, been calling public attention, more or less fully, to the evils arising from the deportation of natives from these islands. These efforts of ours have stirred up against us a great amount of indignation, and called down upon us the severest strictures from those connected with the deportation traffic. A portion of the Queensland press especially has assailed us with a marked animus, but dealing largely in assertion and rhodomontade, instead of proofs and solid arguments. If we state what we have seen with our own eyes, or heard with our own ears, the advocates of the system are ready with a captain, or a mate, or a passenger, or a somebody, who knows something of the matter, and whose version of the affair is as different from ours as two statements can well be; and the conclusion which they draw is this, that their witnesses are wholly right, and that we are wholly wrong. If we state what has been told us by white men or natives, we are at once met with the reply, that this is all hearsay evidence, and goes for nothing; they could supply any amount of counter-evidence of a similar character. In short, in interested quarters, it seems as if anybody's word, and everybody's word, is admitted as good and reliable evidence, except what comes from the lips or the pen of a missionary. They would fain make the public believe—and by their loud and reiterated assertions they have partially succeeded in doing so—that no system of emigration was ever conducted on juster or more humane principles, and that no class of emigrants were ever more benefited by removal to a new land than the natives of these islands are by going to the plantations in Queensland and Fiji; that the planters are doing more for their civilisation in five years than the missionaries could do in fifty; that if we could but look at the matter dispassionately, we should see that they

are our most valuable allies ; but that not being able to take an enlightened view of the case, our opposition has become selfish, factious, narrow, and bigoted. We have no intention of availing ourselves of our right of reply to a press so thoroughly one-sided. We are quite willing to leave the public to take our statements and theirs at what they may think them respectively worth. We are desirous, however, to put ourselves right with our supporters, and through them with the Christian public. With this end in view, I am desirous to call attention to several points which, I have reason to believe, are either overlooked or not understood, either by the supporters of this Mission or the public at large.

Be it observed, however, that no one of us has been in Queensland or Fiji, to see the working of the system there ; and I am not making any complaints as to how the natives are treated on the plantations. The advocates for Queensland assure us that everything is right there ; that if abuses exist at all, we must look Fiji-ward ; that the Government and the planters are unimpeachable in Queensland. With a settled Government and a partially disinterested public, we should naturally expect that matters would be less unsatisfactory there than where there is neither the one nor the other. Still, when our late lamented brother, Mr Morrison, was in Queensland some three years ago, the accounts which he gave us of the way in which he saw natives prepared for passing their examination by the immigration agent, and of the working of the system generally, were anything but reassuring to those interested in the welfare of the natives. Before the late American war, there was no end to the assurances heard from the Southern States that the slaves were well treated, were perfectly content, and far better off than the working classes in Europe ; but we have heard of no applications on the part of the blacks for a return to slavery.

We hear much of the enlightened and humane legislation of Queensland, by which the interests of the natives are so carefully protected. One thing is certain, that although that legislation was effected with a special reference to the natives of this group, not a single line of it has been forwarded to this mission. It is true we have no legal claim for such documents ; but one would think that a Government like that of Queensland, with so much of the paternal avowedly in its character, would have been forward to supply us, who are so deeply interested in the natives, with every enactment bearing on this subject. About five years ago, one of our number accidentally obtained a single copy of the Queensland Polynesian Labourers' Act ; but that, so far as I have been able to learn, was all connected with Queensland legislation that has found its way into the hands of any one connected with this mission. This may have happened without any fault on the part of the Government ; but it looks, in all the circumstances of the case, somewhat suspicious. It looks as if Acts were passed rather with a view to blind the public than to operate as a means of protecting the poor natives. The slavers themselves have not been more shy of us than the Queensland Government has been.

But though by no means satisfied that the state of the natives, even in Queensland, is one of such content and happiness as the public are assured it is, that, as I have said, is not the question I mean to

discuss. I shall confine myself to the working of the system in the New Hebrides.

One of the first grounds, if not ostensibly, at least virtually and in effect, taken up against us by the defenders of this trade is, that we have no right to interfere in the matter; that we are taking too much upon us; that, when using our influence to prevent natives from leaving their islands, we are unwarrantably interfering with the legitimate interests of commerce. In short, we are regarded by the representatives of this department of commerce as a kind of interlopers, who have very little right to be here; or, if here at all, we have no right to interfere in matters that do not directly concern ourselves. Now, how stands the case? We hear much in these times of vested rights and vested interests; and of the sacredness of these, even when their origin is somewhat doubtful, when their claim is chiefly prescriptive. What is the position of this mission in regard to these islands? To say nothing of what was expended by the London Missionary Society, in commencing missionary operations on this group, and into whose labours, with their full and free consent, we entered, the supporters of this mission have expended upwards of £40,000 for the purpose of Christianising, educating, and civilising the natives of this group, and with no expectation of any pecuniary return. At the present time they are expending upwards of £4000 a year on this mission, and they have made arrangements for greatly extending their operations. They are the only parties who are expending anything for securing these or similar advantages to the natives. Besides, eight of their agents—five missionaries and three missionaries' wives—have laid down their lives in the high places of heathendom; two of these fell by the hands of violence. A great number of native agents have also either died or been killed in the same work. The supporters of this mission have no Act of Parliament on which to fall back for the protection of their rights. They hold no license from the Queensland Government for recruiting their mission stations; they hold no legal claim to any privileges in this group; but certainly, in the eyes of an enlightened and discerning public, the Presbyterian Churches, which originated and support this mission, have vested rights in this group that ought not to be lightly set aside. They have certainly established a claim beyond any others to be the natural guardians of these poor defenceless natives. If these natives have any rights, any interests, any advantages worth protecting, they (the Presbyterian Churches) are doubtlessly entitled to a first voice in asserting these. If these rights, interests, and advantages are extensively and permanently injured or destroyed, as we are fully convinced they are by this nefarious traffic, they are not only entitled, but morally bound, to use all their influence for the protection of the injured; and we, their agents in this group, would be sinfully negligent and highly blameworthy if we did not exert ourselves to the utmost to protect the poor natives, and call attention to the wrongs inflicted upon them in the name of "Free-trade." If we have erred at all in this matter, and doubtlessly we have erred, it has not been by doing too much, but by doing far too little.

But then we are told, in effect, that there is really no grievance to complain of, except it be that the natives, conscious of the disadvantages of savage life, and the bondage in which they are kept by the mis-

sionaries, are eager to emigrate and sell their labour for money, or what money will buy of the products of civilised life, and return to their islands with these articles to inaugurate a new era of social improvement (!) Very recently two immigration agents in Queensland have certified to the Government that out of more than a thousand natives, about five hundred each, whom they had examined, "not a single complaint has ever been made by any of the islanders as to the manner in which they were recruited." "No complaints were made to me," says one of them, "by any one of these men, either of ill-treatment or kidnapping, nor have they ever exhibited any unwillingness to sign their engagements." The inference to be naturally drawn from these statements is, that while on the islands the natives were all willing to be engaged, were all fairly engaged, and all understood the terms of their engagement. But that there may be no mistake on this matter, we have newspaper statements informing us, in what appears to be the usual formula in the trade, that such and such a ship arrived, at such and such a date, with eighty or a hundred natives on board, from the New Hebrides; the passengers were in fine condition, appeared all to understand the terms on which they had been engaged, and to be quite satisfied with the conditions. That these agents are honourable men I am not doubting; that the editorial staff on these papers are the same, I am not denying; but the inference that because there is no complaint, therefore there can be no wrong, I am disposed both to doubt and deny. The exception, it is said, strengthens the rule, but a rule to which there is no exception is very likely to be the result of a hasty and superficial induction of facts. Among a thousand English-speaking emigrants, who might hail from London or Liverpool, where everybody understood everybody, where engagements were not only spoken, but written and printed, and where the closest Government inspection was protecting them at every point, from the beginning of their voyage to its end, among such a number of emigrants arriving at Brisbane would there be no complaints of wrongs, either real or imaginary? If so, the case would be unprecedented. But for a thousand emigrants from the New Hebrides to pass through the immigration office without a wrong to complain of is too good a state of things not to excite suspicion—too good news to be true—too good a state of things to be human. But if so, one thing is clear, that the agents of the gentleman who engaged them in the New Hebrides were a class of men much superior to the agent he employs to pay them off in Queensland. By the Brisbane papers of March last, it appears that out of seventy-two men to be paid, thirty at least objected to the mode of payment, which was in "trade," and not in coin. It appears, however, that it was the Colonial Secretary, and not the immigration agent, who took action in this matter. From anything that is stated in the newspaper report, it appears as if the immigration agent would have certified their departure as readily as he had done their arrival. But be that as it may, it does not affect my argument. This affair in March last was quite human, it was life-like, and native-like, and hence it is credible. But the thousand emigrants arriving in Brisbane without a complaint, and hence without a wrong, is so unlife-like, so unnative-like, has so much of the death-like stillness of the grave about it, that to us it is incredible; we cannot believe it.

That no complaints were made I can readily believe, but that there were no wrongs to complain of I do not believe. I think, moreover, that the absence of complaint may be satisfactorily accounted for without ascribing such superhuman virtues to the recruiting agents—virtues so finely appreciated and so highly eulogised by Messrs M'Donnell and Gray.

One obvious reason why they made no complaint was, that they had no medium through which to make their complaint. They knew nobody's language, and nobody knew theirs. They could speak to nobody, and nobody could speak to them. How then could they have complained? But they durst not, although they had been able. The natives of this group, when away from their own islands, are an exceedingly timid race, and when they found themselves wholly in the power of men in every way so much their masters, with everything around them new and strange, they would feel themselves so utterly helpless, so completely awed and cowed, that if they had had the most complete command of the English language, complaint would never have been thought of. It was the old principle, "skin for skin; everything that a man hath will he give for his life." You might as well expect that a flock of silly sheep, driven to the shambles by butchers and dogs, would resist or complain, as that a batch of islanders, marched up to the immigration office, would come prepared with a list of grievances; the one would feel just as helpless as the other, and hence they would assent to anything and everything they were asked to do, and captains, agents, and planters would be all alike delighted.

Every captain proclaims to the world the excellent interpreters he has got, so that the public may believe the natives quite understand everything they require to know about their destination, and the length and terms of their engagements. They have got a Maré man, or a Tanna man, or a Faté man. It is from these three islands that these linguists are chiefly, if not exclusively, drawn; and the reputation of the three islands appears to be about equal for the skill of the interpreters which they respectively furnish. This, I think, is quite just, as we shall see by and by. I have lying before me letters published by captains in the trade bearing out these statements. One captain, writing in Fiji (*Fiji Times*, 8th April 1871), describes the difficulties he had in passing a batch of natives before the Consul. By the way, bad as Fiji is represented to be by Queensland, the door of the Consul's office in Fiji appears to be much straiter, and the passage through the office much narrower, than the same parts of the immigration office in Queensland. Natives evidently pass much more easily through the one office than they do through the other; but this simply in passing. Among this batch, twenty in number, one could speak a little English, and this gentleman thought he might act as interpreter; but, alas! his command of the English tongue must have been very limited, for, instead of replying to the usual questions in orthodox English, he invariably held up three fingers; he was therefore dismissed. After some difficulty the captain, who was also owner of the vessel, obtained the services of a Tanna man, "who was well versed in the New Hebrides dialect;" and he soon made it apparent, to their employer at least, that they were under a three years' engagement. The Consul, however, appeared to be more sceptical in his views, and passed

four of them for only two years, although these four held up three fingers "like their sixteen companions, who were passed for three years' service." This captain, like many others, and some of them long in the trade, seems to have been under the impression that there is only one dialect in the New Hebrides. To men unacquainted, or only partially acquainted, with these islands, nothing appears more natural than that it should be so. But it is not the case. Few people are aware that, instead of there being only one dialect spoken on the New Hebrides, there are really more completely distinct languages spoken on this group than are perhaps spoken in all the countries of Europe. There cannot be at least fewer than twenty. In this mission we know more or less of about ten, every one of which is as different from every other as Gaelic is from English, or French from German; and we feel satisfied that there are about as many more of which, as yet, we know next to nothing. Some may think that, with so many languages among them, the natives must all be more or less of polyglots, and every one be able to speak any number of tongues. Neither is this the case. Few of them have any aptitude for acquiring languages. We happen to be pretty well acquainted with the linguistic attainments of these Maré, Tanna, and Faté men. Most of the captains in this trade are modest enough to confess their own ignorance of the New Hebrides dialect, but in the skill of their interpreters they have unbounded confidence. For the information of the public, we can certify the extent of their attainments. A Maré man may be able to speak to a Lifu man, Lifu being the island next to him, but he knows no more of any one of the twenty languages spoken on the New Hebrides than he does of ancient Sanscrit. A very few Tanna men can speak a little Aneityumese, or Aniwan, or Eromangan, but none of them more than one of these three languages. A few Faté men might do the same with the natives of Nguna, or Tongoa, or Eromanga; but Tanna men and Faté men are as ignorant of the other eighteen languages respectively as they are of modern Greek. While the sandal-wood trade was being carried on in this group, a good many of the natives of these three islands had sailed on board of sandal-wood vessels, or had been employed in connection with the trade. Some went to Sydney, and came in contact with civilisation while doing duty on Towns's wharf, or on his plantations at Paramatta; others of them enjoyed similar advantages elsewhere. In this way a number of them picked up a considerable knowledge of a lingo, which is known among these islands as sandal-wood English, consisting largely of such expressions as, "Me go Sydney;" "You go Queensland;" "You want big fellow yam?" "This woman belong o' you?" "Plenty kai kai" (food), &c.—a language sufficiently copious and explicit for the intercommunication of all the ideas requiring to be expressed in exchanging muskets for pigs and tobacco for yams. Many were considerable adepts at profane swearing, and in the use of language still more objectionable. Poor fellows! they were often not aware that there was anything wrong in the use of such language. They were ignorant of the meaning of the words. They looked upon such words, however, as supremely excellent; like fragments of a chief's language employed to ornament or intensify the ordinary prosaic language of the common people.

Such are the interpreters who have played, or who are supposed to have played, such an important part in arranging those contracts with the Polynesian labourers, which have been so singularly satisfactory to the officials in Queensland. Talk of contracts, of the natives understanding these contracts, and of being so satisfied with them,—the whole thing is either a sham or a delusion. But though these men were utterly useless as interpreters, they were the very men for recruiting purposes—impudent, bouncing, and unscrupulous; supported by the power of the white man on their own islands or elsewhere, they knew admirably how to get natives on board, and when once on board the work of interpretation was easy. But it was convenient to call them interpreters; it is a fine-sounding word, and who could say they were not? But in whatever way natives are obtained, the interpreter and the contract are undoubtedly myths.

I am happy to think we are not alone in this view of the case. Bishop Patteson, than whom a more competent or a more unexceptionable witness could not be produced, in a memorandum addressed to the General Synod of the Episcopal Church in New Zealand, and which has recently gone the round of the newspapers, says, “Much is said about engagements and contracts being made with these islanders. I do not believe that it is possible for any of these traders to make a *bona fide* contract with any natives of the Northern New Hebrides, and Banks and Solomon Islands. I doubt if any one of these traders can speak half a dozen words in any of the dialects of those islands; and I am sure that the very idea of a contract cannot be made intelligible to a native of those islands without a very full power of communicating readily with him. More than ten natives of Mota Island have been absent now nearly three years. The trader made a contract with them by holding up three fingers. They thought that three suns or three moons were signified. Probably he was very willing that they should think so; but he thought of at least three years.”

The truth is, to talk of emigrants, passengers, free labourers, engagements, contracts, interpreters, &c., in connection with these poor islanders, as if these words conveyed any ideas at all equivalent to those which they convey when applied to Europeans, is simply to prostitute words, pervert the English language, and turn it into a vehicle of deception.

We are strongly importuned, both by our friends and our opponents, to supply legal proof of the evils which are said to be going on down here among these islands. Now, unfortunately for us, and for the poor natives, this is a thing which, of all others, it is extremely difficult to do, and that for various obvious reasons. These vessels avoid us as much as possible, and the traffic is carried on chiefly on islands or on places where no missionary is present; the trade does not court publicity down here. We occupy only a few points; the trade is ubiquitous. From the island of Aneityum, where the natives are all Christian, and where two missionaries are residing, not a single native has been taken away. Two attempts only have been made, and both proved unsuccessful. But where none of us can be present, it is there that the rich harvests have been obtained. But though the amount of positive, direct, legal proof of the existence of the evil may be small, the amount of circumstantial,

Such are the interpreters who have played, or who are supposed to have played, such an important part in arranging those contracts with the Polynesian labourers, which have been so singularly satisfactory to the officials in Queensland. Talk of contracts, of the natives understanding these contracts, and of being so satisfied with them,—the whole thing is either a sham or a delusion. But though these men were utterly useless as interpreters, they were the very men for recruiting purposes—impudent, bouncing, and unscrupulous; supported by the power of the white man on their own islands or elsewhere, they knew admirably how to get natives on board, and when once on board the work of interpretation was easy. But it was convenient to call them interpreters; it is a fine-sounding word, and who could say they were not? But in whatever way natives are obtained, the interpreter and the contract are undoubtedly myths.

I am happy to think we are not alone in this view of the case. Bishop Patteson, than whom a more competent or a more unexceptionable witness could not be produced, in a memorandum addressed to the General Synod of the Episcopal Church in New Zealand, and which has recently gone the round of the newspapers, says, “Much is said about engagements and contracts being made with these islanders. I do not believe that it is possible for any of these traders to make a *bona fide* contract with any natives of the Northern New Hebrides, and Banks and Solomon Islands. I doubt if any one of these traders can speak half a dozen words in any of the dialects of those islands; and I am sure that the very idea of a contract cannot be made intelligible to a native of those islands without a very full power of communicating readily with him. More than ten natives of Mota Island have been absent now nearly three years. The trader made a contract with them by holding up three fingers. They thought that three suns or three moons were signified. Probably he was very willing that they should think so; but he thought of at least three years.”

The truth is, to talk of emigrants, passengers, free labourers, engagements, contracts, interpreters, &c., in connection with these poor islanders, as if these words conveyed any ideas at all equivalent to those which they convey when applied to Europeans, is simply to prostitute words, pervert the English language, and turn it into a vehicle of deception.

We are strongly importuned, both by our friends and our opponents, to supply legal proof of the evils which are said to be going on down here among these islands. Now, unfortunately for us, and for the poor natives, this is a thing which, of all others, it is extremely difficult to do, and that for various obvious reasons. These vessels avoid us as much as possible, and the traffic is carried on chiefly on islands or on places where no missionary is present; the trade does not court publicity down here. We occupy only a few points; the trade is ubiquitous. From the island of Aneityum, where the natives are all Christian, and where two missionaries are residing, not a single native has been taken away. Two attempts only have been made, and both proved unsuccessful. But where none of us can be present, it is there that the rich harvests have been obtained. But though the amount of positive, direct, legal proof of the existence of the evil may be small, the amount of circumstantial,

moral evidence against the traffic, as a whole, is abundant and irresistible.

According to the wise man, there are some crimes which it is as difficult to prove as that of "the way of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, or the way of a ship in the midst of the sea." We may be morally certain that the eagle has passed through the air, that the serpent has passed over the rock, and that the ship has passed through the sea; but we may have no legal evidence that would warrant us going into a court of law, however important the issues might be that were dependent upon the establishment of the facts. We feel morally certain that the *spirit* of the *slave-trade* has been, and is, abroad on this ocean; but then its path is that of the eagle in the air, the serpent on the rock, or the ship in the sea—the legal proof that would lead to her conviction is not readily forthcoming. So that, after all the evils of which she is conscious, this "consummation of all villainies" can stand up unabashed and challenge us to the proof; yea, she has legal proof in abundance to the contrary. On the slightest symptoms of danger her friends hasten to the rescue. If a word is said against her, she assumes an air of virtuous indignation, affects the tone of slandered innocence, and says, "Look, here are the certificates of my blameless and exemplary character, promptly and spontaneously given by the Government and the press of Queensland. If you do not be very careful of what you say, I will prosecute you for slander."

Men throw up feathers in the air to ascertain how the wind is blowing; and if, after repeating the experiment twenty times, it has been found that the feathers have always gone off in the same direction, they feel quite satisfied as to what point of the compass the wind is blowing from. In like manner, if the current of circumstantial evidence, as in this case, sets always in one direction, there can be little doubt as to the reality of what is indicated. The police authorities usually preface their proceedings by words such as these:—"From information received at this office, we had reason to believe that such and such things were being done." All we can do is to lay such information before the protectors of these helpless islanders as shall lead, not to a legal conviction, but to a thorough investigation as to whether man-stealing has been and still is carried on in this group or not. That thousands of natives have been removed from these islands to Queensland and Fiji no one denies; that a fleet of vessels is employed in this trade at the present time is equally certain; we see them passing some of our islands at an average of one every week. The point at issue is, Do all these natives leave their islands willingly? Is this traffic in the main carried on with honesty and fairness? I have already shown that the contracts, of which so much has been made, are nothing more than the baseless fabric of a vision; they never could have been made.

The evidence on which we rest is obtained in this way:—We come in contact with a number of these vessels; we have conversations with captains, agents, passengers, seamen, natives, and others connected with these vessels; we have opportunities, now and again, of seeing how the trade is carried on. We know something of the character and antecedents of some of those engaged in the traffic; we meet with captains and others connected with other vessels sailing in these seas. When the

Dayspring goes north, our sphere of observation is enlarged ; we see and hear the statements made by missionaries of other denominations ; and we read from time to time accounts of the traffic, generally of a defensive character, in the Queensland, Fiji, and other papers. Although, with the exception of those carrying on the traffic, as far as this group is concerned, we have better means of knowing its true character than any others, still from such evidence it is difficult to draw up a full and accurate indictment. But the impression left upon our mind, our deliberately formed opinion, is, that, to a large extent, it is neither more nor less than a system of kidnapping,—the slave trade revived in a modified form ; that is, as far as the obtaining of the natives is concerned.

Some are forcibly taken away. No further back than the 26th of December last, according to native testimony, a young lad on Aneityum was forcibly put into a boat, and taken on board a vessel engaged in this traffic ; and had it not been that the missionary's boat was afloat at the time, that a number of chiefs and natives were present seeing the *Dayspring* sail for Melbourne, and that a party, headed by two of the principal chiefs, went off to the vessel in the boat, and brought the lad away, he might have been in Fiji to-day ; and some Tanna man, who perchance knows as little of Aneityumese as he does of Low Dutch, would have certified that he came of his own free will under a three years' engagement. If such a thing was done under the very eye of a missionary,—for though I have only native evidence that the lad was forcibly taken on board, I was present when he was brought ashore,—is it likely that the parties on board would be more scrupulous in the means they employed when no missionary was, or might be, within a hundred miles of them ? Certain it is that, about three months afterwards, the same vessel returned, having, as was reported, taken forty-eight natives to Fiji, and obtained £6 a head for them. Moreover, it is reported that the real, though not the ostensible, owner is a Presbyterian. I am sorry he is not the only Presbyterian whose capital is understood to be invested in this traffic.

But we have no reason to think that force is employed to any great extent. Other less objectionable modes of procedure are found to answer fully as well. In the first years of the traffic, a more common and a much more simple way was to induce the natives to go on board, get them into the hold, shut down the hatches, and sail away. The natives are now becoming more chary, more afraid of going on board of unknown vessels, and hence other means are employed. Natives of the Loyalty Islands, of Tanna, and of Faté and others, are employed to procure them ; these are sent ashore, and paid so much a head for every native they can bring on board. Latterly, buying them from the chiefs and from their relations is become a favourite practice. Muskets and other tempting property are offered for men. The temptation is too strong. In some places a man will do anything for a musket. Without any definite idea of when they will return, or where they are going, but under the strong excitement of present advantage, the natives are forthcoming, and the transaction is closed. It is pleaded in defence of this practice,—the practice itself is not denied,—that this is not buying men. The property is given to the chief, simply to obtain his consent, the natives themselves having previously consented to go. Whatever the

traders may say or think on this matter, the chiefs and relations of those for whom property is given in this way, look upon the property as payment for the men ; and speak about it exactly in the same way as they do about payment received for a pig. The natives have long been in the habit of selling their women to foreigners in the same way. No white man, who knows native customs, would accept of a native woman for nothing from her relations. If so, he would have no security that he could keep her ; they might take her back at any time. But he would buy her from them. He would give them some property as payment, and then she would be his. Their claim over her would then cease ; he might sell her to any other white man he pleased ; they would not object ; they would assert no further claim over her. This principle is now applied to the selling of men.

It is reported, too, that intoxicating drinks are beginning to be dispensed freely by the recruiting agents in some of these vessels ; and when these have taken effect, natives are engaged without any difficulty.

Furthermore, all modes of deception are invented. If it is understood that the natives have a preference for one place more than another, they are told that the vessel is going there. A vessel, it may be, is collecting natives for Queensland ; but it becomes known on board that certain natives wish to go to Sydney, and will go nowhere else. It is immediately given out that the vessel is going to Sydney, and the natives go cheerfully on board. Another vessel, it may be, is collecting for Fiji ; but certain natives, it is found out, wish to go to Queensland. It is at once given out that the vessel hails from Queensland, and the end is gained. Though I do not profess to be collecting legal evidence in this document, yet it is gratifying to find one's self supported, in statements such as these, by the highest authorities in Queensland. In a Government despatch, written on the 21st February last, Mr John M'Donnell, Under Secretary to the Postmaster-General, and lately immigration agent, says, "In reference to this matter (the mixing-up indiscriminately of Fiji and Queensland), I would state that on board one of the vessels I inspected shortly before I left the Immigration Office, in which only ten islanders arrived out of an authorised complement of seventy-five, a Tanna man, who had never been in the colonies before, but understood English very well, informed me, in reply to my inquiries, that the reason so few Tanna men came in the ship was, that a vessel from Fiji had taken a number of men away by enticing them on board as if for Queensland, and sailing with them to the Fijis : this made the islanders fearful of being misled." Now I should be greatly surprised if Mr Consul March, in Fiji, could not relate the story of some other Tanna man, which would tell as unfavourably against vessels sailing for Queensland. But if he cannot, I can. I happen to know a case where a vessel called at one of our islands, got nineteen natives on board, under the impression that they were going on a pleasure trip to Sydney : the captain made straight for Rockhampton, and disposed of the whole of them there as free labourers. Now I shall be happy to supply the name of the vessel, the captain, the interpreter, the island from which they were taken, the names of the nineteen natives, and the year, month, and day of their deporta-

tion, as soon as Mr M'Donnell or his successor, Mr Gray, is prepared to take the case into court. I have the list lying before me.

But if that should not be enough, I happen to know of another case where a vessel called at one of our islands, took away five natives under pretence of giving them a pleasure trip to Sydney, but went on to Maryborough, and disposed of them there as free labourers. In this case, I can supply the name of the vessel, the owners, the interpreter, the island from which they were taken, the names of the natives taken away, the year, month, and day of their deportation. I am not, like Mr M'Donnell, trusting to the statement of a single Tanna man: I can bring forward a hundred native witnesses to prove that in each of the above cases the avowed destination of the natives was a pleasure trip to Sydney.

Every kind of tempting property is exhibited to induce the natives to go on board. In many places the great rage is for muskets; and the prospect of getting these induces great numbers to leave their islands without any distinct idea of anything else in the engagement, if you can speak of an engagement at all in such cases. As far as they can be made to understand the prospects before them, they go away with the belief that they will be well fed, have little work, will be soon home again, and will receive great wages. However carefully prepared the instructions may be that are given to those in charge of recruiting vessels, however unexceptionable they may be in language, there can be no doubt that in numerous cases, in the carrying of them out, the principle acted upon is—Get natives; get them honestly if you can, but, in whatever way, get natives.

We are not alone in this view of the case. Indeed, there seems, when men talk dispassionately, to be but one view entertained as to the character of the trade. Bishop Patteson, in the memorandum already quoted, says, "There is absolutely no check whatever upon the proceedings of the men engaged in procuring these islanders for the labour market in Queensland and Fiji. No regulation can prevent men, who are bound by no moral or religious restraint, from practising deception and violence to entice or convey natives on board their vessels, or from detaining them forcibly when on board. . . . It is manifestly the planters' interest to discourage the lawless practices now going on in the islands."

To show the estimate formed by neutral parties of the character of many engaged in the trade, I may quote the concluding sentence of a leading article in the *New Zealand Herald* of 16th March last, commenting on Bishop Patteson's memorandum. The writer speaks very favourably of the Queensland planters. "As suggested by Bishop Patteson, a few men-of-war cruising in the seas between the ports of embarkation and debarkation would be most effective, till the trade, if it is to be continued, will have assumed a character more in accordance with the spirit of the age. And if a few of those whose names are known in connection with the traffic were run up to the yard-arm of one of Her Majesty's ships, neither humanity nor the traffic would have cause to mourn." Humanity, certainly, would not mourn; but judging from certain manifestations of character, we are not so sure that some parties related to the traffic would not feel sorrowful. The leading

defenders of the traffic to Queensland may be safely admitted as witnesses against the trade, and yet, saving to Queensland alone, they are as distinctly against it as we are. The editor of the *Maryborough Chronicle*, in an article dated 23d February last, commenting on a letter written by Mr Paton on this subject, says, "Many of the outrages complained of are true in the main. Everybody knows that similar, and even *worse* deeds of violence, are of daily occurrence in connection with the unlicensed and unregulated labour traffic to the Fijis and Samoa, for the simple reason that it is subjected to no legal restraints, and that the chances of detection are few and far between, while the profits are incomparably greater than can be realised by shipping islanders to Queensland."

It seems unnecessary for me to dwell longer on this part of the subject. Our firm belief is that the great bulk of the natives carried away from this group have been taken either by force or by fraud—taken away under false pretences on the part of the traders, or under false impressions, produced in various ways, on the part of the natives: undue advantages have been taken both of their ignorance and their helplessness, and only a very small proportion have anything approaching to a distinct idea as to where they are going, or what they are going to do. In this end of the group, the name which the natives have given to these vessels is *The men-stealing ships*. The same name is given to them in the Ellice and Gilbert groups.

But then, as a set-off against all these evils, it is pleaded that, even admitting them to be true, even admitting that the natives have not been fairly dealt by, the benefits in the end will more than compensate the evils in the beginning; that it is such a blessing for them to come so extensively in contact with civilisation, that they must return to their respective islands so much richer, wiser, better, and happier, so much more favourably disposed to peace, industry, and Christianity. Now, without assuming very much, I may safely assume that we missionaries are competent judges in this case. We see what they are before they go away, and we see what they are after they come back, and we can estimate the progress which they have made. It is true that it is but a small number who have been brought back: the period indicated by the "three fingers" appears to be long in running out. But in all the islands where we have missions a sufficient number has been brought back to test, and test fairly, the experiment. But in no case has it been a success. In no case has any improvement been witnessed. Even in that point on which it might be thought there could be no dispute—the possession of property—it does not hold true; with all their property, they are poorer than when they went away. When they left their islands, we may safely assume that they had the average quantity of food planted and growing—that they had the average number of pigs and fowls—that their fences and houses were in an average state of repair—and that their canoes, nets, and fishing-baskets were much like their neighbours. But when, at the end of three or four years, they return to their island-homes, what is their condition? Each man has a musket, a quantity of ammunition, pipes and tobacco, a chest, and a quantity of clothes. They are wealthy men as they stand on the deck of the vessel. But when they come ashore, how the vision changes!

The first things they see are their canoes lying rotten on the beach ; and as they advance inland, everything else is in keeping ; their pigs and fowls are no longer visible, their houses and fences are in a state of decay, and their plantations are all lying waste. They have no food, no houses, no fishing-tackle, no canoes ; their wives, it may be, are become the wives of other men. In islands where food is wealth, where the richest man—the man of most influence—is the man who has most food, who can make the largest contribution to a feast, the poor man—the man of no influence—is the man who has no food ; and such these returned labourers find themselves to be ; they find themselves living upon the charity of their friends. In these islands, where nothing is got for nothing, every present has to be paid for ; and in this way, before three months are over, nothing remains to each of these natives of their foreign property but a musket and an empty box. And though they should commence the day they land to repair the ruined wastes, and work as hard as ever they had done on their own islands, it would be a couple of years at least before, poor as they seemed to be when they went on board, they will be again surrounded by the same comforts, and occupy the same position in native society, as when they left their homes. This is no fancy picture ; it is within the truth.

But then, it will be said, even admitting this, they must return with so much more knowledge, with their minds so much expanded, and with habits of industry thoroughly established. On the first blush of such statements, and on a superficial view of the case, this seems highly probable. It has been so often and so confidently asserted, that the belief is fast gaining ground that it must be so. In actual experience, nothing can be more untrue, no experiment was ever more unsuccessful. In no case has any improvement been witnessed, in no case has any native commenced to plant and cultivate cotton, nor has he introduced any improvement. Instead of being more industrious, they are greatly less so. They return with muskets, ammunition, and tobacco ; they have had plenty of work for the last three years, and they think they may now keep holiday, and for a time smoking and shooting become the chief objects of their existence. By and by, they awake to a true sense of their position ; they find they have no food, their island-habits of industry have been destroyed, their new habits are all foreign to island life, they are not a natural development and an additional source of strength. No ; this mode of life is something like a punishment that has been submitted to ; and once over, not to be repeated. They feel reluctant to begin the world anew, and generally sink into a lower position than they would have occupied had they remained at home. Some get dissatisfied with their position, or tired of island-life perhaps have a quarrel with their friends ; and should a labour-seeking vessel appear at this juncture, to show their anger and vex their friends, they will go off again to Queensland or Fiji. But it is not their love of labour which takes them away ; this we know well. Neither is it affection for their former employers, neither is it the desire for property. In most cases they leave their islands a second time under the influence of discontent, anger, and revenge ; very much the same kind of influences as those under which men commit suicide.

It was only yesterday (June 19) that I saw one of the latest arrivals

from Queensland. In March last he was put ashore at his own island, clothed from head to foot, with a pair of new shoes on—a finished specimen of Queensland civilisation. Yesterday he stood as finished a specimen of a savage as any of his heathen brethren on the island. There was not a vestige of European clothing on his person: he had returned entirely to the native costume, which, on his island, is of the scantiest dimensions; so meagre, that it will not admit of description. He bore just one trace of Queensland on his person. He wanted the long bunch of whipcord-like hair hanging down his back. It had been cut off. But so ashamed was he, before his heathen brethren, of having been denuded of this mark of manhood, that he was wearing a native bag on his head to conceal the defect, and was carefully cultivating a new growth.

As regards Christianity, the results are still worse. It is pleaded that their coming in contact with the Christianity of white men in Queensland, and with the Christianity of natives in Fiji, must produce a favourable impression on their minds, and render them more accessible to Christian teaching. All our experience is the very reverse. As a general rule, they return far more inveterate heathens than when they went away—the worst opponents the missionary has to contend with. They will neither become Christians themselves, nor suffer others to do so. In several cases the wives of those who were away in Queensland had professed Christianity, and were attending church and school. When their husbands returned, they ordered them at once to cease attending, and they were obliged to do so. On Futuna, the proportion of returned labourers who have professed Christianity is *one in twenty-six*. The proportion for the entire population, who have been for about the same length of time under missionary teaching, is *one in five*. This I believe to be a fair specimen of the results in this group.

People unacquainted with native character will hardly credit the above statements. To us, who have lived among natives, and know them, anything else would be surprising. What can natives learn of Christianity in Queensland or Fiji, when there is not a person in either land who would or could impart to them any religious instruction that can speak a single word to them in their own tongue? The same holds good of civilisation. You do not civilise a native by teaching him to smoke tobacco; you cannot civilise a native by feeding him on rice; you cannot civilise a native by clothing him in tweeds or doeskin. If you wish to civilise a savage, you must begin within. Some eighty years' experience in these seas has fully and clearly proved that, if you wish to civilise savages, you must first Christianise them. And what is more remarkable, while it is impossible to civilise them till you Christianise them, it is easier to Christianise them than it is to civilise them after they are Christianised. It is easier to get them to give up the superstitions, the cruelties, and the abominations of heathenism, to worship the one true God, to learn to read the Bible, and walk in some goodly measure according to God's laws, than it is to make anything like similar advances in European civilisation. But this has been most certainly proved, that whenever you Christianise a savage, you implant within him the germs of civilisation, a civilisation which grows, and which he never casts off. In these islands, as a general rule, no

heathen man, however long he may have been in Queensland, will ever wear European clothing when he returns to his own island ; whereas, as a general rule, no Christian man will go without some portion of European clothing, and his progress in Christianity is always followed by a corresponding advance in his civilisation.

We are not alone in our views of the results produced by Queensland and Fiji civilisation. Bishop Patteson, in the document already quoted, says, "There is no instance that I can remember of any one of these natives exhibiting on his island any proof of his having received any benefit from his 'contact with civilisation,' much less of his conferring any benefit on his people. The few that have been brought back to the Banks Islands bear a bad character among their own people."

Much is said of how well they are fed and cared for. But so far as I have ever been able to gain information respecting natives taken away from these islands, the rate of mortality has been exceedingly high. Being all men in the prime of life, the rate of mortality ought to be exceedingly low. On Futuna, in the batches that have been taken away and returned, the deaths have been *one in seven*, greatly more than double that which it would have been had they remained on their own island.

We are accused of opposing the deportation of the natives from interested motives, from a wish to retain their labour for ourselves. In a Government despatch, of date February 21 of this year, Mr Robert Gray, immigration agent, Brisbane, says, "The Government should hesitate before giving credence to any of the statements in Mr Paton's letter, more especially as it is currently reported that many of the missionaries on these islands are interested in the retention of the islanders, more from motives of personal gain than from anything else." The charge must have been very current before it could find its way so easily into an official document. It is, so far as I am aware, a very unusual thing for one Government officer to make, and for another Government officer to receive and publish, such a grave charge against any body of men of ordinary respectability without any proof whatever, resting simply on reports, and that avowedly for the purpose of damaging their evidence on a particular question. Certainly the dignity and influence of the Queensland Government will not be elevated by such an unusual course of proceeding. But be that as it may, the charge is not only made without proof, but in the face of any amount of proof to the contrary that could be desired. We are not private individuals, acting for ourselves, and doing what every one may think right in his own eyes. We are the accredited agents of certain Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, Nova Scotia, Australia, and New Zealand, that would remove any of us at once were we acting contrary to our instructions. The Churches that undertook and are supporting this mission derive no pecuniary advantages whatever from it. Our whole support is derived from mission funds. In return for this, our whole time, and strength, and acquirements are to be devoted to mission objects. We are strictly prohibited from engaging in any secular pursuit for the purposes of gain. It would therefore be difficult to discover in what way the detention of the natives could promote our "personal gain." We employ in the mission about sixty native agents ; these are all paid out of mission

funds. Each mission family employs a few natives as domestic servants ; these we pay ourselves. And so far are we from making a gain of the natives, that I find, although it is only recently that I became aware of it, we are paying our native agents and our native servants, in proportion to the work they perform, higher wages, and that on their own islands, than is paid to natives in Queensland, according to Government enactments. It is true that, in common with all other missionaries, while studiously avoiding anything that would be burdensome, we exhort our native converts to contribute as they may be able for the support and extension of the gospel ; and these appeals have been cordially responded to. When Christian natives, like other Christians, make voluntary contributions of labour, property, or money, it lessens the demand upon mission funds, and enables us to extend our operations ; but it does not increase the personal income of the missionary, any more than missionary contributions increase the stipend of a minister at home. The Christian natives, under the guidance of the missionary, erect their own school-houses and their own places of worship, the mission supplying tools, nails, and other requisites not possessed by the natives ; but when doing so, they are, as every one must perceive, working for themselves, not for the "personal gain" of the missionary. Moreover, the Christian natives assist their own missionaries to erect or repair their dwelling-houses or other buildings necessary for their comfort, or to enable them to carry on their work efficiently, the missionary frequently making them a present in return. But even here, it is themselves, in the end, who receive the greatest benefit. The more they assist the missionary in such works, the sooner is he set free to labour for them. He must live before he can work. When they assist missionaries on heathen islands, they are paid for their labour. It is a pure fabrication to say that we take advantage of the power of the chiefs to secure the labour of the natives for ourselves. In the first place, the power of the chiefs on this group is very limited ; often the highest among them cannot get a servant to work for himself, far less to work for others. But suppose the power of the chiefs was ever so great, we have no work on which we could employ them, were we ever so willing. Of the thousands who have been taken away from this group, how many could we employ ? The erection of mission buildings, or labours more directly missionary, are the only occupations on which we can employ natives. Mission buildings here are not, like the ancient cathedrals, the work of ages ; and any one who knows what an amount of such labour falls upon the hands of the missionary himself, even when he has all the native help he can desire, will not for a moment suppose that the missionary will erect a single building more than is absolutely necessary, for the sake of any "personal gain" that he would make from the labour of the natives.

I have gone thus fully into this matter, because, though wholly unfounded, it has been one of the standing charges kept up against us, and nothing would more effectually damage our mission in the estimation of the public than a wide-spread belief that we missionaries, while professing to be Christianising, educating, and civilising the islanders, are actually carrying on business as traders, and, after the manner of Queensland planters, extracting fortunes from the bones and sinews

of the natives, and quietly transmuting their blood and muscles into gold.

But we are ready to confess, that there are occasions when we wish to retain the services of natives, if not "from motives of personal gain," at least from motives of personal convenience. Small as the amount of native labour is that we require, or have sought to obtain—scarcely a drop in the bucket as compared with what the planters have taken—yet the very men who have invented and propagated these charges, will not allow us to enjoy this little in peace. To give one or two examples. One of our mission families had left their station for a few weeks. On their return home, the missionary's wife found that a young man whom she had engaged as cook, and taught with considerable difficulty to perform a few of the simplest processes of European cookery—she found that he, and one or two others living on the premises, had been induced to go on board a recruiting vessel, and were off to New Caledonia. The young wife, with an infant in her arms, had to look about for some raw material out of which to extemporise servants, and begin housekeeping anew as she best could.

On another occasion, one of our missionaries was building a new house. He had engaged, and was paying, ten or a dozen natives to assist him; but one morning, when he went out to resume his labours as usual, none of his men were forthcoming. On inquiry, he found that a recruiting agent had been ashore with his boat, and had held out such bright prospects to the natives, that the whole party were off to Queensland. His house-building was arrested, or at least retarded; heavier labour fell upon himself; he had to live on in his old house, fast hastening to decay; sickness supervened, and that missionary is now in his grave. I am not prepared to say that that was the sole cause of his sickness, but I am certain that it hastened its approach; and I know that a strong opinion has been expressed that, but for that occurrence, the result of his sickness might have been different.

There is another case to which I am not afraid of referring, although it has been trumpeted forth against us in Queensland, and a great amount of planters' capital has been manufactured out of it. In a letter which Mr Paton wrote last year, he said that when the *Dayspring* was at Nguna, and the missionaries were assisting to put up Mr Milne's house, four boys were purchased from a chief at Nguna for a musket, and that the *Jason's* boat took the boys away. It was freely admitted that the musket was given for the boys, and that the *Jason's* boat took them away; but the buying was denied. The musket, it was said, was simply given as a *solatium* to the chief to secure his consent. The natives had previously given their consent, and wished to go away. I have already shown what the natives understand by such presents—that in their eyes it means neither more nor less than direct payment. Three of these lads turned up in Maryborough; nothing very definite is said about the fourth. The agent and part owner of the *Jason*, Mr Travis, writes that "these men distinctly stated to several magistrates, residents, and others, that the Rev. Mr Milne did not wish the men to leave the island, as they were wanted to assist in the erection of a missionary house. The islanders declined remaining, and informed the missionary they would leave, and did leave in the *Jason's* boat." Now, I am not disposed to deny but that the natives said this; but every one acquainted

with native character knows very well that three or four heathen natives, wholly in the power of their employers, and shrewd enough to see, by the way questions were put to them, what kind of answers were wanted from them, were not likely, when brought before magistrates, residents, and others, to exhibit the same firmness of character, and make the same fearless confession of the truth, as was done by the apostles and primitive martyrs, when they were brought before kings and councils for the truth's sake. It was easy to see beforehand what kind of answers they would give.

But for the sake of argument I am quite willing to accept the Queensland version of the story, and what does it amount to? What does it prove? It proves this, that the planters, when they have a special object in view, can outbid the missionary in the labour market; and that Captain Coath of the *Jason*, or whoever was acting for him, by giving a musket to a chief, and offering higher wages to four natives, induced them to leave the employment of the missionary, who was anxious to retain or secure their services; and this conduct is pronounced to be very meritorious. I always understood that it was accounted dishonourable for one employer of labour to go on to the premises of another, and, by offering higher wages, lure away those whom the other had engaged, or was in the act of engaging. But it appears that everything honourable may be discarded when dealing with missionaries. In the two former cases I have mentioned, the parties seemed conscious they were not doing the fair thing, but they had shame enough left to seek concealment, and kept as quiet about it as possible. But the traffic is waxing bolder; it not only does what is dishonourable, but it glories in doing so.

The *Maryborough Chronicle* of 23d February last informs its readers that "the missionaries exercise a laudable economy, by requiring the services of their converts in spiritual coin *only*;" and says further, that they exercise a despotism over natives "in many cases far more worthy of being stigmatised as slavery than even the worst phase of the labour trade," and we are given to understand that it was from such a state of things as this that these four lads made their escape, and were humanely received on board the *Jason*. And Mr Travis plumes himself on the fact that he has in his employment four other natives who effected a similar escape from the penurious treatment of two other missionaries, whose initials he gives, but who, to our signal relief, cannot be identified with any names in this mission. I have already shown how utterly untrue such charges are. But there are one or two things which require to be stated in order fully to understand the amount of blame to be laid on Mr Milne, and the amount of praise to be awarded to Captain Coath. Mr Milne had arrived in the islands from Scotland about ten months before that time. He had been recently appointed to Nguna, the natives having previously expressed their desire to receive him. No missionary, not even a teacher, had resided on the island before. Mr Milne had just arrived in the *Dayspring*. He was unacquainted with the natives, and ignorant of their language. The natives of Nguna, therefore, could not have suffered anything personally from the despotism and penuriousness of missionary rule. Mr Milne had brought a small weather-boarded cottage with him, of some two or three rooms. Two

of the missionaries accompanied him to assist in his settlement. The *Dayspring* remained a fortnight or so, till the cottage was erected. Mr Milne was, no doubt, anxious to obtain all the native help he could, so as to have his house put up as soon as possible, and very likely asked these same men to remain with him. There seems nothing very blameworthy in all this. He is not accused of employing any undue influence to retain them. He and Mrs Milne had spent the summer months on Eromanga, and while there both of them had suffered severely from fever and ague. Mrs Milne was better, but Mr Milne was still suffering from its effects. Here, then, was a newly-arrived missionary, not fully recovered from a long and severe attack of fever and ague; here was his wife, a young lady, who, eighteen months before, had left her father's house in Edinburgh, and all the endearments of home, and had heroically volunteered to take up her abode among savages on an island where no missionary had ever lived, where not a single native professed Christianity, and on whose shores no white woman had ever before set her foot. On the other hand, here was a model ship—the *Jason*—taking away natives by the hundred, and a captain so well known and so well liked, that on other islands natives, we are told, were waiting his arrival, ready to climb up the sides of his ship, as soon as it could be reached, to go with him to Queensland. Surely in these circumstances we might have expected that, although the authorities on board the *Jason* might have had no regard for missions, nor yet for missionaries as such, yet there could not fail to be in their warm seamen's hearts as much sympathy for the man and as much chivalry for the woman as would lead them to make a special effort, even to the giving away of a musket—what were four natives to such a vessel?—not certainly to take away the natives, but to induce them to stay with the missionary, that the young man and his heroic wife might have a roof to shelter them as soon as possible. Vain expectation! The age of chivalry, if ever it existed in this traffic, is gone; its spirit is dead. *Jason* and his Argonauts are still in search of the *Golden Fleece*, and to secure this prize everything noble and disinterested must be set aside. They will go on sowing the serpent's teeth, and nothing else. Mammon is the God whom these heroes worship, and everything that is honourable and generous in humanity they will sacrifice at his shrine. Such was their procedure at Nguna in July last; and the magnanimous Robert Travis not only defends, but applauds, them for all that they did, while the editor of the *Maryborough Chronicle* anticipates the applause, and makes it reverberate through all Queensland.*

* Since writing the above I have seen Mr Milne, Captain Fraser, and all the other members of this mission whose names have been mixed up with this case, and I am now in circumstances to speak without hesitation on the subject. The ground taken up by our Queensland opponents is this: These four lads were not bought; the musket was not given as payment, but simply as a gratuity to secure the good-will of the chief, after the lads had willingly agreed to go. Now, I have the distinct testimony of Captain Fraser, Dr Geddie, Mr Milne, Mr Watt, and Mr Goodwill, that they have all heard the chief say, either at the time the lads were taken away, or since that time, that he sold them for the musket. The only thing he seemed to be afraid of was, lest they should think he had not got the musket honestly, when he assured them that he had bought it, and given the men as payment for it; and the only variation in his story was, that he told some of them, evidently lest they should think he had given too much payment, that the musket was for two of the lads, and that he had got some

I shall now supply another case of a somewhat different character. Some time since (the date can be supplied if required) a vessel from Fiji called at one of our islands, and succeeded in getting away a number of natives. Some time afterwards (this date can also be given) the recruiting agent returned in another vessel, with a commission, purporting to be from the men whom he had taken away, to take their wives on to them ; but with the laudable desire, in addition, of liberating as many more women as possible from the penurious despotism of the missionary.

other property for the other two. Had the men been pigs, he would have used no other language to describe his selling them, and receiving payment for them. Natives are bought on these islands, and payment is given for them, just as certainly as bribes used to be given for votes in certain rotten boroughs. On the principles pleaded for by our opponents, it would be impossible to prove that ever a pig had been sold to the captain of a vessel on the New Hebrides. It might be as successfully pleaded, in this case as in the other, that the axe, or the knife, or the tobacco given for the pig was not payment, it was simply a present to the chief, or to the man that had fed the pig, to secure his good-will and consent ; that the pig itself wished to go on board, as it was afraid, if it stayed on shore, that it might be killed and eaten by the missionary ! Whatever nice distinctions white men may make, the natives themselves draw no distinction between the selling of pigs and the selling of men. It is simply and in both cases alike. This is the article, and that is the payment.

The other point made so much of by Mr Travis was that the lads wished to get away because they were unwilling to stay and work for the missionary. This was the great point, we are assured, they were so anxious should be known in Queensland. What generous young men these must have been ! How grateful to their benefactors of the *Jason* ! How anxious to remove any bad impression made on the public mind on their account ! Mr Milne, however, is most distinct in saying that he never asked them to stay and work for him. He had arrived at Nguna only a few days before the lads were taken away ; and for a part of the time was laid up on board with fever and ague, so that he did not even know them. Besides, he did not require their services. Captain Fraser had engaged a party of natives from the adjoining island of Faté to assist in the erection of the mission-house, and was paying them £1 a month ; so much for the penuriousness of missionary payments. There are two points in this case very clear. The lads might go away willingly or unwillingly, but one thing is certain, they were sold and bought like so many pigs, otherwise no pig was ever sold or bought on the New Hebrides. The lads might go away willingly or unwillingly, but another thing is also certain, that they did not run away, as is alleged, that they might escape working for the missionary without wages ; for he never asked them to work for him, and if they had been asked to work, it would not have been to work for nothing. Those working at the mission-house were receiving double the wages they would have received, according to Government regulations, had they been working in Queensland.

It is very curious to observe how we missionaries are broadly accused of faults the very opposite of each other. The slave interest in Queensland accuse us of penuriousness in our payment of the natives, and give the natives great credit for shrewdness in seeing how much they can benefit their own interest by leaving the missionaries and going to Queensland ; and they take great credit to themselves for supplying such safe asylums to these poor refugees while making good their escape from missionary tyranny.

On the other hand, the traders on the islands accuse us of extravagance and over-payment. We pay such prices to the natives, they say, that they cannot afford to compete with us ; that, in short, we are ruining them by the high prices we pay for both produce and labour. We must certainly have attained to something very like the "golden mean" when we are thus assailed with equal force from quarters so distinct, and for faults so completely the opposite of one another.

But surely a traffic like this so-called labour-recruiting service, that requires to be carried on by force, by fraud, and by every species of unscrupulous knavery, and has to be defended by bouncing falsehood, and something akin, if not equivalent, to perjury, is a business in which no honest man would wish to be engaged. And if the future of Queensland is to depend upon this traffic, it may be well for those profiting by it to ponder seriously certain parts of the second chapter of Habakkuk before they hear the stone cry out of the wall and the beam out of the timber answer it. See Appendix A.

With this view he offered the chief two muskets, the one for his own daughter, and the second for the daughter of another man. A free passage was all that the wives could expect. This gentleman's credentials were not very satisfactory. His own words were his only vouchers; his personal appearance was not reassuring, as he stood on the beach without shoes or stockings, and his shirt and trousers greatly the worse for the wear—in point of dress a striking contrast to the native labourers who had returned from Queensland. Nevertheless he was on the point of succeeding. The poor women, eager to join their husbands, were hastening to the boat when a messenger from the missionary arrived, who said that the words of the missionary were that the women ought not to go. Nobody knew where the vessel was going to; the likelihood was that they would never see their husbands, and their safest course was to stay at home. The chief, though still a heathen, yet a thoughtful man, and one who, from whatever cause, has begun to place more confidence in the word of the missionary than in that of strangers, said the missionary's words were good. He declined the two muskets, retained his daughter and her companion, and the women were all ordered home. The recruiting agent was taken quite aback, and the spirit with which he bore his disappointment revealed a phase in the moral character of the traffic. Summoning up his most intelligible sandal-wood English, he addressed a crowd of natives to the following effect:—"Yes!" said he, "you are afraid of the missionary, are you? I am not afraid of him. What will the missionary give you? Will he give you muskets, and powder, and shot, and tobacco? No. Come with me, and I will give you all these. Come with me, and you will be rich; stay with the missionary, and you will be all poor. I will go off to Fiji; I will bring back the natives of this island; I will give them muskets; they will come ashore, and they will soon drive the missionary off the island. The people of Eromanga had a missionary; they were not afraid of him; they knocked him on the head and did for him. The people of Fiji had a missionary; they were not afraid of him; they soon knocked him on the head and killed him. Yes, you are afraid of this missionary of yours. I am not afraid of him. Let him come down here and I will shoot him!" The vessel sailed away, but this gentleman has not returned, and if the missionary and his wife have not both been knocked on the head by the natives, they owe no special thanks to this recruiting agent for his earnestly-expressed suggestions.

I had this account not only from the missionary himself, but from the Christian native who was the bearer of the above message to the women, who was an eye and ear witness of the whole affair, and who is one of the most intelligent and trustworthy of our Aneityum teachers, and who knows enough of this lingo to be able to follow the drift of a discourse of this kind. But this is the traffic, and these are the men who are said by some to be doing so much for the civilisation and moral elevation of the islanders, and whose friendship we are counselled to cultivate as that of our most valuable allies.

At first the traders confined themselves chiefly to the carrying away of men, but latterly they have become very desirous of obtaining women also. The reason we have heard assigned is this: that the men are much more content to stay when they have their wives with them. But

as it is somewhat difficult to procure their own wives, the next best thing the planters think they can do is to get wives of any kind for them. A gentleman, who had seen a good deal of the traffic, told me that the arrangement which the planters in Fiji liked best was, when they could get a woman from one island to be the wife of a man belonging to another island; because then they were unwilling to leave Fiji, lest, when they were sent home, they should be separated, and sent to their respective islands. They preferred, therefore, to remain as they were, and the planter had the benefit of their services. My informant, an intelligent and sensible man, but one who had seen the subject chiefly from a planter's point of view, was surprised when I told him, that on this group there was no such class of women as that of elderly or middle-aged spinsters, who, having missed their marriage in early life, might be ready, as some suppose, to run serious risks rather than miss it also in middle life; that women are scarce here; that heathenism has made them so; that every marriageable woman is married; that if a native, labouring in Fiji or elsewhere, receives a woman for his wife, other than his own wife, she must have been the wife of some other man.

Here it will be seen that another phase of the slave trade is fast coming into view. Society is being disorganised; the marriage relation is being thrown loose; human beings are fast becoming chattels; men and women are being treated as if they were dogs or pigs; and we shall, to a certainty, have some modification of the breeding system springing up in the plantations, as soon as there is time and opportunity for its development.

But, although not "from motives of personal gain," we have no hesitation in saying that we wish to retain the natives on their own islands; that we are decidedly opposed to the deportation system, even though it were stripped of all its grosser abuses, and still more so while these continue; because we believe it is highly injurious to the natives both in their individual and collective capacity. It may be a great boon to Queensland, Fiji, or New Caledonia, but it is an unmixed evil to the New Hebrides. It is injurious to the natives individually. As I have endeavoured to show, they come back to their islands neither richer, wiser, better, nor happier; they come back poorer, less industrious, and less favourable to Christianity, than when they went away. But there are other evils that require to be set forth, affecting not individuals but communities; not the present only, but reaching far on to the future. This traffic is injuring, and retarding, to an incalculable extent, the progress of our mission. It is doing more to nullify our labours than all other causes put together. To those who are simple enough to believe, like the Government officials in Queensland, everything evil about us that is currently reported, or that everything is true that is recorded to our disadvantage in the literature of the traffic,—to such it must appear that the greatest calamity that ever befell the New Hebrides was the establishment of this mission; and that for selfishness, tyranny, and penuriousness, no men in these seas are to be compared to the missionaries! To such, all that I may say about our mission will go for very little; but as I have to do with a much larger, and a much more liberal class of minds, men who look at missions from a different standpoint, I proceed without hesitation with my statements.

This traffic is seriously retarding^m our missionary operations in many ways. I have already shown how the needful labour, small in amount as that is, is unceremoniously abstracted. This, it is true, is not a formidable grievance; it might at times be more a matter of annoyance than anything else; still, where the missionary and his wife must attend to everything, and, if there is no one else to do the work, it must be done by them, the loss of a couple of natives may retard the labours of the missionary greatly more than many might suppose. But the injury is frequently more direct. Not one of our newly-opened stations but has suffered by having some hopeful natives lured away; by having some others brought back greatly more unmanageable than when they went away, and through their influence the whole community around them rendered more averse to Christianity. Take one example by way of illustration: On the island of Futuna, the missionary, after two or three years of hard labour, had got his house erected, had acquired some knowledge of the language, had prepared some elementary books, had got a number of natives to attend church, and a small number to attend school, and was looking forward to brighter prospects. One morning, however, when the sun rose bright as usual, a cloud suddenly obscured, not the disc of the sun, but the prospects of the mission. A small craft of a rather suspicious looking character, as seen from the missionary's point of view, entered the bay and dropped her anchor. She hailed from Fiji. She was soon exhibiting muskets, tobacco, axes, and everything that could be thought attractive to the natives. All who would go to Fiji would return rich with all this kind of property. Most opportunely for the trader, one of the chiefs had been thwarted in seeking to obtain a third wife—his heart was thoroughly broken by the disappointment, and here was the very best opportunity to show his anger and take his revenge. He would leave the island and go to Fiji. This would annoy and grieve his friends above anything else; and that was the very thing he wished. He had once sailed for Fiji before with some half dozen of his people, but owing to stress of weather the vessel had to put in to Aneityum. While the vessel lay in the harbour there, the whole party made their escape ashore; and after some months' sojourn on that island, got a passage home in the *Dayspring*. Possibly he thought he might be equally fortunate a second time. If so, his luck failed him. He engaged to go to Fiji, and induced some others to accompany him. The excitement spread, and one went because some other one had gone, till twenty-eight went all off in this one vessel, nearly all from the vicinity of the mission-station. Many and large were the payments received by their friends. Among these were nearly twenty of the professedly Christian natives, the most advanced scholars on the island, although their attainments were not great, to whom the missionary was looking forward to be a band of assistants when the natives generally should embrace Christianity. But his hopes were suddenly blasted. The labour of years was ruthlessly destroyed in a day; his school was broken up, he had to commence his labours in a great measure anew, and with the disheartening prospect that it might terminate with a similar disaster some other day.

They are fast depopulating the islands, and destroying our work by anticipation. Of the thousands carried away, it is extremely doubtful if

the half of them will ever return ; a large percentage will die in the lands of their servitude, a number will be induced to remain, and a number will be forced to remain, because there will be no power present to compel their return. Nearly all that are carried away may be regarded as withdrawn from Christian influence for ever, doomed to a life of dark, hopeless heathenism. In the land of their exile, nobody, however willing, can speak a word to them in their own tongue. They may pick up a few words of English, amply sufficient for the purposes of their daily toil, but of no value for imparting to them any religious instruction ; while those who return, return more inveterately opposed to Christianity than ever : the white man's religion has had no attractions for them. This holds specially true of those who return from Queensland. Our work hitherto has been to a great extent preparatory, with the view of reaching the thousands that are being carried away. Those directing this mission, those supporting it, and those carrying it on, have all been doing their utmost that the blessings of Christianity and education may be extended to the whole group ; that the Word of God may be opened to every man in his own language, that every man may not only hear, but read the Word of God in his own tongue. We have mission stations on eight islands, extending from Aneityum to Santo. We have thirteen missionaries, a large staff of native agents, and a mission vessel—the *Dayspring* of 115 tons—all employed exclusively for the benefit of these islanders ; and our present arrangements are such, that we fully expect to have our number doubled—our thirteen missionaries increased to twenty-six—within the next four or five years. But so far as the natives are carried away, all our efforts and arrangements are neutralised. If this deportation system continue to be carried on as it has been for the last seven years, the day is not distant when this group will be a wilderness ; when the natives will be so few that we may suspend our operations ; and then our whole missionary investment, the money and the men, the expenditure and the labour, the arrangements and the results, the knowledge and the experience—in short, all the advantages now possessed for carrying on the work, and obtained with so much difficulty, will be lost. The £40,000 already invested, and the £4000 a year, soon to be raised to £8000, will all be thrown away. The supporters of this mission undertook their work in obedience to the command of God, and in accordance with the benevolent spirit of the age ; they did what every Church in Christendom was recognising as a duty ; they would have been held in contempt by the whole Christian world if they had not been engaged in such a work as this, either here or somewhere else. While thus, under a deep sense of duty, and under the spirit of Christian benevolence, they have invested so largely in this enterprise, having no end in view but the good of these natives, seeking nothing but to promote their highest interests in time and for eternity ; have they not reason to complain, when a party of men, for purely selfish objects, come down and work so much havoc among their mission stations, retard their operations, and threaten to render wholly abortive their entire scheme of benevolence ?

I know we shall be at once told that the interests of commerce cannot be sacrificed, that the progress of colonisation cannot be arrested because they may come into collision with our well-meant efforts for

the good of the native races. The world cannot wait till we are ready: things must and will go ahead. I shall deal with this objection more fully by and by. In the meantime, for the sake of argument, I shall suppose that Dr Geddie and Mr Neilson, or Mr Paton and Mr Watt, or Mr Copland and myself, or any other two of us, should select half a dozen trustworthy natives, take the *Dayspring*, and set sail for Fiji, where the power of law is not much greater than it is here. We drop our anchor at Kandavu, Levuka, or Taviuni, as the case may be. We send our natives ashore to visit the plantations, and salute their fellow-countrymen. When we lift our anchor and set sail, our deck is crowded with a hundred Polynesians, all volunteers, and all in good spirits. Till we have made our wills, and seen that everything is correct about our life-insurance policies, we do not consider it prudent to pay a second visit to Fiji. But to anticipate any unpleasant intelligence that might otherwise precede us, we at once set off for Queensland, and drop our anchor at Brisbane, Maryborough, or Rockhampton, according as we may think it to be most advisable. We repeat our experiment, and with equal success. On our arrival in the New Hebrides, any gentleman connected with the press might pen a paragraph to the effect that the *Dayspring* had arrived at Aneityum from Queensland with ninety-five natives on board; that the whole party were in good health and high spirits; they seemed all fully to understand the terms on which they had come away, and were quite satisfied with the conditions; and had they been examined before any number of "magistrates, residents, or others," they would all have declared that they came away willingly; that the reason why they came away was, that they did not want to work for the planters; and then they shook their heads and said, that in Queensland it was work, work, work, too much work; work every day, work all day, work morning, work noon, work night, and they did not like it. Missionary never bade them work past eleven o'clock, and no work at all on Saturday.

I do not undertake to say what the effect of such a visit would be on the minds of the planters in Fiji, but as the traffic is singularly sensitive in all matters affecting its own interests, I can conceive that the planters would look upon it as something greatly more serious than a practical joke; that after our departure there would be no small amount of very angry feeling, a good deal of very earnest conversation, and some very strong things said about the missionaries; that this was neither more nor less than man-stealing; that we might just as well come and steal the money out of their pockets; and a good deal would be said about investments, about future as well as present loss. It was held to be of no avail that we said that we had established missions and opened schools on this group; that the natives did not appreciate them as they ought to do; that schools were of no use without scholars; that we must and would have scholars; that Fiji was the most convenient field for recruiting; that if our arrangements affected them we could not help it; that Christianity and education must advance; and that the world could not stand still to suit the convenience of their cotton plantations.

I think I have a better idea of what would take place in Queensland, judging from what occurred some months ago. When Mr Paton's letter appeared, though neither a very long nor a very formidable docu-

ment, it seemed to take Queensland by surprise. It is doubtful if Prince Gortschakoff's note produced a greater sensation in Europe than Mr Paton's letter did in Queensland. The Government, the planters, and the press, were all in commotion. Men were running to and fro in breathless haste to get up answers to its charges. Natives were brought before magistrates for examination; despatches were ordered and hastily concocted; leaders and letters came pouring forth; it was the earnestness of men who felt that their interests were being imperilled. Arguing from the less to the greater, were our visit to take place, as I have supposed, society would be moved to its lowest depths; indignation-meetings would be held in every town; the power of the Government, the eloquence of the press, and the wealth of the planters, would all be vigorously employed to stamp out at once and for ever this daring and dangerous innovation. We should be curious to read all that issued from the pro-slavery portion of the press for the following month; the poor *Dayspring* would be pursued with terrific tornadoes of spoken and written fire, and if she were not engulfed and annihilated, the most sceptical among the enemies of missions would ascribe her preservation to a special providence. But, in all soberness, were we to do all that I have said, we should be doing only once to them what they are doing every week in the year to us; with this difference, that they were the first aggressors; that all that they are doing, they are doing "from motives of personal gain;" all that we are doing is done from motives of disinterested benevolence.

But there is another evil greatly more palpable than that inflicted on our mission, and to which I wish to call the special attention of political economists, of men who take enlightened and comprehensive views of commerce and colonisation, of the relation between labour and capital, and of an increasing or decreasing population, in its connection with these questions. The evil to which I refer is the extraordinary and ruinous drain that has been made upon the effective strength of these islands. It is not a drawing away of the surplus labour, it is a draining away of the very vital strength of the community. To compare small things with great, it is a drain upon the New Hebrides scarcely less in proportion than the drain which the Franco-Prussian war caused upon the population of Germany; that, however, was but for one year; this is for many. The numbers taken away, in proportion to the population, are enormous. In short, the islands are all but ruined. Let this system go on unchecked for but a few years, and the natives are doomed; they will be exterminated. Let savages come into extensive contact with civilised men, without Christianity, and they will melt away, from causes which can be easily explained; nothing but Christianity, extensively embraced, will save them; but carry them away as these are being carried away, and their extermination is not only certain, it will be speedy; no power on earth can save them.

I shall give one example by way of illustration. Take the island of Futuna: The natives belonging to this island, who are away on the plantations in Queensland and Fiji, are seventy-eight men and six women. The entire population of the island is nine hundred; the sexes are nearly equal. This gives four hundred and fifty males. In Great Britain, an old country, the half of the population are under

seventeen years of age : in America, a young country, the half of the population are under sixteen years of age. We may assume that on Futuna the half of the males are under sixteen or seventeen years of age, which gives the adult male population at two hundred and twenty-five. The men who are away amount to fully a third of the entire adult male population of the island. These are all effective men, the pick and flower of the community ; the recruiting service take none but effective men. From the other two-thirds we must deduct the old men, the sickly, and the inefficient, from whatever cause, and you reduce the number of efficient labourers very considerably : it will be found that nearly one-half of the effective force—the food-producing portion of the men—have been taken away. Suppose that every man left were effective, as no provision has been made for the support of the families of those who have left the island, every two men would have to support three families ; but, after deducting the inefficient, it will be nearer the truth to say that every *three men* have to support *five families*. It must also be remembered that when society is thus deranged, labour is not carried on with such vigour and success as when society is in a normal well-conditioned state. They cannot fish now, they say, as they did, they are so weak, they have no strong men to carry their nets, or man their canoes : they cannot dig and plant as they used to do, they have no strong men to do the heavy work. In short, they are all down-hearted, and feel their loss every day. If the men on the plantations are so contented and happy as they are said to be, if they are becoming fat as pigs, and merry as crickets, as some of their employers tell us they are, it is not the case with their wives and children, their aged parents and other relations on the islands. On Futuna these are every now and again coming to the missionary, urging him to write letters to their employers, that they may send them home again, or to obtain for some of them a passage in the *Dayspring*, that they may go away in search of them. Now, let us see how these statistics must affect the population of this island. While this state of things continues, the births must be one-third, perhaps nearly one-half, fewer every year than formerly. The mortality among those away, so far as our observation extends, is one-half more than if they had remained at home ; and when the food-producing power of the island is so much reduced, and when the power of attending upon the young, the aged, and the sick, must be so much lessened, we may safely conclude that the mortality on the island, from want of food and want of attention, will be one-half greater than when the whole population were living at home in their usual way. If, therefore, you reduce the births one-half every year, and increase the deaths one-half every year on any island, the fate of such a people will not be long doubtful ; but such is the fate to which the planters in Fiji and Queensland have doomed Futuna at the present moment. This is not an opinion ; it is a result as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun.

Let a similar experiment be made either at home or in the colonies, let town after town, and village after village, be deprived of one-third, or one-half, of its adult male population, and what would be the consequences ? But however bad there, it is greatly worse here, where, when such disturbing influences come into operation, there are no

means of meeting them by other arrangements. There are no Government grants here, no poor-rates, no well-organised schemes of private charity, to meet the most clamant cases ; every island, every district, every family, must fight its own battle with poverty and hunger as it best can.

On Futuna, but for the presence and the influence of the missionary and an active band of teachers, there can be no doubt that twice the number of natives would, by this time, have been taken away. This is a small island, and accurate statistics have been obtained of its population. But on Tanna, Faté, and other islands, where we cannot as yet obtain statistics, we are morally certain that a much larger proportion of natives has been taken away than has been taken away on Futuna ; and hence, on these islands, all the causes which lead to the depopulation of the islands are much more extensively and much more actively at work. In India or China, where the population is counted by millions, a few thousand coolies may be carried elsewhere, and the general community may not be at all affected, unless they should all be taken from one locality ; but in these islands, with a limited population, this course is ruinous.*

But I beg the political economist especially, as well as the Christian and the philanthropist, to remark, that this is not a question affecting the New Hebrides alone ; it is fast affecting every group in Western Polynesia. The New Hebrides are already nearly used up ; all the available labour has been nearly extracted out of them. It is little more than the gleanings that are now left. The planters are now discussing the question of labour. The question of labour is a question of life and death, with their system of operations. They must have labour, and where is it to come from ? The New Hebrides, the nearest available field to both Fiji and Queensland, is nearly exhausted, and they must extend the area from which labour is to be drawn. In this way, as long as the traffic will pay, one after another, every group of islands between this and China will be subjected to the same process. There will be the same force and the same fraud ; the same stealing and the same cheating ; ending in the same inevitable results—the depopulation of the islands. They will not go to India or China while there are natives to be obtained nearer hand ; they will not seek civilised labour while that of savages can be obtained. The latter is a much cheaper and a much more manageable article.

But another part of this grand colonisation scheme is cropping out. Parties holding advanced opinions on the subject are not slow to state that their plan is to carry off all the natives from these islands as fast as they can. They will then take possession of the land, and work it

* Since the above was written, I have learned from the missionaries on the island that, as near as can be ascertained, the population of Tanna may be eight thousand. This gives four thousand males of all ages, or two thousand males above seventeen years of age. Now, as near as can be estimated, there are not fewer than twelve hundred of these in Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia, and elsewhere. The poor natives themselves cannot realise what effects such a state of things will soon produce, but the supporters of the mission can easily do so, and must take action accordingly. One of the first effects has been a great diminution of food on Tanna. Formerly, it was the island above all others to which traders resorted for yams. They could be obtained in any quantities. Now there is scarcely a yam for sale.]

by coolies from China or elsewhere. If let alone for a few years, they will fully accomplish the first part of this programme; their success in the second part of it may be more problematical. It is now a well-ascertained fact—and to this fact I wish to call special attention—that while the natives of the New Hebrides can live, enjoy health, and labour successfully on their own islands respectively, it is what none else have ever been able to do. Europeans, except on particular spots, cannot; Samoans, Rarotongans, or Tahitians cannot. Natives of Fiji cannot; natives of the Loyalty Islands cannot. We have tried Samoan and Rarotongan teachers on all parts of the group, from Aneityum to Santo, and they have everywhere succumbed. Even the natives of the small islands of coral formation cannot live on the larger islands of volcanic formation. The natives of Futuna cannot live on Aneityum; they take fever and ague, and that at once. Were a thousand British emigrants landed on this group, in the same way as they have been landed scores of times in Australia and New Zealand, in less than six months the one half of them would be laid up with fever and ague; in less than twelve months the probability is that two hundred of them would be in their graves. Is it likely, then, that coolies from India or China would stand the climate? If the natives of this group are carried away, you leave the islands a desert, and one of the most fertile groups in the Pacific will be lost to the Australasian colonies in all time coming. You cannot repeople them; whereas, if you protect and preserve the present inhabitants till they are Christianised, you have acclimated labour on the spot that may continue for ages. When capital arrives it will find labour waiting for it, and a few Europeans to manage business, and superintend the native labourers, is all that will be required, and these, by periodical or occasional visits to the colonies, may recruit their failing health as often as it may be necessary. It is Christianity alone that can preserve this race from extermination. If their existence is to be secured, either on their own account, or for the sake of the commercial advantages to accrue to the colonies from them, the shield of British protection must be thrown over them, this slave trade must be extinguished, and redoubled efforts must be put forth to bring the whole group under the full influence of Christianity.

If commerce and colonisation would only be content to bide their time—would only wait the natural and gradual development of God's providence, both the colonies and the commercial world would be mighty gainers in the end. For untold centuries God has been acclimating man for living and labouring on these islands, that, at the needful time, their rich products might come into the market of the world. Let Christianity and education have their free course, and a reliable industry and a profitable commerce will follow. The planters in Fiji complain, and white men everywhere in the islands complain, that natives will not work steadily on their own islands, and that, in order to get work done, they must bring them from other islands so as to have them completely in their power, and oblige them to work whether they will or not. This holds true of all heathen natives, and partially true of partially Christianised natives. But our experience is, that as soon as natives are Christianised—are educated so that they can understand contracts, and get a taste for the comforts and conveniences of civilised life, they will

work on their own islands, they will sell their labour or their produce for a reasonable remuneration. I might refer, in proof of this, to the Christianised groups in Eastern Polynesia; but as it will be more to my purpose, I shall confine myself to the New Hebrides.

For a number of years past, there has been one whaling establishment on Aneityum; two years ago a second one was commenced; and last year one was opened on Eromanga. No want of labour was felt by any of the three establishments. Some fifteen boats, or thereabouts, were fully manned, nearly all with natives of Aneityum. A few Christian natives from the Loyalty Islands and the Island of Faté made up the complement of boatmen. The boats were partly in charge of white men, and partly in charge of natives. The natives proved themselves to be excellent boatmen, and some of them could strike a whale as well as any white man. I was assured, last year, by the proprietor of one of the establishments, that boats in charge of natives only were much more carefully looked after, and hence much less damaged at the end of the season, than those in the charge of white men. When the whaling was over, they all received their wages, with which they were well pleased, returned to their homes, and at once set to work on their plantations, that they might have abundance of food for the coming year. They are also, from time to time, collecting and preparing *bêche-de-mer*; preparing and drying the kernel of the cocoa-nut for exportation; engaging in other labours for white men; and selling other products of the island as opportunities occur. Since heathenism was abolished, and Christianity took its place, life and property have been quite safe, and capital, as fast as it could be invested, has found its way to the island. A peaceful and a profitable commerce and a peaceful and a profitable industry are both being developed.

What has been done in one island may be done in another—may be done on every island of the group, and, with the help of God, will be done in due time, unless this slave trade, or something similar, prevent us. But this natural and healthy development is far too slow a process for the irrepressible, go-ahead movements of certain classes in these times. Every acre of land on this side of the globe must be occupied at once, and every portion of available labour must be used up just now, be the consequences what they may to the next generation, or to the general interests of commerce at the present time. Enterprise, public spirit, the interests of the colonies, advantages to the native races, are the talismanic words by which every scheme, however selfish, or however wicked, is launched into public notice. Good men, it may be, are drawn into them, and if so, their names are used as guarantees for the moral character of the undertakings. We owe much to the enterprising character of our colonists, but the best things are the most easily abused, and the best things become the worst when they are abused. Enterprise, pushed unscrupulously—pushed too fast and too far—is fast destroying all the advantages that the public would derive from these fair islands and their sadly injured inhabitants.

A hasting to be rich is one of the most common sins, one of the most popular fallacies of the present day. But all sin is shortsighted. To secure a small present good it will forego a great future advantage. The folly of this sin has been demonstrated in all ages; but the expe-

riment is still being repeated, as if it were still to be tested for the first time. A man and his wife, says Æsop, had a goose which laid a golden egg every day. By and by, however, they became impatient of this slow way of amassing riches, and thought that, by killing the goose, they would get all the golden eggs at once, and so their fortune would be made. They accordingly killed the goose, but, to their great disappointment, on opening her, instead of finding, as they expected, something like a bushel of eggs, they found only the egg she would have laid on the following day, and a number of small particles of gold, not larger than pin heads, the germs of what would have been the daily eggs in time to come. The policy which is being pursued on these islands by the slavers and the planters is a striking exemplification of the conduct condemned in the fable.

But ministers, missionaries, moralists, and political economists, may, each in their turn, and from their own special standpoint, address the commerce and the colonial enterprise connected with this question: they will be deaf to their arguments, as the people of Delphos were to the epilogues of Æsop, who not only despised his advices, but are said to have killed him for his fidelity in reproving them. There is no hope of convincing those who listen to self-interest as their counsellor, but to a disinterested public I would say a few words.

Is there any special necessity for this traffic? Men tell us they have bought land in Queensland or Fiji; that land is of no use without labour; they cannot obtain labour elsewhere; labour they must have; this is the nearest and the cheapest labour market, and they are taking advantage of it. At first the term of service for the labourers was to be six months; then it was extended to a year; next it came to three years; afterwards it was extended to five years; practically with many it will become a life-long engagement. If the natives had no employment of their own; if they were willingly offering their labour for sale; if it were not so injurious to themselves, their own interests, and their own islands, the plea would be valid; but the case being so far otherwise, the plea falls to the ground. The purchase and possession of land, and the want of labour, is no valid plea for man-stealing, no valid plea for depopulating a group of beautiful and fertile islands, and reducing them to a wilderness where no man shall dwell.

But is there such a necessity for pushing colonisation in Queensland and Fiji that these colonies must be sustained by slave labour? Are the interests involved in this enterprise so important to the world, to Britain, or to the Australasian colonies, that this and other important groups of islands must be ruined, so that these two colonies may be sustained? Is population so dense in the surrounding colonies that hives must be annually sent off to find new homes? There is New Zealand with a surface as large, and resources as valuable, as those of England and Scotland, and with a population of only about two hundred thousand—not more than half the population of Glasgow. There is Australia, exclusive of Queensland, with a surface as large, and resources as valuable, as those of half the countries of Europe, and with a population of only about two millions—little more than half the population of Scotland—only about a tenth of the population of England; and surely,

in these circumstances, there is no necessity for pushing colonisation where it can be carried on only by means of slave labour?

One of the standing charges brought against us by the class of men whom we are opposing is, that we oppose them because we are opposed to commerce among the natives. No charge could be more unfounded. When, in the history of the world, was Christianity ever opposed to commerce? When, in the history of the world, was Presbyterianism ever opposed to commerce? Is our Christianity, or is our Presbyterianism, of a type so different from that of other men that such a charge could be justly preferred against us? No; commerce conducted on Christian principles we hail as a natural ally; we give it all the countenance and all the support that we can. But that commerce which is conducted on anti-Christian principles, whose effects are demoralising and ruinous to the natives, that commerce which culminates in a revival of the slave trade, to that commerce we shall ever place ourselves in antagonism; we shall set ourselves both to oppose it and expose it; and we feel certain that, while in interested quarters we shall be unsparingly denounced, by the good, the just, and the wise, in every land we shall be amply vindicated.

Whatever it may be to the Christian, to the mere political economist it may be a matter of little consequence what becomes of the natives of New Zealand, whether they be preserved as a race, or perish; because, as a question of labour, their place can be supplied, and that by a higher class of labourers. All the races in Europe can live in New Zealand. But to the political economist, as a mere question of labour, it is a matter of vital importance to preserve the natives of the New Hebrides. Let them be exterminated, and you can never supply their place. You can never repeople the islands. You can bring labour to cultivate these islands from no other land.

But there is another aspect to which I would call the special attention of Christian men. Slave labour has always been looked upon by the employers of slaves as a cheap kind of labour. It has always, in the end, to the community sanctioning it, proved the dearest of all labour. God denounces few sins more severely than injustice and the oppression of the poor. He constitutes Himself their Protector, and He takes singular vengeance on their oppressors. His moral laws, no less than the physical, operate with unfailing certainty—the day of retribution comes; no power on earth can stay its approach. Pharaoh and his servants thought the slavery and servitude of the Israelites a source of great national wealth, but the ten plagues and the tragedy of the Red Sea showed God's estimate of the matter. The British planters, and for a while the British nation, thought West Indian slavery a profitable investment. But when the national conscience felt the responsibility that was thereby incurred, the nation anticipated the day of retribution, and paid twenty millions sterling to have the evil for ever swept away. The Lord accepted their repentance, and granted them a new lease of national prosperity, and that such as they had never enjoyed before. America clung with infatuated tenacity to the "domestic institution," till the Lord arose, and came out of His place, to break the arm of the oppressor, and bid the oppressed go free. And when a million of lives had been sacrificed, and countless millions of dollars had been expended

or lost, the four millions of slaves were declared to be freemen. If slavery becomes an institution in Queensland, Fiji, or elsewhere, the day of retribution will come, the day of reckoning will be all the more awful, that the sin has been committed in the face of so much light and after such striking warnings.

We, as a mission, are few ; we are weak, we are utterly powerless to arrest this gigantic evil. We can do no more than raise our voice on behalf of the injured and oppressed. We are called upon for proofs—proofs to show that there is any real grievance to complain of ; that everything is not fair and right, that everything is not done in accordance with Act of Parliament. Now, although we could furnish proofs, down to the minutest legal technicalities, for twenty of the worst cases that have taken place in these seas, we could not stop the evil. These would be held to be exceptional ; redress would be promised, new licenses would be granted, new vessels would go forth, and the evil would go on. Hence we are eager to place before our supporters, not solitary cases, not simply legal proof, not proofs available in a court of law, but the broad facts of the case, the indisputable tendencies of the traffic, and the all but certain results of the system—facts of the substantial truth of which we are morally certain, statements for the substantial truth of which we are prepared to stake our whole missionary character.

But we are not alone in this matter ; similar statements are being made by every missionary in these seas, that has come into direct contact with the traffic—by Bishop Patteson, and his associates of the Church of England Mission, by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, and by members of the Wesleyan Mission. All are equally loud in denouncing the traffic.

We feel certain that the traffic can never be carried on so as to prove a benefit to the natives. The islands will never be safe till it be put down entirely, like the African slave trade and West Indian slavery. “The African slave trade,” says Bishop Patteson, “was put down as a thing evil in itself, a disgrace to humanity, and a practical repudiation of Christianity. People did not stop to inquire further. It was enough that men were stolen from their homes, and taken away by force.” And that is what is being done here every day in the year.

Our aim is not to have the traffic regulated, to have its grosser abuses removed, but to have it abolished, to have the evil removed, the root as well as the branch. Our distinct aim is to have it abolished by an Act of the Imperial Parliament. Total and immediate abolition is our watchword and our war-cry ; but if that cannot be obtained, our next aim is to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject. Let the British Government be urged to appoint commissioners from home, consisting of men *such as* Dr Selwyn, Bishop of Lichfield, Sir George Grey, late Governor of New Zealand, and Admiral Erskine, M.P. for Stirlingshire ; men who know these colonies, men who know these islands, men whose position, and character, and knowledge of the question would place them above all suspicion of being affected by party influences of any kind, and whose report would secure the confidence of the public, both at home and in the colonies.

Let this commission come out and take evidence on the spot. Let

them come out to Queensland, and examine the planters and all who can supply evidence. Let them come on to the New Hebrides, and examine the members of this mission and others. Let them proceed to the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia, and examine the missionaries of the London Missionary Society and other parties. Let them proceed to Norfolk Island, and examine Bishop Patteson and the members of his mission. Let them next proceed to Fiji, and examine the Consul, the planters, and the Wesleyan missionaries there. Let them finally proceed to Samoa, and examine the Consul, the planters, and the members of the London Missionary Society there. By this time they will have had ample evidence, and from every point of view, of all that can be said both for and against the traffic. Let their report, and the evidence on which it is based, be laid before Parliament, and we feel certain that the system will be doomed.

Let not such a proposal be pooh-poohed, as if we were asking a remedy out of all proportion beyond the extent of the evil. This is not a question affecting half a score of obscure missionaries only, neither is it a question affecting a few insignificant islands only. It is a question that is gravely affecting the interests of every mission in these seas. It is a question that is affecting, or will affect, every group of islands from Fiji to China. It is a question that does not concern Queensland alone. It will, sooner or later, affect, according as it may be settled, either injuriously or beneficially, every one of the Australasian colonies. It is a question of sufficient magnitude to call for the special and prompt attention of the imperial Legislature.

It may be thought presumptuous in us, so few and so void of influence, to make a proposal so important. But we believe we are proposing nothing but what we have the means of accomplishing: to say nothing of this, that the cause we are advocating is the cause of God, the cause of mercy, truth, and righteousness, and that those who associate themselves with such a cause have espoused the strongest side in the controversy, and have only to bide their time to be sure of victory: to say nothing of this, although as individuals we are few and uninfluential, we are connected with a power that can make itself be felt in the counsels of the nation. The supporters of this mission comprise more than 500 Presbyterian ministers and their congregations, representing a population of, it may be, half-a-million. In a question of this kind, they would at once command the entire and cordial sympathy of 4000 other Presbyterian ministers and their congregations, at home and in the British colonies, representing, it may be, a Presbyterian population of four millions more. But this is not a Presbyterian question, although it is pressing first and most severely on a Presbyterian mission. It is not a question of one denomination against another; it is a question of our common Christianity—it is a question of our common humanity. When the Israelites met and looked the question in the face, as to whether the tribe of Benjamin should be exterminated or not (Judgesxx.), all tribal differences were forgotten. So, when the question comes up for solution, Shall the New Hebrides mission be destroyed or not? shall the extermination of the natives of the New Hebrides be allowed or not?—we know at once how the sympathies of every Church in the British Empire will go, and we have no fear of the result.

The Christianity of Britain put down both the African slave trade and West Indian slavery, and it has had its reward. The Christianity of America was too feeble for a similar task there, and the Lord arose Himself. We need scarcely ask, Will British and colonial Christians, especially Presbyterians, look listlessly on while a few speculators, hasting to be rich, are sending out their slave ships, manned, for the most part, with the most unscrupulous desperadoes which these colonies can supply, to prowl among these islands, to carry off the natives in thousands, by force or by fraud, under false pretences or under false impressions; to take advantage of the ignorance or the helplessness of the natives to get them under their power; to injure seriously our mission stations; to destroy what is existing, and to prevent what is anticipated; to stop effectually the advancement of Christianity, education, and civilisation in the group; to arrest the progress of a natural and healthy commerce; to break up native communities, causing wives, children, the aged, and the helpless, to be left unprovided for; to destroy native industry; to leave these islands without inhabitants; to cut off all future labour on this group; and to lose to the colonies one of the most fertile cluster of islands in the Pacific? Can they submit to all this, not for any great public interests, but to increase the private gains of a small number of unscrupulous speculators? After Christianity has suppressed slavery throughout the world, will she suffer it to raise its detested head in these obscure corners of the earth? We trow not. We rejoice to know that the anti-slavery spirit, sustained by Christianity, is still as strong, and active, and vigorous as ever. Christianity has never yet earnestly undertaken any cause but that cause has proved successful. And we feel certain that the claims of humanity and Christian missions will not be allowed to sink unheeded, when they come even from the obscure and far distant New Hebrides. "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? and shall not He render to every man according to his works?"—I remain, my dear Dr Steel, yours very truly,

JOHN INGLIS.

MINUTE OF MEETING OF NEW HEBRIDES MISSION,

DATED JULY 3, 1871.

Rev. P. Milne and the Chief Officer of the "Jason."

At a meeting of the New Hebrides Mission, held at Aniwa, July 3, 1871—Rev. Thomas Neilson, jun., in the chair—the following minute was, *inter alia*, agreed to:—

"The attention of this meeting has been called to a paragraph in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, of March 21, 1871, copied out of the *Brisbane Courier*, being the affidavit of John Irving, chief officer of the schooner *Jason*, made at Brisbane on the 13th of March 1871, before Robert Gray, J.P., immigration agent, and is as follows:—

"I, John Irving, chief officer of the schooner *Jason*, do solemnly and

sincerely declare that on the 24th January 1871, I was sent ashore in charge of the boat at the island of Nguna, for the purpose of bringing some natives on board. On reaching the shore, three of the natives, who had on the previous day agreed to join, stepped into the boat, and, when about leaving, a missionary, whom I believe to be a Mr Milne, came down to the beach, accompanied by a native of the Island of Samoa, whom the captain had seen the previous day, and by signs directed the natives to fire upon us, which they accordingly did, one bullet passing over the gunwale of the boat, and another falling a few yards short of the stern. I then hastened back to the schooner with the three natives. Two days afterwards, I again went ashore with the boat, and the natives received me in the most friendly way, and I engaged four more. Upon asking the natives why they had fired upon the boat, they informed me that the missionary had told them to do so, as he did not like to see the natives leaving the island. I saw nothing more of the missionary.'

"This charge has been extensively published and severely commented on in the colonial newspapers, as if it had been an indisputable fact. Moreover, the Acting Governor in Queensland has referred the case to Commodore Stirling, of H.M.S. *Clio*, for investigation, who, on his part, has promised that the matter 'shall be attended to by the first of Her Majesty's ships which sails for the South Pacific Islands.' In presence of this meeting, Mr Milne has distinctly and solemnly denied the truth of the whole statement, so far as it affects him. He says that he was not present when the boat was fired on—that he knew nothing of the matter till several months afterwards. Being newly settled on the island, and still very imperfectly acquainted with the language, no one had spoken to him about it, or, if they had spoken, he had not understood them; or perhaps they had purposely kept silent about it, lest he should have reproved them for their conduct. The first intimation he had of it was from Mr Irving himself, when the *Jason* came to Nguna on her next voyage, May 23. When Mr Milne met Mr Irving at that time, the latter said, 'Are you Mr Milne?' He said he was. 'Oh,' said he, 'you are not the man that caused the natives to fire on the boat.' This was the first time that Mr Milne knew that such a thing had taken place. On inquiry, he found that two natives of Rarotonga, teachers on the island, but, like himself, newly settled, were standing within sight of the boat when the shots were fired; but both distinctly deny that they in any way incited the natives to do so. But the reason why the boat was fired on was this: Mr Irving was taking away three natives, one man and two women. One of the women at least was married, and was being taken away against her husband's will; and it was the enraged husband that fired the one shot, and it is supposed to have been some person connected with the other woman that fired the other.

"This meeting sincerely sympathise with Mr Milne in this grave and injurious but unfounded charge that has been so solemnly preferred against him, and assure him of their readiness to assist him in every way in defending and vindicating his character.

"This meeting cannot too strongly express their abhorrence of the reckless, unscrupulous, and unprincipled conduct displayed in the fabrication of this charge, and their surprise at the readiness with which it has been believed, and the evident satisfaction with which it has been commented on by a portion of the colonial press; and they trust that the friends of this mission in particular, and the Christian public in general, will learn from this to estimate at their proper value those charges, so loudly and so confidently trumpeted forth against the whole or particular members of this mission, with the view of damaging their testimony against the slave trade in the New Hebrides.

"That a copy of this minute be forwarded to the Rev. Dr Steel, agent of this mission in Sydney; the Rev. Dr M'Donald, agent of this mission in Melbourne; the Rev. Dr Copland, Secretary to the Foreign Mission Com-

mittee of the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland ; Rev. J. Kay, Secretary to the Foreign Mission Committee of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland ; to the Attorney-General in Queensland ; and to Commodore Stirling, of H.M.S. *Clio* ; and that these gentlemen be requested to take such steps in the case as each of them may think proper."

I cannot allow this minute to go forth without a remark or two. No more of the facts are inserted in the minute than what were necessary for the vindication of Mr Milne. But it would be unjust to the natives, and not fair to the public, to stop here. In the affidavit we have the cold, business, slaver-like statement of three natives. When we come to the boat, and observe the whole scene, the aspect of the case is materially changed. We see one man and two women entering the boat, and there is considerable excitement on the shore. The man is probably going willingly—the prospect, most likely, of a musket has so fired his imagination, that he is deaf to the cries, and blind to the tears, of his wife and child lamenting his departure, with no one to provide for them. Here, again, our mission suffers by the traffic. This was almost the only man from whom Mr Milne could obtain any assistance in acquiring a knowledge of the language. But, passing this ; the advantages to the natives themselves is a strong point to which great prominence is always given in the Queensland press ; but I shall let any one say, who knows anything of island life, what are the benefits likely to accrue to this family by a three-years' separation, in order that the husband may obtain a musket, a rocking-chair, and a few pounds of tobacco. I do hope the Queensland press will no longer disgust us with its cant, its hypocrisy, and its pseudo-philanthropy, its great anxiety to get the natives to Queensland for the benefits they are to obtain there for themselves. For, to a certainty, the day that the traffic ceases to be profitable to the slavers—the day that this ceases to be a profitable investment to the planters—on that day, but not till that day, will they cease to carry it on for the benefit of the natives.

But to return to the boat. The statement in the affidavit would lead one to expect simply three men ; but here are two women. The one is married, and Irving is taking her away without her husband's consent. There is her husband running along the beach with a loaded musket in his hand. Instantly he fires, and the bullet passes over the gunwale of the boat. Mr Milne had not ascertained whether the other woman was married or not ; but as every marriageable woman on these islands is married, no doubt she too was married, and the probability is, that it was her husband who, from behind that bush, or that high grass, fired the other shot, which fell short of the stern. But, in the midst of all this, with the cool determination of a slaver, Irving pushes off his boat into deep water, and makes for the vessel with all possible speed, and his victims are all three safe. The poor wife may cry, and the enraged husbands may rave, but the business has been closed, and three natives have been shipped for Queensland.

We have seen the *Jason* twice at Nguna, each time in her true character as a slaver, buying and kidnapping natives. In the one case, buying and carrying away four natives, almost under the very bows of a mission vessel ; and, in this case, kidnapping almost at the very door

of a mission house. If the *Jason* does such things in these circumstances, what will she not do elsewhere, where there is no missionary present to witness and report her doings? And if such things are done by the *Jason*—that model vessel, so well found, so well regulated, declared by her agent and part owner, Mr Travis, to be a credit to the port from which she hails—what may we not suppose is done by the ordinary class of slavers that hail from Queensland?

But Irving is not content with securing his own unjust gains at the expense of the injured natives; he must deliberately proceed to inflict a most serious injury upon an innocent man. What pain must have been endured by Mr Milne's relations by the publication of such a serious charge? What anxiety must have been felt by all the supporters of this mission? But it was all in the way of trade. Here was a fine opportunity of making some profitable capital. The one grand point which the Queensland interests are eager to establish just now is this, that the natives all go away willingly; that they are all most eager to go to Queensland to sell their labour there; but that the missionaries, to secure their own pecuniary gains, are opposed to their emigration. And here, say they, is an instance of a missionary so intensely opposed to the natives leaving his island, that he hesitates not to incite them to fire upon the trader's boat.

When the character of the traffic is known, it is not surprising that we hear of attacks being made on boats, and of white men being killed. It would be surprising if it were otherwise. One wonders how Captain Coath, Mr Travis, or Mr Gray would have acted if Irving had been doing the same thing to their wives—if these gentlemen happen to have wives—that he was doing to the wives of the poor Nguneses. I see that in a case lately tried at Melbourne, one of the lawyers held that, when a man's wife is the ground of dispute, the injured husband is fully entitled to take the law into his own hands, and that he would not be a man if he did not do so. But be that as it may, I strongly suspect that if any two of these three gentlemen had been in the position of the two husbands at Nguna, the name of John Irving, instead of flourishing on the first line of an affidavit at Brisbane, would, at that date, have been numbered with the things that were.

This is not a case brought to light by the missionaries. We might never have known of it, any more than of a hundred other cases of a similar kind, which we are morally certain have taken place, had not the evil-doer himself taken such an unusual mode of bringing it to light. It is a striking instance of the truth of the ancient proverb, that those whom God wishes to destroy He first permits to become infatuated. He permits them to fall into the pit which they had digged deep for others.

It is one of the disadvantages under which we missionaries labour here, that if we publish any statement reflecting on this traffic, the Government, the planters, and the pro-slavery press are down upon us at once with their whole power, as in the case of Mr Paton's letter, written last year; while it is six months at least before we have an opportunity of publishing a single line in reply.

On the other hand, any native or any white man may put in circula-

tion in the colonies any story to our disadvantage. Yet, however false or however improbable, it is six months before we have an opportunity of saying a single word in our own vindication. Now, while so disadvantageously placed, there is one point to which I would call the attention of the Christian public. I do it reluctantly, because it has the appearance of vaingloriousness; but I do it because I feel it necessary to do so in defence of this mission. The members of this mission are not, as many seem to think, mere private adventurers, every man doing that which may seem right in his own eyes. We are the representatives of Presbyterian Churches. We have, or very recently had, in our number representatives of two Presbyterian Churches in Nova Scotia, of one Presbyterian Church in Scotland, of the two largest Presbyterian Churches in Australia, and of the two Presbyterian Churches in New Zealand. We are all of us Presbyterian *ministers*. We have all of us attended the full course of literary, scientific, and theological study required for ordination to the ministry in these Churches; and if there was one point more than another on which our examination was specially strict, it had reference to our moral and Christian character. We were all found to be men of tried and proved character before we were sent here; and when here, our annual meeting exercises all the powers of a presbytery in watching over the character of the different members of the mission. There are therefore no Presbyterian ministers in the world whose ministerial *status* is higher, or whose moral and Christian character is more unimpeachable, than that of the members of the New Zealand Mission. Hence, every one who knows our position, knows that we are *morally* incapable of doing any of those wrong things with which we are so freely charged by those connected with this traffic; and it must have required singular audacity to make a formal charge against one of our number for intended manslaughter, if not murder itself. Men do not become even outrageously impudent all at once; but the traffic has been gradually increasing in boldness, encouraged, no doubt, by impunity, and the countenance given to it in high places, till now it thinks it may do anything, seeing that it is backed, and we are assailed, by all that is powerful in Queensland. Eighteen months ago, the owner of one of these slavers told me that their vessel had been at such an island, and opposite one of our mission stations there; that the natives had come off and told the captain that if he sent in his boat the missionary had said he would cause his natives to fire on it. I said to him, "Are you sure the missionary said so?" "Oh," said he, "the natives said so; but those on board did not see the missionary." I said, "You are aware that for seventy long years there have been Protestant missionaries in these seas, and for a good part of that time they have been more than a hundred in number; have you ever known, or have you ever heard of one of these missionaries causing his natives to fire on a white man?" He admitted that he had not; but, nevertheless, I have strong reasons for believing that that story would be extensively circulated.

The way in which Irving's story and others have been received, and the action of various kinds taken on them, lead us to infer that the people of Queensland, as represented by the Government, the planters, and the pro-slavery press, are remarkably credulous; that there must

be about them a certain Arcadian simplicity of character, which might be interesting as a subject of philosophical investigation, and which might turn out, on examination, to be nothing more than a kind of amiable weakness, were it not, as it unfortunately happens, that it always assumes the knavish aspect of proving very mischievous in its effects towards the missionaries on the New Hebrides.

The law may compel the Government to receive, publish, and act upon such affidavits as that of Irving's, however false and however improbable; the law may compel the Acting Governor and Commodore Stirling to send off a man-of-war in search of a man who is not under hiding, in search of a poor missionary, who could not by any possibility have even dreamt of committing the crime laid to his charge, and who was in reality as innocent and as ignorant of it as the youngest of the children born in Queensland yesterday. But it is to be hoped, for their own honour, and for the credit of the British Government, that these gentlemen, since they have set the law in motion, will *keep* it in motion till justice shall have done her whole work, fully vindicated the innocent, and properly punished the guilty, so that those in authority may prove themselves to be the ordinance of God, the minister of God for good, a terror to evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. Above all, let the history and doings of the *Jason* be thoroughly investigated, and let full and proper justice be done to the poor, defenceless, unsuspecting, and sadly injured natives of the New Hebrides.

Our prayer, moreover, is, that that distinguished nobleman, the Marquis of Normanby, who has been appointed Governor of Queensland, may have grace given him of God to discharge aright the onerous duties of his high and important office; and that, notwithstanding the subtle and powerful pro-slavery influences by which he will find himself surrounded, he may be able to fulfil, in the spirit as well as in the letter, the promise he so frankly and freely made before leaving London, "I will be no party to anything akin to slavery or the slave trade."

J. I.

BISHOP PATTESON'S MEMORANDUM.

The following memorandum was addressed by Bishop Patteson to the General Synod of the Episcopal Church in New Zealand. It has gone the round of the colonial newspapers. I have made quotations from it. But from the position and character of the writer, I am desirous that my readers should see the whole document.

J. I.

"The object of this memorandum is to inform the General Synod of the means frequently adopted in the islands of the South-west Pacific to procure labourers for the Queensland and Fiji plantations.

"I am not now concerned with the treatment of these islanders on the plantations, which I have never visited. My duty is to state what has occurred in the islands, and to make known the character of the trade as it is carried on there.

"Assuming that the Government of Queensland and H.M. Consul at Levuka, Fiji Islands, do all that lies in their power to guard this traffic from abuse, and assuming that they succeed in affording some security to the

islanders while on the plantations, it is certain that they do not and cannot restrain lawless men from employing unjust means to procure so-called labourers in the islands; they cannot know what is done by the masters and crews of the numerous vessels engaged in the trade; they are absolutely without power to enforce any regulation as to the number of persons kept on board, the amount of food given to them, the treatment of the sick, and the general management of the whole transaction.

"Whatever measures may be proposed or adopted to obtain humane and just treatment for those islanders while in Queensland or in Fiji, there is absolutely no check whatever upon the proceedings of the men engaged in procuring these islanders for the labour markets of Queensland and Fiji. No regulation can prevent men who are bound by no religious or moral restraint from practising deception and violence to entice or convey natives on board their vessels, or from detaining them forcibly when on board.

"Much is said about engagements and contracts being made with these islanders. I do not believe that it is possible for any of these traders to make a *bona fide* contract with any natives of the Northern New Hebrides, and Banks and Solomon Islands. I doubt if any one of these traders can speak half-a-dozen words in any of the dialects of those islands; and I am sure that the very idea of a contract cannot be made intelligible to a native of those islands without a very full power of communicating readily with him. More than ten natives of Mota Island have been absent now nearly three years. The trader made a contract with them by holding up three fingers. They thought that three suns or three moons were signified. Probably he was very willing that they should think so, but he thought of at least three years.

"Something has been said about the benefit to the islanders by bringing them into contact with civilisation. What kind of civilisation they may see on the plantations I do not know, for I have not visited them; neither can I say that I have seen many natives who have been returned to their homes, from whose conduct I might judge of the effects of their 'contact with civilisation.' The reason is simple. Out of four hundred or five hundred Banks Islanders who have been taken away, I have not heard of, much less seen, one-tenth of that number brought back.

"But there is no instance that I can remember of any one of these natives exhibiting on his island any proof of his having received any benefit from his 'contact with civilisation,' much less of his conferring any benefit on his people. The few that have been brought back to the Banks Islands bear a bad character among their own people.

"But I am not now concerned with the treatment of these islanders on the plantation, nor with the effect of their intercourse with white men, or upon themselves or their people.

"The African slave trade was put down as a thing evil in itself, a disgrace to humanity, and a practical repudiation of Christianity. People did not stop to inquire further. It was enough that men were stolen from their homes, and taken away by force.

"There is no check at present upon the traders engaged in procuring 'labourers' for Queensland and Fiji. Many of these men, whether they are technically and legally slaves or not, are acting in the spirit of slavers. Sir William Manning admitted in the *Daphne* case that 'this system of so-called emigration is likely to degenerate, and probably some times has degenerated, into a practice approaching a slave trade, and perhaps actually amounting to it.' It is indeed a mockery to speak of it as a system of emigration.

"A most impartial and dispassionate writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, who had spent some time in sailing among these islands, and had twice visited Fiji, speaks of the 'nefarious nature of many of the transactions (of the masters of vessels sent to procure labourers for the Queensland and Fiji plantations), which have undoubtedly, in not a few instances, been nothing less than kidnapping.' I leave the statements of some of our scholars to

speaking for themselves. But I know that throughout the Northern New Hebrides and the Banks Islands deception and violence are frequently practised. I know the lawless character and the lawless conduct of persons now engaged in the trade whose names I am not at liberty to divulge. One person writes to me mentioning by name four vessels concerned in carrying on 'rough work' with the New Hebrides natives. 'You know,' he says, 'that these men have no scruples of conscience, and so long as they make money, are perfectly dead to any code of laws, human or divine. I tell you of this (he adds) confidentially, as I have only had the information as a friend, and inform you for your own protection when amongst the islands.'

"A captain of a whale ship writes to me :—'The natives of these islands would come off in former years, bringing such articles of trade as their islands afford, for which we paid them with hatchets, tobacco, fishhooks, &c. They trusted us, and we trusted them. At times our decks were crowded. This, when slaving commenced, was all to the slavers' advantage, for the natives were easily enticed below, the hatches put on, and the vessel was off. Now no natives come on board the whale ship, and we, in our turn, dare not land. Again, we used to carry people from one island to another when they wished it, and they would give us hogs and other articles. This also has been taken advantage of, and the natives carried into slavery instead of home. Should we be wrecked, our lives must go for those that have been stolen, and the natives will be condemned and called bloodthirsty, &c.; and yet what will the natives have done? Not certainly right, but no more than what civilised people have done in many cases. I hear that they use your name to decoy natives from their islands, and I also heard from good authority that they inquire very particularly of the whereabouts of the *Southern Cross*.'

"We experience to some extent the evil effects of this traffic which has been described in the last extract. In many islands where we were already on the most friendly terms with the people, we are now obliged to be cautious. Unless we are so well known as to be thoroughly trusted, we have to begin again to some extent the task of disabusing their mind of the natural suspicion and distrust which these 'nefarious practices' excite. As for using our names and inventing any stories about us which may induce natives to go on board their vessels, that is the common trick adopted by the traders. There are some—I trust very few—men sailing in these vessels who have taken a voyage in the *Southern Cross*, and the fact that they have been on board the mission vessel gave a plausibility to their story. In several of these islands some of our scholars are living; they speak a little English, and communicate more or less readily with any white men. Of course they use their influence to dissuade their people from going in such vessels. They know nothing about the Queensland and Fiji plantations, but they know quite enough of the character of these vessels to warn their people against going in them.

"Many natives of Tanna, Faté, and of the Loyalty Islands are employed by these traders for the boating work. These men are amongst the most reckless and mischievous of the whole number of persons concerned in the trade. Naisilene, the Christian chief of Maré, has forbidden any native of that island to go on board any one of these vessels. It would be well if white men were to follow his example.

"In conclusion, I desire to protest by anticipation against any punishment being inflicted upon natives of these islands who may cut off vessels or kill boats' crews, until it is clearly shown that these acts are not done in the way of retribution for outrages first committed by white men. Only a few days ago a report reached me that a boat's crew had been killed at Espirito Santo. Nothing is more likely. I expect to hear of such things. It is the white man's fault, and it is unjust to punish the coloured man for doing what, under such circumstances, he may naturally be expected to do. People say and write inconsiderately about the treachery of these islanders. I have experienced no instance of anything of the kind during fourteen years' intercourse

with them ; and I may fairly claim the right to be believed when I say that, if the Melanesian native is treated kindly, he will reciprocate such treatment readily. The contact of many of these traders arouses all the worst suspicions and passions of the wild untaught man. It is not difficult to find an answer to the question, Who is the savage, and who is the heathen man ?

"Imperial legislation is required to put an end to this miserable state of things. Stringent regulations ought to be made, and enforced by heavy penalties, as to the size and fittings of vessels licensed to convey natives to and from the South Sea Islands to Queensland and Fiji. All details should be specified, and vigilantly carried out, as to the number of natives that may be put on board, their food, clothing, payment, term of labour, reconveyance to their homes.

"Two small men-of-war ought to cruise constantly in the islands, and especially in the neighbourhood of Queensland and Fiji, to intercept vessels bringing natives to those parts, and to examine into the observance or non-observance of the regulations.

"It is manifestly to the planter's interest to discourage the lawless practices now going on in the islands.

"If he wishes to have a willing, good-humoured set of men on his plantation, it is evident that they must come to him willingly, and receive from him such treatment that they will work for him cheerfully.

"At present many of these islanders are brought to the plantations in an angry, sullen, revengeful state of mind. Who can wonder at it ? The planter pays a heavy sum now—amounting, it is said, in some cases, to £10 to £12 per head—for the so-called 'passage' given to these 'imported labourers.' I do not believe that the planters themselves justify or desire the continuance of these proceedings in the islands. It may be that only a few persons would be found willing to come if their free consent was required ; and that compulsion is necessary, if labourers are to be produced at all. In this case, it is not too much to say, that free labourers must be sought elsewhere, among the Chinese or other people who are able to protect themselves from injustice.

"But my belief is, that there will be always some, not many, islanders willing to leave their homes for a time, if once it is thoroughly known by experience that they will be treated kindly and fairly, and brought home at the proper time. Curiosity, excitement, the spirit of adventure, will always induce some men to volunteer for any employment that is not distasteful, with people who treat them honestly and fairly.

"There are some two or three vessels honourably distinguished from the rest by fair and generous treatment of the natives. One such vessel was at anchor for some weeks in Vanua Levu harbour. I do not know its name.

"Ganevierogi (the Leper Island lad) speaks of a whaler, a three-masted vessel, which was visited by some of their people. It came on to blow, and the Leper Islanders were kept on board all night, well fed, and sent ashore with presents the next morning. He could not tell me the name of the vessel. But she was a whaler, and such treatment of natives is customary with such vessels.

"I regret that I am unable to attend the General Synod, and that I lose the opportunity of giving further explanations of the real character of this traffic.

"NORFOLK ISLAND,
"Jan. 11, 1871."

"J. C. PATTESON,
"Missionary Bishop."

QUERIES REGARDING THE DEPORTATION OF NATIVES
OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS, ISSUED BY THE ANTI-
SLAVERY SOCIETY.

1. Have any natives emigrated from your district or island under contracts for labour in Queensland, Fiji, or any other country?
2. Have such emigrations been in all cases voluntary, or has no fraud or deception been practised to induce the natives to leave their homes?
3. Have you seen any of the contracts made with the natives? Did the terms appear to you to be fair and reasonable?
4. Is it your opinion that the contracts have been at all times, or generally, fully understood by the emigrants?
5. Have any cases of kidnapping occurred within your knowledge?
6. Have any females emigrated or been kidnapped, and in what proportion to males.
7. Of what nationalities are the persons engaging in this traffic?
8. Has discredit been brought upon civilisation or Christianity by the way in which natives have been induced to leave their homes?
9. What has been the general effect of these emigrations upon the native population?
10. Have any emigrants returned home; and if so, what accounts do they give of the treatment they have received?
11. Are there any other facts or circumstances which appear to you to require observation?

ANSWERS BY REV. JOSEPH COPELAND, MISSIONARY, FUTUNA,
NEW HEBRIDES.

FUTUNA, NEW HEBRIDES, *June 27, 1871.*

Mr THOMAS PHILLIPS, Secretary Anti-Slavery Society,

MY DEAR SIR,—I received your list of queries on the deportation of natives of the South Sea Islands in the end of last year, but I have not yet had an opportunity of forwarding my answers. It is pleasing to learn that there are some who will not willingly see these ignorant and helpless natives wronged; and I gladly give you what information I can, in the hope that it may assist in their deliverance and protection.

I may begin by stating that this island is about ten miles in circumference, and has a population of 900, the sexes being about equal. It was occupied by native teachers in 1853; and I have lived on it, with the exception of some short visits to one of the neighbouring islands, since October 1866. It is divided into seven districts, and a teacher resides in each. Through the teachers, by my own frequent visits round the island, and by visits of the natives to me, I know all of a public nature that takes place.

The Christian population may be about 150. My family and I are the only white people on the island.

The accompanying table, which is complete, will show you at a glance what the slavers have been doing during these years on Futuna. That the name "slavers" is applicable to them will be seen in the sequel.

Vessels.	Date of Visit.	Labour-ers.		Destination.	Date of return.	Number who have been returned.	Number landed at other islands than their own.	Number who died while away.	Number favourable to Christianity after their return.	Number who have left a second time.
		Males.	Females.							
1	{ Before Oct. 1866	1	...	Fiji	August 1869	1	...	...	1	1
2	Do.	1	...	Do.	July 1870	1	{ Landed at Tana }	{ ...	{ ...	{ ...
3	Dec. 1866	5	...	Do.	Escaped from the vessel at Aneityum, N. Hebrides	4				
4	June 1867	7	...	Rockhampton	May 1870	6	...	1	...	1
5	Sept. 1867	5	...	N. Caledonia	July 1870	4	...	1	...	...
6	Dec. 1867	19	...	Rockhampton	March 1871	8	...	...	...	...
7	Jan. 1869	5	...	Maryborough	Jan. 1871	1	...	1	...	...
8	Sept. 1869	1	...	Fiji	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	July 1870	5	...	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	Do.	3	2	N. Caledonia	...	...	...	...	...	...
11	Aug. 1870	1	...	Fiji	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	Sept. 1870	1	...	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Oct. 1870	25	3	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
14	Dec. 1870	1	...	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
15	Do.	17	...	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
16	Do.	3	1	Do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
17	April 1871	1	...	Fiji or Tana	...	...	...	...	...	...
18	June 1871	6	...	Brisbane	...	...	...	...	...	...
		107	6			25	1	4	1	2

During 1870, 51 vessels, ranging from 20 to 100 tons, either called at or passed this island—the same vessel sometimes more than once—but all, with three or four exceptions, engaged in this traffic. They seldom show colours. The parties on board are in general English-speaking.

The male natives carried off range in age from fifteen to forty, but the most of them were in the prime of life. All the six women were married.

Query 1.—Have any natives emigrated from your district or island under contracts for labour in Queensland, Fiji, or any other country?

Query 3.—Have you seen any of the contracts made with the natives? Did the terms appear to you to be fair and reasonable?

Query 4.—Is it your opinion that the contracts have been at all times, or generally, fully understood by the emigrants?

Answer.—On this island there can be no *bona fide* verbal, much less *bona fide* written, contracts. There cannot be verbal *bona fide* contracts, for there is no one who can act as interpreter. There are only two white men who know the language of this island—Mr Paton, missionary on Aniwa, and myself, and neither of us has ever assisted to make contracts between the natives and the slavers. Nor can these contracts be made through the medium of the few words of English known to the natives. A contract cannot be made intelligently without a considerable knowledge of the language employed. There is required, too, far more knowledge than the Futunese possess of places, things, kinds of labour, &c.

What does the word Queensland or Fiji suggest to their minds? What is suggested to their minds by the phrases cotton-planting, fencing, domestic servant, shepherd, &c., &c.? These terms are intelligible to me, but to the Futunese, even when translated into their own language, they are very much sounds to which they cannot attach a meaning. Three fingers held up may represent three years; but how do these people contrive to give a native any idea of an ounce of tea, half-a-pound of beef, or a pound in money? How do they express themselves when they speak of per diem, per week, per month, &c.? I have lived among these natives since 1866, and I have endeavoured to acquire their language, but there are some of these phrases *I* could not make a native understand. How much less could a stranger, who knows nothing of the language of Futuna, and whose language is next to unknown to the Futunese! The absence of a language understood by both parties will partly account for the fact that, though I am the only white resident on this island, I have never seen, or signed, or witnessed to a single contract, though this is required by the Queensland Polynesian Labourers' Act. That Act has been broken in every case; never kept. The truth is, there cannot be an engagement here without my intervention. As the business is at present conducted, the contract or engagement, in its entirety, is this—how to get the natives on board? That is all the slavers care about, and nearly all they can do in the circumstances. The natives see and understand about their rations when they come to eat them, about their work when they bow their backs to it, about their wages when they are paid, and they will return to their own islands when their masters choose to send them back. Instructions to captains of labour vessels, and to immigration agents, however strict they may appear on paper and in port, and parliamentary Labourers' Acts, however carefully worded, are not, and cannot be, carried out among the islands in many points. But for my presence here, the natives could know nothing about the places their friends have gone to. After a vessel had sailed, I have often asked a question like this—Where has your friend gone to? The answer either was this—I don't know; or this, He has gone to Sydney. The names Queensland, Brisbane, Maryborough, Rockhampton, and Fiji, they have got from me. If contracts had been made and understood, I should not have needed to give them such information.

When we read, therefore, or hear about contracts made and signed at the islands, and of the Consul or immigration agent passing these natives when they arrive at port, and of interpreters, black or white, asking a promiscuous group of New Hebrides natives such questions as—Have you come of your own accord? For how many years have you engaged?—We know the whole is a farce, an empty form, and a huge deception practised on the labourers, the Government officials, and the public. No interpreter, whether Tana man, or Faté man, or runaway sailor, or missionary, can interpret for more than two or three at most of the New Hebrides languages. I doubt if even one could be found anywhere who could do so much as this efficiently. We are the parties who know the thorough hollowness of this interpreting; and we should have very few of these impudent, mendacious characters practising their deceptions were the Queensland Government to send them here to the missionaries

to test their linguistic attainments before licensing them for their work. There is not, as is taken for granted, a New Hebrides dialect. There is the Fiji dialect, the Tongan dialect, and the Samoan dialect, understood respectively throughout these groups; but there is no one language understood throughout the New Hebrides. On this group there are at least twenty languages—not dialects of the same language, be it observed. These twenty languages are divided into two classes—the soft and the hard,—otherwise the Malay and the Papuan. In the former, syllables end invariably in vowels; in the latter, they end in vowels or consonants, as in English. When we compare the languages of the Papuan type, we find that the vocables are, with very few exceptions indeed, altogether different. On one island there are combinations of letters which the natives of the next island cannot pronounce. In one language, one order of the words in a sentence is observed; an order reversed in the language of the next island. We, as a mission, know more or less about nearly one half of these languages, and they differ one from another just about as much as English and Hebrew. Some captains in the trade, whom I have met, did not so much as know of this great diversity of language. How they made contracts by the score without perceiving it I am at a loss to know. Let Government, the planters, and the public, take notice of this fact, and be no longer duped by these would-be interpreters, who would make men believe that they have the gift of tongues. If told to do so, some of them would speak fluently to the man of the moon in his own tongue, if he has one, or whether or no; ay, and they, if their own statements can be accepted, would make men believe that he fully understood them!

Query 2.—Have such emigrations been in all cases voluntary, or has no fraud or deception been practised to induce the natives to leave their homes?

Query 5.—Have any cases of kidnapping occurred within your knowledge?

Query 8.—Has discredit been brought upon civilisation or Christianity by the way in which natives have been induced to leave their homes?

Answer.—The natives, as a general rule here, go on board these vessels voluntarily, *i.e.*, they are not forced on board, but their object is to visit other islands, or to get a little property, or to escape for a time from their friends, with whom they have quarrelled, or they go with the hope of bringing back some relative who has been long absent, or they follow a chief; but they do not go on board to toil continuously for four or five years, or to exile themselves from their own islands. Steady labour is contrary to all island use and wont, and it is only when they are taken to other islands, and must obey, that steady work can be got out of them. I know natives too well to believe that, when taken to Queensland or Fiji, they are in love with the work, or that they are contented. Contented when any length of time away from their own islands they are not. They work steadily, and from week to week, because they have no alternative, and they may be apparently contented, because they are unable to make known their grievances, or because they know it would be of no use to complain.

But the natives are not all got in the above way. Other plans besides taking advantage of their ignorance and credulity are tried. Very often *now* they are bought of their relatives, or a chief, for muskets, powder, hatchets, and tobacco. The natives look on these articles as just as much the price of their friends as they do the articles they get for a pig as its price. Vessel No. 13 of the above table made two visits. She called on her way from Fiji, and got about two-thirds of the twenty-eight natives. She sailed, and went to some of the other islands to fill up. About a fortnight after, she returned for the purpose of getting more Futunese. She did not come to anchor, as on her former visit. When standing off and on, waiting for the boat, I asked the natives on the beach why their friends did not jump overboard and swim ashore. They replied, "They have been *bought*."

Further, the natives are deceived as to their destination, and the true reason why they are wanted by white men. When vessel No. 6 called, the recruiting agent, a Tahitian, who lives on the neighbouring island of Aneityum, told the natives that the vessel would take them to Sydney, that they might look about them there. I heard he got £1 per head for them. They were taken to Rockhampton, and eleven of them have not been brought back. Vessel No. 18 took away six natives. The recruiting agent, or decoy, properly so called, was a native of Aneityum, living at present on Tana. He told the natives that they would go to Aneityum, to assist at one of the establishments there during the whaling season, and that they would be brought back after three months. He was put ashore at Tana, and the natives taken to Brisbane.

In two cases natives have been taken away against their will—vessels 12 and 15. In the former, a big boy was forcibly kept on board when the vessel was getting under weigh, though he attempted to jump into the sea. In the latter case, the natives went on board expecting to be landed at Tana, along with some Tanese who had been visiting Futuna. Four not fit for work were landed at Tana, the rest were taken to Fiji, and a Tana man of Port Resolution, by name Yanfanga, who acted as decoy, received four muskets from the parties on board as the price of the seventeen Futunese.

Query 9. What has been the general effect of these emigrations upon the native population?

Query 11. Are there any other facts or circumstances which appear to you to require observation?

Answer.—The effects of the traffic on the inhabitants of this island, as individuals and as a community, are none of them good; and it is to these effects that I would draw your particular attention, as it is by them the system must be tested. We missionaries are accused of wishing to retain the natives on their own islands that we may have their services for nothing, and thus promote our own gain. Such is not and cannot be the case. No missionary here is allowed to follow any secular calling in which he could employ the natives generally. We cannot wish to retain them for house-building, for that part of our work does not last very long. If they assist us in the erection of mission premises, which are virtually built for their good, they do not do so without some return.

We expect them, as they have no money with which to pay tradesmen, to erect and keep in repair the buildings used as churches and schools, because these are for their sole benefit. Beyond this we have no means of employing the natives, even did we wish to do so. We neither plant cotton nor sugar; we do not make cocoa-nut oil; we do not whale, and we do not raise supplies, animal and vegetable, for vessels. The few who live on the mission premises as servants we pay in something besides "spiritual coin." We not only instruct them—and do they not stand much in need of it?—but we supply them with medicine, and clothe them and feed them in a great measure. That we cannot have the services of the natives for our own ends is not the reason why we are opposed to their deportation. That we do not wish to see them civilised is not the reason. Their civilisation we desire and labour for with all our might. We are opposed to it, not because it interferes with our interests, but with those of the natives; not because it interrupts the labours of the natives for us, but ours for them. We oppose it because we see that its results are bad. Even though all the natives removed should be taken to Queensland, with its Acts and regulations, and not one to unlicensed, unfettered Fiji; though there should be no kidnapping; though all of them should go voluntarily, in the fullest sense of the word; though the natives were capable of making contracts; though every contract should be fully understood by them, and closely adhered to by their employers; though the accommodation and rations on board the vessels should be according to Act of Parliament; though the natives during their period of service should be well fed, clothed, and housed; though they should be well attended to when sick, and not overworked; though they should be well paid, and punctually returned to their homes: though all these conditions, many of which are not now fulfilled, should be carefully attended to, I should nevertheless oppose the traffic, the natives remaining what they now are. And why? Just because its results are evil, only evil,—evil continually. They are these:—

First. It withdraws the natives from the only means of instruction available for them, and leaves them to ignorance and heathenism. I am here to instruct the Futunese. This is *the* work for which I live among them. A heathen here may be reached by me; his enlightenment is at least possible on his own island; but in Fiji or Queensland it is improbable, if not impossible. In these places there is no one who knows his language, and whose business it is to labour for his intellectual, moral, and spiritual improvement. Those who take away the natives, and those who employ them, get them not for what can be done for them, but for what can be got out of them in the way of labour. Looked at from a mere money point of view, I may very reasonably object to the removal of these natives. The Church I represent, from a sense of duty alone, is laying out on an average about £400 per annum for the good of the Futunese. Has not that Church, then, a deep interest in these natives? and may she not complain when men, to serve their own selfish ends, step in and render abortive her efforts, and put obstacles in the way of her carrying on her labour of love? Planters say they *must* have labourers, because they have paid out money in the purchase of land; and they would feel very indignant were we to go and take away their labourers to serve us without ever asking their permission,

leaving the cotton to rot on the ground. But as much money has been laid out on this island as on most plantations; and yet, when we stand up for our rights and the rights of the natives, by asking that they be let alone,—when we ask others to do to us as they would wish to be done by,—we are misrepresented and covered with abuse. No one can say that the natives of this island do not require to be enlightened; and as disinterested efforts are being made to raise them, it is highly unfair to the natives, as well as to those labouring for their good, to remove them, for selfish ends only, beyond the reach of these efforts.

Secondly, This traffic disorganises society on the island. Husbands are left without their wives; more frequently wives are left without their husbands; children without their fathers, parents without their children, and the sick, aged, and infirm without their natural supporters and protectors. Quarrels frequently arise about the wives, the fruit-trees, the plantations, and other property of those who go away. Some of the women, in the long absence of their husbands, may become the wives of other men, or they may be unfaithful. This gives rise to wrath and fighting when the first husbands return.

Thirdly, This traffic is depopulating the island. It does this by reducing the quantity of food raised on land, and also that got from the sea, by leaving an undue proportion of old people, infirm people, women, and children, many of whom can neither dig nor fish. It need scarcely be remarked that scarcity of food is soon followed by sickness and mortality. At the present time 78 males and 6 females are absent from this island. The most of the men are married, in the prime of life, and all able-bodied, for such only are wanted. The entire population is 900, giving about 450 males of all ages. Of the 450, 225 are under seventeen years of age, and of these only a few can raise food for themselves. The remaining 225 are the working portion of the population; but that number includes also all the sickly, the infirm, and the aged, amounting to nearly a third. A full third has been carried away, so that only one-half of the able-bodied, effective male population is left. Should any one, after being made acquainted with this feature of the traffic, persist in it, let him candidly say that his policy is one of aggrandisement for himself, but of extermination for the natives—for such it in reality is. Would any one of these men, after having removed half the timbers in his vessel, have the hardihood to say that her hull was as strong and seaworthy as before? I trow not. Further, it prevents the natural increase of population. The most of these 78 natives are married men, and their absence for four or five, or even three years, must diminish materially the birth-rate. It depopulates the island in yet another way. Some of the less robust who go will die from exposure on shipboard, from change of climate, food, and circumstances, who would survive on their own islands in circumstances well known to them. Introduce all these disturbing forces among a people where the birth-rate at best is low, and you will soon exterminate them.

Fourthly, The natives who are taken away are not free men, and their condition during their period of servitude is one of degradation. I have shown under what circumstances and from what motives they leave, and by what unfair means they are sometimes got on board. On arriving in port, they are not unfrequently passed over to the highest bidder,

and they must go wherever they are sent. They must labour, for they cannot help themselves, irksome though it be, and they must stick to it till their masters let them go, for they have no means of escape. Except in going and returning, they see day by day just as small a corner of the world as they would do in their own islands. They hear nothing about their relatives. They cannot vindicate themselves, or set forth their grievances, or describe their ailments, because there is no language common to them and their masters. Further, they must herd together after the "bothy system," not in families, as God would have it. Think of one hundred and seven males as against six females! Depopulation and vice, too, must follow where society is so unequally constituted—on the islands and on the plantations.

Fifthly, They return not in the least civilised. People in the distance, more particularly planters and newspaper editors, will be surprised to hear this. The natives, after say an absence of three or four years, passed amid civilisation, are put ashore, clothed from head to foot, with a quantity of property, and it is taken for granted that they will begin at once to build neat cottages, sit on chairs, plant cotton, raise sheep and cattle, and revolutionise island-life. As they return so much "richer, wiser, better, and more industrious," they are expected, at the very least, to live something like Christian civilised men. But no; in a day or two they are to be seen as naked as any heathen, strutting about with painted faces and muskets on their shoulders. At once they begin to assist in all the practices and to walk according to the customs of heathenism. They are like the dog that returns to its vomit, and to the sow which, having been washed, returns to its wallowing in the mire. Mere outside civilisation, whether British, or Fijian, or French, without a change within, is no more durable than as much whitewash. Off it peels at the first contact with heathenism. Having no root, it withers away. When will men learn and remember that the heart, and not the skin, is the rudder of the man? I invite the advocates of this traffic—these would-be philanthropic men, so unconcerned about their own gain, so concerned about the civilisation and improvement of the natives—I invite them all, and let R. Towns, Esq., Sidney, head the expedition down to these islands, that they may see to what the audacious assertion, made about nine years ago, in writing to the members of this mission, has come—"that the traffic would do more to civilise the natives in two years than the missionaries could do in twenty." All the civilisation that was to be is still a thing of the future. All that the natives have brought to the islands has turned out to be a poor sickly exotic, which could not survive a week.

Sixthly, The natives are made poor by this deportation. On their return they find their plantations overgrown with bush, or in the possession of another, their fences broken down, their canoes rotten, their houses in a state of decay, and their food (yams, taro, bananas, &c.), with the exception of their fruit-trees, run out. No one has planted for them in their absence, as their relatives have had enough to do to raise food for themselves. Their wives and children have eaten all they were able to raise. They are thus dependent on the public for food to eat and seed to plant. If they get these from friends or strangers, the property they have brought back must be given in return, at perhaps a

fourth of its value. As they cannot starve, they must give; and the result is, that in two or three months, if not sooner, they have nothing remaining of all their property, save perhaps a musket and an empty chest. Without food, which constitutes three-fourths of the wealth of an islander, they are poorer far than those who never tasted their long servitude. While their property lasts they may close their eyes against the evil day that is coming, and cut no small figure by shooting, early and late, birds not worth the powder and shot, and telling wild stories to gaping credulous natives. But the excitement passes off, and they begin to realise their position; but they have not the heart, notwithstanding their "industrious habits," to take up the digging-rod and begin life anew. Hunger is hard to bear. They know that it will take months, and even years, before they can have a stock of food. Island life is monotonous and tame, and a desire rises up within them to go off in some vessel. *Their property, their reduced circumstances, and the breaking up off their island habits, not their love for labour, or for their white masters, as is maintained, are the real causes why some go a second time.*

Seventhly, They return unfavourable to Christianity. If they go away heathens, they return heathens, but of a worse type. They see, say Sabbath-breaking in Queensland or Fiji, and they break the Sabbath on their return, and tell you that white men do so where they have been. Not that every one in Queensland or Fiji breaks the Sabbath; but it must ever be borne in mind that heathen natives will certainly copy much, if not all, the evil they see abroad, but little, very likely none, of the good. An evil they may see only once, or once a-week, will impress them more deeply than good which may be continually before their eyes. When the natives taken away by vessel No. 4 returned, they introduced shooting on Sabbath, more particularly at the hour when some of their brethren were engaged in religious worship. When I spoke to them about it, they said that was the way they saw white men in Queensland occupying themselves on that day. One of the same party, on his return, found his wife attending the service. He never allowed her to come again. In short, they are greater heathens than those who have never left their island, and our wish is, that when they go away, they would stay away. They do not embrace Christianity themselves, and they retard very much the evangelisation of their brethren.

Planters and the hands on board the labour vessels bring forward various arguments in defence of the traffic, but not one of them is valid. They say—

First, The natives should go to get civilised. This is their standing argument. A fine class of men, indeed, these recruiting agents and interpreters and men-catchers to civilise the heathen! How can the cunning and deception practised by these men tend to civilise? Demoralise it will, civilise it cannot. I do not believe in such barbarian civilisation, or in that to be found on board these miserable vessels. On landing in Queensland or Fiji, they may see civilisation, and apparently take on some of it, but it does not, as I have already said, stand the test on their return. If that be all that they wish to be effected by the deportation of the natives, then I may remind them that the

natives can see civilisation of a sufficiently high type for them, and quite equal to, or higher than, what they will see in a hut in the bush in Queensland, or on a plantation there, or in Fiji, and that without leaving their own islands, or at least without leaving the group.

Secondly, The natives should go to get useful articles for themselves. But much of what they bring back is not really useful. Beads, tobacco, muskets, and ammunition are the articles which they purchase most largely. Were they to buy a quantity of rice and biscuit, some tea and sugar, a shovel and digging-rod, knives and hatchets, fishing-hooks and fishing-lines, blankets and medicines, their earnings would not be so much thrown away. Besides, the fact is ignored that all the articles they can possibly bring back with them, can be had on the New Hebrides, any month of the year, in return for pigs, fowls, and food, as cheap as in Queensland or Fiji, without their undergoing a long period of servitude, and all the evil results that flow from it.

Thirdly, The natives should go that they may be of use some day to colonists in the New Hebrides. Indeed! Those natives who have been in contact with civilisation are just the last a colonist would like to have about him. Less disposed to work for him, they would be greatly more importunate, unreasonable, and troublesome, than their uncivilised, unsophisticated brethren.

These, I need hardly say, are not the true reasons why the slavers want the natives of this and other heathen islands. Why do they come here at all? To come here from Fiji seems to me an unnecessary coming out of the way. They come here to leeward with their vessels generally in ballast. When they have got a cargo of human beings, they have to beat back some seven hundred miles, nearly in the teeth of the trade-wind. Why not go to Samoa, to Tonga, or to the Harvey Islands, and so have a fair wind to carry Fiji-ward their living freight? The reason is, there is light to the eastward, but darkness reigns here. Light and independence go together, so of darkness and credulity.

These are some of the arguments for and against this traffic, and the conclusion is this,—if it imposes upon the ignorant natives, if it withdraws them from the only means of instruction available for them, if it disorganises society, if it depopulates the islands, if it utterly fails to civilise the natives, and if it brings them to poverty, and to an unsettled mode of life, if it brings them into a state of degradation, and if it makes them unfavourable to Christianity, if it is doing so much mischief, and not a particle of good, not to speak of its demoralising and hardening effect on the white men themselves, then it must be wholly evil, and can never be regulated so as to be otherwise, *in the present circumstances of these natives*. It would be a mighty boon to them, and to commerce in the long run, were the traffic declared to be illegal, and were it put down with a high hand. Its continuance may enrich a few white men, but it will most certainly turn these fertile islands into a wilderness. It will never bring the New Hebrides natives, as they now are, into the community of nations. In the attempt, as now conducted, they will inevitably be exterminated.—Yours very truly,

JOSEPH COPELAND,
Missionary, Futuna.

Mr THOMAS PHILLIPS,
Secretary Anti-Slavery Association.

ANSWERS BY THE REV. J. G. PATON.

ANIWA, July 11, 187

In answering the queries of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, London, I may state—

1. The terms *emigrant*, *emigrate*, and *emigration*, cannot in any true or proper sense be applied to the natives taken from the New Hebrides Islands to Queensland, Fiji, and other places. A native voluntarily emigrating is a thing unknown on these islands, and regarding them such terms can only be used to deceive. And as to *contracts*, they have hitherto been a mere sham. It is utterly impossible that a *bona fide* contract could be made with almost any native taken from our islands by those vessels, as there is no language understood to both parties in which they could be made.

2. Some may leave voluntarily, but with a very great majority, every species of fraud and deception is practised to get them on board the vessels, and when once in the hands of their captors, they have no choice. To refuse to go, or rebel, is certain punishment or death. Very large prices are often given by "recruiting agents" (*more properly clever deceivers*) for native produce when they first reach an island; thus their stock of trade in the boat is soon spent. When taking or leaving on shore the native produce already purchased, they propose to return to the ship for more trade, and urge all natives present to go in their boats to see the ship, from which very few return. At other times, after giving large prices for a time, they show the most tempting articles of trade, but refuse to purchase more if they do not get natives to go in their ships. Sometimes they present the most showy and tempting muskets and other things as payment for natives, and at other times, while the trade in native produce is going on, the "recruiting agent" is giving brandy freely among the natives, to all who will drink it. Canoes are run down at sea, all in them taken prisoners, and thus they succeed in getting away natives.

3. No. I have not seen a contract made with any native; and at the late annual meeting of our mission, not a missionary on our group had seen such a contract, and for the evident reason no fair contract can be made with them. We have not one language for the New Hebrides group of islands, as the Queensland agents and their friends would make the world believe; but we have above twenty spoken languages on our group, and so different, that any one of them is understood by very few natives beyond the island on which it is spoken. Even on some islands there are two or three languages spoken, and so different, that the natives living in one district cannot speak to or understand those living on another district of the same island, though only a few miles distant from each other. They scarcely ever meet except in war. How then is it possible for foreigners to make *bona fide* contracts with them?

4. No. The natives seldom or never understand such contracts, and it is evident their captors do not want them to understand them. Lately three boats belonging to different vessels had succeeded in getting each a load of natives, and were just leaving the shore when I reached it. They refused to give either the names of the vessels or their destination,

which led me to discover the deception, and in an instant all the natives leapt overboard, when I had difficulty in keeping them from shooting at their deceivers in revenge.

5. Yes. Many, many.

6. No females have been got away from this island, but many are now taken from our northern islands, chiefly for purposes of prostitution, and in very small proportion to the males taken away.

7. Those engaged in the trade are nearly all British. A few belong to America, France, and other countries, but they seldom show their colours, and keep as far as possible out of our way, and out of the wake of our mission ship, the *Dayspring*.

8. Great discredit has been brought on both Christianity and civilisation, and our lives have been endangered, by the way in which natives have been taken from their homes.

9. The trade is demoralising to all connected with it, and absolutely ruinous to our natives.

10. To this island one native has been returned from Sydney, one from Fiji, and two from Queensland. They give various and conflicting accounts of their treatment when away. Last year I hired two Faté lads as servants, soon after they had been returned, in a weak and dying state; they died soon after, and ascribed it to hard work when away in the colonies. The man returned to this island from Sydney, and one of the two returned from Queensland, have set themselves to oppose Christianity and civilisation among the natives. They all walk about painted and in a state of nudity, holding to heathen practices, which all the other natives of this island had given up before their return. The two returned from Queensland and Sydney compelled their wives and children to give up attending church and school, and to cast away their clothing. They are the worst characters on our island, a terror to their friends and neighbours, and one of them has nearly killed two women since his return, by clubbing them. For such reasons as above given, I am opposed to this trade, even though the natives should be fairly got away from their own islands. Let interested parties call it what they may, it is slavery with all its horrors.

11. A great number of little boys and girls are now being taken away, as they say, with the hope of inducing them to remain altogether on the plantations, or in the country to which they are taken. Muskets, axes, calico, knives, ammunition, &c., &c., are given in exchange for natives. On Tana, Aniwa, Eromanga, Faté, and many of our islands, the chiefs have no power to prevent young men or boys from going away in such vessels if they wish to go. But if the chief, or any powerful man, wants a musket, and urges a native to go in exchange for it, to refuse is certain death to the party refusing, when the opportunity for revenge comes. Thus the strong oppress the weak, and unless this slave trade is put down by British law and power, it will soon depopulate our islands, and leave them a wilderness, as they are so much under the influence of "fever and ague," that they could not be inhabited by Europeans.

In the colonies a great deal is now made of the difference between the Queensland and Fiji vessels in obtaining natives. We are the only parties in a position to have correct knowledge of this, and of the whole working of the system on our islands; and certify that all vessels in the

trade act in the same way in procuring natives. Here we know of no difference, except that Queensland laws and regulations have emboldened all in the trade, and greatly increase its horrors in every aspect. May God in mercy grant deliverance to our poor oppressed natives!

JOHN G. PATON.

ANSWERS BY REV. THOMAS NEILSON, JUN., TANA.

Query 1. Have any natives emigrated from your district or island under contracts for labour in Queensland, the Fiji Islands, or any other country?

Ans. I calculate about 1200 from Tana.

Query 2. Have such emigrations been in all cases voluntary, or has no fraud or deception been used to induce the natives to leave their houses?

Ans. 2. In most cases voluntary, under the influence of fraud and deception.

Query 3. Have you seen any of the contracts made with the natives? Did the terms appear to you to be fair and reasonable?

Ans. 3. I have never seen a contract.

Query 4. Is it your opinion that the contracts have been at all times, or generally, fully understood by the emigrants?

Ans. 4. Never.

Query 5. Have any cases of kidnapping occurred within your knowledge?

Ans. 5. Several.

Query 6. Have any females emigrated or been kidnapped, and in what proportion to males?

Ans. 6. A few, and in very small proportion.

Query 7. Of what nationalities are the persons engaged in this traffic?

Ans. 7. English, French, and American. These mostly colonial.

Query 8. Has discredit been brought upon civilisation or Christianity by the way in which natives have been induced to leave their houses?

Ans. 8. Yes.

Query 9. What has been the general effect of these emigrations upon the native population?

Ans. 9. Absolutely ruinous.

Query 10. Have any emigrants returned home? and if so, what accounts do they give of the treatment they have received?

Ans. 10. A small percentage; accounts various.

Query 11. Are there any other facts or circumstances which appear to you to require observation?

Ans. 11. A native woman was sold, within one hundred yards of my house, in the month of August last, as a concubine, by one

white man to another, for a case of grog, and her chest for another. A Christian native woman was, against her will, sold from her own island, by her own brother, for a musket, as the concubine (which means also the slave) of a white man. She has been living on our island for more than a year, earnestly desiring to get home, but cannot. I know of one honest man, the captain of a vessel engaged in this trade, who went round the islands for five months in search of natives, and obtained one. Were all others equally honest, I believe they would be equally unsuccessful. Three fine, stout, active young fellows, who lived within half a mile of my house, were engaged in the month of October last as a boat's crew for three weeks; they were taken to Fiji and sold.

Respectfully submitted.

THOMAS NEILSON, Jun.,

Missionary, Port Resolution, Tana, New Hebrides.

ANSWERS BY THE REV. WILLIAM WATT, TANA.

KWAMERA, TANA, *July 1871.*

To the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

SIR,—The writer of this letter has now been a missionary on Tana for more than two years, and during that period has had several opportunities of observing the manner in which the deportation of natives is carried on. It is difficult, on an island of this size, and in its present state, to draw up any statistics. The diversity of language, coupled with their tribal jealousy, prevents intercommunication, and thus our information is limited to a small portion of the island.

In answer to queries 1, 3, 4, the idea of a contract entered into, much less fully understood, is an absurdity. During these two years I have never seen one of these contracts, nor have I ever heard of a contract being entered into between the parties until the natives were safely on board the vessel. At the present moment there is not a native of Tana who can write his name; only one or two have ever handled a pen; and if they cannot sign the contract, much less can they read the contract, and satisfy themselves as to its contents. A contract, the full terms of which the natives fully understand, is simply impossible. Who is to inform the natives of the conditions of the contract? The traders themselves cannot, and do not profess to be able to do it; the interpreters, whether white or black, cannot do it. Owing to the diversity of language on these islands, a native cannot act as interpreter on more than one or two islands, and that very inefficiently even on them. Surely if there was a *bona fide* contract to be entered upon, the services of those who know the language would be requested. The proper name of "interpreter" is "decoy," and his work is to show off in broken English the advantages of going away. Being generally a native, he knows the natives' weak points, and can take full advantage of their credulity.

white man to another, for a case of grog, and her chest for another. A Christian native woman was, against her will, sold from her own island, by her own brother, for a musket, as the concubine (which means also the slave) of a white man. She has been living on our island for more than a year, earnestly desiring to get home, but cannot. I know of one honest man, the captain of a vessel engaged in this trade, who went round the islands for five months in search of natives, and obtained one. Were all others equally honest, I believe they would be equally unsuccessful. Three fine, stout, active young fellows, who lived within half a mile of my house, were engaged in the month of October last as a boat's crew for three weeks; they were taken to Fiji and sold.

Respectfully submitted.

THOMAS NEILSON, Jun.,

Missionary, Port Resolution, Tana, New Hebrides.

ANSWERS BY THE REV. WILLIAM WATT, TANA.

KWAMERA, TANA, *July 1871.*

To the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

SIR,—The writer of this letter has now been a missionary on Tana for more than two years, and during that period has had several opportunities of observing the manner in which the deportation of natives is carried on. It is difficult, on an island of this size, and in its present state, to draw up any statistics. The diversity of language, coupled with their tribal jealousy, prevents intercommunication, and thus our information is limited to a small portion of the island.

In answer to queries 1, 3, 4, the idea of a contract entered into, much less fully understood, is an absurdity. During these two years I have never seen one of these contracts, nor have I ever heard of a contract being entered into between the parties until the natives were safely on board the vessel. At the present moment there is not a native of Tana who can write his name; only one or two have ever handled a pen; and if they cannot sign the contract, much less can they read the contract, and satisfy themselves as to its contents. A contract, the full terms of which the natives fully understand, is simply impossible. Who is to inform the natives of the conditions of the contract? The traders themselves cannot, and do not profess to be able to do it; the interpreters, whether white or black, cannot do it. Owing to the diversity of language on these islands, a native cannot act as interpreter on more than one or two islands, and that very inefficiently even on them. Surely if there was a *bona fide* contract to be entered upon, the services of those who know the language would be requested. The proper name of "interpreter" is "decoy," and his work is to show off in broken English the advantages of going away. Being generally a native, he knows the natives' weak points, and can take full advantage of their credulity.

We have not a New Hebrides dialect, as seems to be taken for granted, but many distinct languages. The lips of a native of Aneityum are sealed on Tana, and *vice versa*: even on the single island of Tana, we have several languages perfectly distinct. It is when you take this fact into consideration that you see the sham that is covered by the name "interpreter."

Where are the contracts signed by the natives, on board or on shore? The first thing is to get the natives on board; once on board it is an easy matter to complete the contract. The native is not free. Should he refuse to sign, will they convey him ashore? not likely; or if they do, will they put him ashore on his own district in his own island; and yet this is absolutely necessary, if the native is to be considered free. Land a native of Kwamera on the south-west point of Tana, or on Eromanga, and his life is not worth half-an-hour's purchase. He must sign the contract, and he knows the less trouble he gives in the matter the better.

Queries 2, 5, 6, 7.—A large number of vessels is employed in the trade, and of all sizes. Seldom, if ever, do they show their colours. Of the great number of vessels which pass and repass, very few send their boats ashore at Kwamera, and of the few who come ashore, very few succeed in inducing natives to leave, although the means employed are various. Payment is offered to their friends; large prices are offered for their native fruits, and an offer to take them on board, just to see the vessel and then return, is made. In no case at Kwamera, during my residence there, has force been employed.

The principal chief of this district was taken away about four years ago, and, according to native evidence, force was employed. He had some yams which he wished to exchange for tobacco or powder, and, along with other three, went off in his canoe to a passing vessel. Instead of taking his yams, they took himself and two of his companions; the third escaped by jumping into the sea and swimming ashore. So great is the rage of the people, that I am afraid they will some day carry out their oft-repeated threat, and take vengeance on some unsuspecting crew.

A white brigantine called here in quest of natives for Fiji. Three natives were induced to go on board to look at the vessel, and were not returned. When the boat was returning, the natives requested to be taken ashore, but the excuse given was that it was too small, and that they would be returned next trip.

A small fore-and-aft schooner sent its boat ashore, and inquiries were made for an Aneityumese who might act as "recruiting agent" on Futuna. The vessel was said to be in quest of natives for Brisbane. He returned, after a week's absence, and stated that he had decoyed the Futunese away on the belief they were going to Aneityum.

A double-topsail brigantine had on board, among others, a native woman belonging to a part of Tana at peace with the people here. She requested to be allowed to go ashore, but her request could not be granted. They said they had paid two muskets for her.

Another small fore-and-aft schooner got from a neighbouring village a woman to go on board for the purposes of prostitution. Two of her male friends accompanied her to receive payment for her services, and

see that she was safely landed in the morning. All three were taken away.

Queries 8, 9.—Several natives have been returned, but, in no case that I am aware of, has a favourable impression been produced. Of those returned *one* attends church. All the others are as dark-hearted, as superstitious, and savage as their brethren. If they acquire any love for clothing whilst away, they soon settle down, and give in to all their old practices. I have seen natives landed here rigged out, even to the hat and boots, but, alas! a single week, or even less, sufficed to rub off this outside civilisation.

That this system brings disgrace on our Christianity is beyond a doubt. There is nothing more common than to hear such expressions as "The foreigners' conduct is very crooked;" "The foreigners make secret conduct," which is equivalent to saying that they kill, steal, &c.

Is it not enough to make us blush to hear an unclad native say, as was lately said to me, "Missi, we have eaten nothing all day, our hearts are so sore; we know it will spoil your heart, but we came to tell you that the first boat from Fiji that lands here, we will tie the men. We know it's wrong, but why did they steal away our chief?"

The natives, on their return, are no more fond of work. Their plantations are no better, and their houses are just as wretched, as their neighbours'! I have been making strict inquiries, and cannot discover a single native who has returned, and has now in his possession a blanket.

The effects of this so-called emigration are evil. It disorganises society, and is the cause of much quarrelling. The wife proves unfaithful; she becomes, it may be, the wife of another man; and thus confusion is the result.

In conclusion, I have only to state, that even although the means employed in obtaining the natives were perfectly satisfactory, although their treatment, when away, was all that could be desired, and although they were returned with strict punctuality, I would feel compelled to protest against this traffic, because of its demoralising effect on all concerned, and because it is depopulating those lovely and fertile islands, which, if properly looked after, might yet become a mine of wealth.—
I am, yours respectfully,

W. WATT.

ANSWERS BY REV. PETER MILNE, NGUNA.

NGUNA, NEW HEBRIDES, *July 18, 1871.*

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

GENTLEMEN,—In answering the questions proposed by you, I beg to state that I have resided on this island only one year, and have but little knowledge of what has taken place on it, beyond the village where I am located.

1. Natives have been taken from this island to Queensland, Fiji, Sydney, Auckland, and Nonnea, to be employed as labourers. I do

not consider the term "emigrants" applicable to them. There are no emigrations, in the ordinary sense of the word, from the New Hebrides to Queensland, Fiji, or any other country. I think that "exportations" would be a more appropriate term.

2. Such "emigrations" have not been in all cases voluntary. Fraud and deception are frequently, if not invariably, practised to induce the natives to leave their homes.

3. I have not seen any of the "contracts" made with the natives; and I believe the term "contract," as used in connection with this traffic, to be a *misnomer*.

4. It is my opinion that the "contracts" have seldom, if ever, been fully understood by the "emigrants."

5. No real case of kidnapping has occurred within my knowledge at this part of the island, since I came to reside at it, but the natives tell me that there were cases previous to that time—*e.g.*, they say that the brother of the chief was kidnapped by a vessel from Fiji.

One very common way in which natives are kidnapped is by getting them on board, on pretence of giving them a passage to a neighbouring island. An instance of this kind came under my notice when on a voyage in the *Dayspring*, in the month of October 1869. On reaching Tongoa, we found the *Flirt*, a brigantine from Auckland, but in quest of natives for Fiji, anchored there. She had about twenty natives of Three Hills Island, and several natives of Tongoa on board. One of the Tongoa natives wanted to go ashore again, but was prevented. Captain Smith of the *Flirt* told Captain Fraser of the *Dayspring* that he was not taking those natives to Fiji, but was merely taking them to the neighbouring island Epi, to see their friends. The natives on shore told us the same thing, and also that they had paid their passage to Epi with pigs. We learned afterwards, however, that the men were not landed at Epi, but taken on to Fiji, as we suspected would be the case.

6. Two females, and twelve males, have been taken from this village during the last twelve months.

7. The persons engaging in this traffic are chiefly Scotch and English.

8. Discredit has certainly been brought upon civilisation and Christianity by the way in which natives have been induced to leave their homes.

9. The general effect of these "emigrations" upon the native population has unquestionably been bad. It does not civilise them, or wean them from their heathen and superstitious beliefs and practices, while they come back imbued with the vices of the low and degraded white men among whom they have lived, such as *swearing*, &c.

10. Several natives of this village have returned home. Their account to me of the treatment they received is, that they were hard worked, poorly fed, and poorly paid.

11. There are several other things which appear to me to require observation.

(1.) That this traffic may be well characterised as a regular system of *buying and selling and kidnapping* of human beings.

I believe every native taken from these islands to Queensland, Fiji, or any other country, is either *purchased* or *kidnapped*. The chief of

this village has got two muskets, besides gunpowder, knives, calico, &c., in abundance, for men, since I came here. And though few cases of kidnapping occur near mission stations, we are constantly hearing, through natives and others, of cases occurring at islands where there are no missionaries—e.g., on the morning of the 24th ult., as the *Dayspring* was leaving Havannah Harbour, Faté, we were passed by the schooner *Jason*, of Maryborough, on her way in. Her decks were crowded with natives from different islands, among whom were several Ambrym men, who, on recognising an Ambrym man on board the *Dayspring*, told him, that as twelve of them were returning home in their canoe from Malicolo, where they had been on a visit, they were intercepted by the boat of the *Jason*, and taken forcibly on board the vessel; that the captain then fired into the canoe and broke it. The Ambrym man also told us their names; said that they belonged to the same village as he did, and that five of them had wives, who would not know what had become of them. See, also, the affidavit of James Harper and Daniel Foster, able seamen on board the *Jason*, made at Brisbane, before Mr William Brookes, J.P., on the 16th day of March 1871.

(2.) That this traffic cannot, from its very nature, be carried on without taking husbands from their wives, and wives from their husbands, parents from their children, and children from their parents; and thus breaking up all family relationships, fostering vice, and reducing the population.

(3.) That these traders hate us missionaries, make false charges against us in the colonies, speak evil of us to the natives, and thus prejudice their minds against us, and greatly hinder the progress of Christianity and civilisation.—I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

PETER MILNE.

[APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

REMOVAL OF SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS BY BRITISH VESSELS TO FIJI AND QUEENSLAND.

From the "Brisbane Courier," February 25, 1871.

THE Queensland Government appear to have used due vigilance in investigating, as far as time and circumstances would permit, the charges made by the Rev. John G. Paton, a missionary at the New Hebrides, against captains of vessels engaged in recruiting for Polynesian labourers for this colony. The attention of the Colonial Secretary was not called to the matter until he saw the letter of Mr Paton in the *Courier* on Monday last; but between then and mid-day on Wednesday he got the following correspondence and reports, and forwarded copies by the mail to the Imperial Government:—

"IMMIGRATION OFFICE,
"BRISBANE, February 21, 1871.

"SIR,—Acting under your instructions, I have the honour to furnish you with the following report upon the statements contained in a letter appearing in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of the 13th instant, from the Rev. John G. Paton, a missionary at the New Hebrides, reflecting upon the manner in which certain vessels from this colony, engaged in recruiting labourers from the South Sea Islands, have procured their natives.

"The first vessel referred to by Mr Paton from Queensland is the *Lyttana*, which arrived here on the 22d December last, with sixty-nine natives from various islands; among the number were the three boys from Sandwich, whom Mr Winship, the captain of the *Lyttana*, is charged with kidnapping, and are now under engagement with Mr Raff, at Caboolture.

"Upon reading the statements respecting the *Lyttana*, I at once sent for Mr Winship, as also the agent of the ship, Mr George Smith, who accompanied the vessel to the islands upon the occasion. Mr Winship's and Mr Smith's version of the affair, both of which coincide in every particular, are quite different to Mr Paton's. Mr Winship states that about a month previous to the date of the letter which he received from the missionaries, and about ten miles to the north of Fil Harbour, in the Island of Sandwich, he went on shore and engaged the three boys in question; their agreements were fully explained to them by an interpreter named Moss, and they expressed themselves perfectly willing to come to Queensland. Mr Winship admits having given the father of the boys a musket and a piece of calico, but not until they had expressed their willingness to engage. The *Lyttana* then proceeded northwards to recruit, and returned about the time which the missionaries' letter to Mr Winship is dated. Upon receipt of this letter, Mr Winship states that he went on shore and saw the missionaries, who at once demanded that the boys should be given up. This, Mr Winship says, he declined to do, as they were quite happy and contented on board, and had no wish to return, but that he invited the missionaries to come on board and see for themselves, which they refused to do.

"Upon the arrival of the *Lyttana* at Brisbane, she was, in my absence,

visited by Mr Martin, the chief clerk in this office, who mustered and inspected the islanders, and found them to be a cheerful and contented lot, thoroughly understanding the terms of their engagement. Mr Martin subsequently witnessed and explained to each islander, through an interpreter, the nature of his agreement, and not the slightest approach to a complaint was made. Indeed, with so many Sandwich men employed in the colony, and in the immediate vicinity of Mr Raff's plantation, I hardly think that Mr Winship would be likely to have laid himself open to the chance of a prosecution for any such breach of the Act.

"I cannot, however, say that Mr Winship acted altogether discreetly in the matter. By the Act under which these labourers are recruited, he was bound to produce, upon arrival, a certificate, in form of Schedule I., to the effect that the natives had voluntarily consented to engage for service in Queensland, which certificate must be signed by the captain or agent of the ship, or a missionary, or some European resident or chief interpreter. Although Mr Winship produced this certificate, it is merely signed by himself, Mr Smith, the ship's agent, and Moss, the interpreter. Mr Winship states, candidly enough, that he never asked any of the missionaries to sign the certificate, and assigns as his reason for not doing so, that he had recruited the boys on a part of the island where there were no Europeans, and had them with him for more than a month before any demand was made upon him, and that as they had signed it at the time they were recruited, he did not think a second certificate necessary. The certificate of the engagement of the boys, which Mr Winship forwarded to this office, is dated the 24th of October, whereas the letter from the missionaries is dated on the 6th of December, some six weeks after. Mr Winship further states that the missionaries are so averse to the deportation of natives from any of the islands, whose services they thereby lose, that they invariably refuse to sign these certificates, as they decline in any way to recognise the right of any person to encourage their emigration.

"I regret very much that I have not been able to examine the three boys on Mr Raff's plantation as to their alleged forcible abduction, but I shall take an early opportunity of doing so, and forward to you, in the shape of a supplementary report, the result of my inquiries.

"Enclosed I beg to forward for your information a copy of a letter addressed to me by Mr Winship upon the subject of these charges by Mr Paton.

"With regard to the charges against the boat's crew of the *Spunkie* and *Jason*, that they purchased from one of the chiefs at Nguna four boys for a musket, I regret that Mr Paton has not thought it necessary to mention the date of this occurrence, and to supply further particulars with reference to it. As it is, the captain of the *Spunkie* informs me that he never has been in company with the *Jason* while recruiting, and the *Jason* is unfortunately not now in port. It is, however, well known that in many of the islands the chiefs have absolute control over the actions of their subjects, and however willing the islanders may be to engage, they dare not do so without the consent of their chief. In all probability the captain of the *Jason* did get the men from Nguna, but not in the way Mr Paton would make the public believe he did. That he gave the chief a musket, I have also no doubt, but merely to secure his consent to their leaving the island.

"Next comes the alleged murder of two natives at the Island of Malicolo, by one of the boat's crew (an interpreter) of the *Spunkie*. With reference to this, I have the honour to forward to you the enclosed copy of a letter which I have received from the captain of the vessel upon the subject, as also one from Mr Nichols, a passenger and eye-witness of the affair, in refutation of the charge. Mr James Raff, another passenger upon the occasion, is unfortunately absent from the colony just now, or I should like to have obtained his version of the story.

"I may add, that during the period I have held the office of immigration agent, no less than five hundred and thirty-three natives from the islands have

made engagements under the immediate supervision of this office—as per statement appended—and not a single complaint has ever been made by any of the islanders as to the manner in which they were recruited; and, moreover, each of these ships brought back natives for re-engagement, who had previously served their period of three years in the colony; in fact, many have brought their friends, and in some instances, their wives with them. I may also refer you to the evidence given before a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly during the session of 1869, by the late immigration agent, Mr M'Donnell, in which he states that no complaint of any kind whatever was ever made to him by the islanders, or have they ever exhibited any unwillingness to sign their agreements.

“I cannot conclude this report without directing your attention to the evident feeling of *animus* which pervades more or less the whole of Mr Paton's letter, but more particularly in the following paragraph, in which he says, ‘Interested parties in high authority in Queensland and elsewhere may wink at such evils, and continue to represent the trade so as to mislead the Home Government and persons interested in the welfare of these islands, while by their laws they give a show of regulating the trade and protecting the natives against abuse; but such laws are violated and set aside by all in the trade, and even by their own agents appointed to see them carried out, as the slightest impartial investigation by competent parties would prove.’

“Now it is well known that it is only within the last three months that the Government have, by regulations, provided for the appointment of accredited agents, and that as no vessel from this colony has as yet recruited any natives, under the supervision of a Government agent, I cannot help thinking that if the other statements in Mr Paton's letter are made with as little regard to truth as this one, the Government should hesitate before giving credence to any of them, more especially as it is currently reported that many of the missionaries on these islands are interested in the retention of the islanders, more from motives of personal gain than from anything else.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

“ROBT. GRAY, *Immigration Agent.*

“The Honourable the Colonial Secretary.”

Copy of a Letter to the Immigration Agent from Mr Charles James Nichols, a Passenger by the Schooner “Spunkie.”

“BELLVUE HOUSE, BRISBANE, February 21, 1871.

“SIR,—Having read the letter of Captain John Rees, of the schooner *Spunkie*, addressed to the *Brisbane Courier* of to-day, in reference to the statements published under the signature of certain missionaries of the New Hebrides, concerning an affray which took place between the boat of the *Spunkie* and a tribe of natives on the Island of Malicolo, I have the pleasure to inform you that I was a passenger on board the vessel at the time of the occurrence, having left Brisbane for the New Hebrides with the view of inquiring into the habits and mode of life of the natives of those islands. Whilst thus engaged I invariably accompanied the boats on shore, and consequently had every opportunity for observing all that occurred, and I can frankly assert that I never witnessed any breach of the rules and regulations required to be carried out by your department in connection with the recruiting of Polynesians.

“I was an eye-witness of the affray as related by Captain Rees, and I can therefore vouch for the truthfulness of his report of an occurrence which, in the hands of the missionaries, has been twisted into a groundless accusation.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES JAMES NICHOLS.

“R. Gray, Esq., Immigration Agent, Brisbane.”

*Copy of a Letter to the Immigration Agent from William C. Winship,
Master of the Schooner "Lyttana."*

"BRISBANE, February 20, 1871.

"SIR,—Having noticed in to-day's *Courier* a letter under heading 'Removal of South Sea Islanders by British Vessels to Fiji and Queensland,' wherein it is stated that on the 6th December 1870, I, as master of the *Lyttana*, took from Sandwich Island three natives against their wish, and brought them to Queensland; this statement is simply false. I will now forward you a true report of my proceedings, and what actually did occur while at Villa Harbour, Sandwich. On or about 26th October last we went into Villa for the purpose of getting a boat's crew. At Villa Island we got five islanders as boatmen; at Pango, three recruits, and one who had been three years in Queensland. He said he would act as boatsman while north, and perhaps go to Brisbane as a recruit. This man particularly wanted a gun for his services; it, together with some calico, was given to him. Shortly afterwards we sailed for Havannah Harbour, with the nine Sandwich natives on board. The day after our arrival at Havannah Harbour, the aforesaid man bolted, and I never saw anything more either of the man or my gun. On the 5th December 1870, we again went into Villa to land our boat's crew, and found the *Dayspring* there. On the 6th I received a letter, the same as in the *Courier* of this date. This was the first intimation I ever received of having natives on board who did not wish to remain. The same evening I went on board the *Dayspring*, introduced myself to a missionary—I think a Mr John Giddie. I told him I had taken an interpreter on board, and through him the three natives told me that they wanted to go to Brisbane; that it was the natives on shore who were afraid of the missionaries' displeasure for their allowing the three boys to leave in the missionary's absence. I also said that I could not think of landing them at their request, or that of the natives on shore; but that if they themselves showed the slightest sign of wishing to leave, I would at once put them on shore. I did not tell the missionaries that it was usual to buy men, nor did I tell them how the gun and calico went on shore. I was loath to acknowledge that a native who had been three years in Queensland was able to swindle me. Previous to my leaving the *Dayspring* I asked if they were satisfied with my explanation, and they said "Quite; but not with the Queensland Labour Act." Had they not said they were, I intended to insist on their coming on board the *Lyttana* to see for themselves. We lay on the bank in Havannah Harbour for three days, and about 150 yards from the shore at Pango for two days. I never kept an armed watch, nor any but the watch usual when at anchor. The natives were free to go over the side whenever they thought fit, and they were several times on shore while the vessel was beached, at which place we kept no watch at all.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"WILLIAM C. WINSHIP.

"R. Gray, Esq., Immigration Agent, Brisbane."

*Copy of a Letter to the Immigration Agent from Mr John M'Donnell,
Under-Secretary to the Postmaster-General, and lately Immigration
Agent at Brisbane.*

"BRISBANE, February 21, 1871.

"SIR,—In compliance with your request that I would state whether any complaints from the Polynesians of kidnapping, or unjust treatment, at the islands, or on board ship, had been received by me in my capacity as immigration agent, from the commencement of the operation of the Act in March 1868, to the month of July last, when I left the immigration office through

promotion, I have the honour to state that, by the return which accompanies this letter, it will be seen that I personally inspected nine vessels during the above-named period, in which some 494 Polynesians were brought to Queensland; and I can only repeat what I have stated and reported previously from time to time, that no complaints were made to me by any one of these men either of ill-treatment or kidnapping.

"In the evidence given by me before the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly on the 3d June 1869, I stated, in reply to questions, that 'from my observations so far, I had no reason to believe that there is any ground for the allegation that, in the manner of obtaining this labour and in the mode of entering into agreements, there is deception practised upon these islanders, and that there is ill-treatment in the way of their being obtained or kidnapped.' What I then said I can reiterate now.

"During my term of office I made every possible effort to learn if any kidnapping had taken place, as the Government were desirous of prosecuting, with the utmost rigour of the law, any one against whom evidence of that crime could be produced; and I offered one of the foremost amongst those who declaim against this immigration, that if he could procure any evidence sufficient to go into court with, I would be prepared, on the part of the Government, to prosecute. I need hardly add that no such evidence has been forthcoming.

"I am glad to perceive that in order to make the system more complete and satisfactory, the Government has provided that an agent shall accompany each vessel, to see that the men are fairly treated at the islands; and I have no doubt the report of these officers will afford much information on the subject.

"There may be, and no doubt is, a grain of truth in the statements made by the missionaries at the islands, but these statements must not be accepted as showing that these islanders are procured by kidnapping or fraud.

"I cannot, however, help remarking that, in all these published statements, Fiji and Queensland vessels are mixed up so indiscriminately that, to a casual reader, they would seem to be intimately connected, which, in Queensland at least, is well known not to be the case. In reference to this matter, I would state that on board one of the vessels I inspected shortly before I left the immigration office, in which only ten islanders arrived out of an authorised complement of seventy-five, a Tana man, who had never been in the colonies before, but understood English very well, informed me, in reply to my inquiries, that the reason so few Tana men came in the ship was that a vessel from Fiji had taken a number of men away by enticing them on board, as if for Queensland, and sailing with them to the Fijis; this made the islanders fearful of being misled.

"In the last four ships which arrived during 1869 and 1870, it will be seen that only 81 islanders were brought out of an authorised number of, say 425. This, in itself, affords indirect proof that unfair means were not resorted to—as, if the statements of the missionaries were entirely true, there could be no difficulty in filling these vessels; but it is only reasonable to conclude that the masters were deterred from using violence, if they were so disposed, by the checks placed upon their doings by the Polynesian Labourers' Act.

"In conclusion, I would state that there are numbers of these men now at Brisbane, able to speak English plainly, who, if they had been kidnapped or unfairly treated, could have told their story to those who are only too ready to hear them; but I have not heard of any complaints being made by them of unjust treatment at the islands.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN M'DONNEL,

*"Under-Secretary to the Postmaster-General,
and lately Immigration Agent."*

"The Honourable the Colonial Secretary, &c."

A REPLY to the REPORT of ROBERT GRAY, Immigration Agent, Queensland, on the Letter of the Rev. JOHN G. PATON, Missionary, Aniwa, which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 13th December 1870, by Rev. JOHN G. PATON.

"Dr STEEL.]

"ANIWA, July 13, 1871.

"DEAR SIR,—The *Brisbane Courier* of 25th February 1871, containing the report of Robert Gray, immigration agent, Queensland, and accompanying letters drawn forth by my letter regarding the deportation of Polynesians, which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 13th February 1871, has just been handed to me at our annual meeting, and I am directed to reply through you, and refer all interested parties for further information to the report on this Polynesian labour, or *slave trade*, drawn up and to be printed by the authority of our annual conference.

"In his report Mr Gray says, 'Mr Winship's and Mr Smith's version of the affair, both of which coincide in every particular, are quite different to Mr Paton's.' These gentlemen are too deeply involved for their version of the affair not to agree. But it is astonishing that Mr Gray's report and Captain Winship's version, as given in his letter, which Mr Gray publishes in support of it, do not agree in the following particulars :—

"1st, Mr Gray's report says, 'Mr Winship states that about ten miles to the north of Fille Harbour, in the Island of Sandwich, he went on shore and engaged the three boys in question.' Mr Winship's letter says, 'We got at Pago three recruits,'—the three boys. Now where on Sandwich or Faté is Pago? Not ten miles to the north of Fille Harbour, as Mr Gray states, but in Fille Harbour, at the south-east entrance, where the harbour is five miles across, which makes fifteen miles of a mistake.

"2d, Mr Gray's report says, 'Mr Winship states he went on shore and saw the missionaries.' Mr Winship's letter says, 'I went on board the *Dayspring*, introduced myself to a missionary,' &c. He came on board our vessel, as he states, and did not go on shore, as Mr Gray has it.

"3d, Mr Gray's report says, 'Mr Winship says he invited the missionaries to come on board and see for themselves, which they refused to do.' Captain Winship's letter says, 'I intended to insist on their coming on board the *Lyttana* to see for themselves.' Here what Mr Winship says he intended to do, but did not do, Mr Gray says he did, and adds (for an evident purpose), *which they refused to do*.

"4th, Mr Gray's report says, 'Mr Winship admits having given the father of the boys a musket and a piece of calico, but not until they had expressed their willingness to engage.' Mr Winship's letter says, 'At Villa Island we got five islanders as boatmen; at Pago three recruits, and one said he would act as boatman while north. This man particularly wanted a gun for his services; it, together with some calico, was given him,' &c. Here Captain Winship states distinctly that 'the gun and calico were given to this man for his services as boatman;' while Mr Gray makes him say they were 'given to the father of the boys,' 'but not until they had expressed their willingness to engage.' Here Mr Gray tells us plainly that Captain Winship first made his bargain or agreement for the boys, 'knew they were willing to engage,' then paid for them with a musket, and took them away to his ship. Or, as Mr Gray would have it, Captain Winship bargains for the boys, saying he will make their father a *present* of a musket if he will make him a present of his two boys in exchange. Is this not admitting the whole truth in dispute? In the eye of law and justice, can this be made anything but buying and selling? The natives all understand it as such, and speak of it as such; and who but Mr Gray and his colleagues could see it in any other light?

"5th, Mr Gray's report says, 'Mr Winship states that he went on shore and saw the missionaries, who at once demanded that the boys should be given up.' Mr Winship says, 'I went on board the *Dayspring*, and introduced myself to a missionary;' and again he says by our letter he had 'the first intimation' of the boys wanting to leave his vessel. Not on shore, as Mr Gray states, did he visit us, but at our vessel, as he states. Not at our interview was a demand made to give up the boys, but he was *respectfully requested* to do so by our letter some seven or eight hours before. Not first by our letter was he aware of the boys' desire to leave his ship, but by a deputation of natives the day before we saw him, and his refusing their request caused us to write.

"6th, Mr Gray makes much of a seeming discrepancy in the date of our letter to Captain Winship and of his date of getting the boys. A more careful reading of our letter would have shown him *his* mistake. I state that Captain Winship got the boys 'on his way north.' It might be the 26th of October, and on his way back, on the 5th and 6th of December, they were crying to get away from his vessel to go on shore to their home and friends, which he refused to allow.

"7th, Mr Gray further reports, 'Upon the arrival of the *Lyttona* at Brisbane, Mr Martin mustered and inspected the islanders, and found them to be a cheerful and contented lot, thoroughly understanding the terms of their engagement. Mr Martin subsequently witnessed and explained to each islander, through an interpreter, the nature of his engagement, and not the slightest approach to a complaint was made.' Further on in his report he says, 'During the period I have held the office of immigration agent, no less than 533 natives from the islands have made engagements, and not a single complaint has ever been made by any of the islanders as to the manner in which they were recruited.' Mr John M'Donnell, the former agent, is also summoned to his aid, and states, 'I personally inspected nine vessels, in which some 494 Polynesians were brought to Queensland, and no complaints were made to me by any one of these men, either of ill-treatment or kidnapping.' If Mr Martin, as first stated, 'found the natives a cheerful contented lot, thoroughly understanding the terms of their engagement,' why did he 'subsequently, through an interpreter, explain to each islander the nature of his agreement?' But to suppose that *one* interpreter could be used in engaging and passing 96 islanders collected from many islands in our group, where above twenty languages are spoken, and differing as much from another as Greek differs from Hebrew, is a mere sham, a pretence to mislead and deceive.

"Hitherto the Queensland Government and the defenders of *their slave system* write as if there were only one language or dialect on the whole of the New Hebrides group of islands; whereas there are above twenty languages spoken on this group, and not one of them known to above a few natives beyond the island on which it is spoken. I doubt if Messrs M'Donnell, Gray, and Martin know one of the twenty languages spoken on our islands, and how could they converse with the islanders so as to know if they were contented and without any ground of complaint? The islanders not complaining to them can only be accounted for by their not understanding a word spoken by those islanders. This being the case, it is perfectly evident that they could not tell whether the islanders complained or not. All experience proves the utter worthlessness of their testimony. Did ever eighteen or more vessels, over a period of years and from such a distance, bring into Queensland or any colony 1123 persons, natives or even Europeans, from Great Britain, where all is conducted under the best laws and regulations, without even one person of all this number having a ground of complaint or ill usage? This is far too good to be true. Such a state of perfect contentment among the natives, and of just and kind treatment by the most godless and degraded of captains, &c., now engaged in this trade of taking the natives from the islands, could not possibly exist among sinful men, and shows how little confidence is to be placed in the evidence of such agents. In

Messrs M'Donnell, Gray, and Martin's perfect ignorance of the islanders' languages, any one can easily see how they received no complaints. They just hear what their captors say about them, and *pass them* accordingly. And an interpreter can be of little or no help to them, except for his own island. Such men are trained for the work, know what is expected of them, and, like the Queensland agents, perform their work dexterously. All this machinery sounds well in a Government report, and deceives so as to continue the disgraceful trade; but Heaven will reckon with all concerned for the mock justice thus displayed.

"8th, As to the certificates of the three Pago boys, which Mr Gray states were not in accordance with the Queensland Act, 'being only signed by himself (Captain Winship), Mr Smith, the ship's agent, and Moss the interpreter,' as Mr Gray seems to apologise for Captain Winship giving a musket for the boys, because they had previously 'expressed their willingness to engage' with him, so here also he tries to apologise for this breach of the Act as if it were an exaction. But why does he not also apologise for all the other captains engaged in the trade, who must have acted in the same way with their certificates of islanders from our group? Not a missionary now on our group has ever seen one of these certificates, or been asked by any captain in the trade to sign a certificate. Yet Mr Gray's report implies that this is a provision of the Queensland Labour Act. The truth is, no *bona fide* agreement can be made by them with almost any of our islanders, as they cannot speak to each other in any language understood to both; and these traders in human beings know well that they would have small success if the natives had their agreements explained by a missionary, so that they could understand them. Hence they have one and all kept clear of the missionary, and, as far as possible, out of the wake of our mission vessel, the *Dayspring*. As Mr Gray states Mr Winship's case, the certificates are all got up on board the vessels after the natives are in the hands of their captors, and have lost all personal freedom, when the captain, ship's agent, and interpreter or deceiver, make the certificates to say anything they please.

"Here we have Mr Gray, the immigration agent of Queensland, in his report to the Colonial and Imperial Governments, once and again, by his own acknowledgment, setting aside the express provisions of the Queensland Act that he is appointed and paid to enforce. I repeat, 'Certainly the mock justice so displayed is an insult to Heaven, and a disgrace to our beloved British name and authority.'

"9th, Mr Winship's statement, as given by Mr Gray's report, over which biassed editors have gloried with such delight,—'that the missionaries are so averse to the deportation of natives from any of the islands, whose services they thereby lose, that they invariably refuse to sign their certificates,'—I repeat, neither Captain Winship, nor any other in the trade, has yet asked any one of our missionaries at present on the New Hebrides, and occupying Aneityum, Tana, Futuna, Aniwa, Eromanga, Faté or Sandwich, Nguna, and Santo, to sign such a certificate. And further, to show how groundless this whole assertion is, I may state that no missionary on our group has work for any native constantly, except it be a cook or two, and a herd boy or two, for fear of one becoming sick. We neither purchase cocoa-nuts, cocoa-nut-oil, nor anything else from the natives by which to make a farthing as traders. Not one of our missionaries on the New Hebrides group *is, or ever has been*, thus engaged in any secular business. It is against the express conditions of our engagements as missionaries, and any one doing so would be at once expelled from our mission. As a mission, we are against the deportation of natives on account of its demoralising and ruinous effects.

"10th, In his letter to Mr Gray, Mr Winship says, 'Having noticed in to-day's *Courier* a letter, wherein it is stated that on the 6th December 1870, I, as master of the *Lyttona*, took from Sandwich Island three natives against their wish, and brought them to Queensland; this statement is simply false.' If Captain Winship here makes a quibble of the date of his getting the boys,

and of our letter to him regarding them, a more careful reading would have shown him and Mr Gray, that I stated he got the boys on his voyage north,—it might be on the 26th October; and on his way back on the 5th and 6th December, they wanted to leave his vessel. To us he never attempted to deny that Tapina, the boys' father, got a musket for the boys Ariss and Kalsa, and that a man named Napopon sold him the orphan boy Akow for a piece of calico—the calico and musket being brought to us in the *Dayspring*, to try and induce him to take them back and give up the boys. But to prove the truthfulness of this, and the untruthfulness of his following statements, any number of competent Christian eye-witnesses can be produced. 1st, He says, 'On the 6th I received a letter, the same as in the *Courier* of this date; that was the first intimation I ever received of having natives on board who did not wish to remain.' The day before our letter was written to him, Lor, an elder of the Pago Church, and others, took the calico and musket to him (Captain Winship), asking him to take them back and return the weeping boys, without any payment for the month or so they had been in his service in the *Lyttona*; and his refusal caused Lor to apply to us, and us to write to him, requesting him to give up the boys, which he refused. 2d, No missionary present said he was 'quite satisfied' with his explanations and conduct, but the reverse. 3d, He says, 'I never kept an armed watch,' &c. During the day his revolver was conspicuously fastened to his side; and indeed the trade cannot be conducted without arms, so as to be ready for any emergency. 4th, The natives were not at liberty to leave his vessel at Pago. If such had been the case, Lor would not have applied to us, nor would we have written to him.

"11th, The Queensland agents and others make much of the different way in which Queensland and the Fiji vessels conduct the trade on our islands, and of the advantages arising from the Queensland Polynesian Labour Act. We, who see and know the whole working of the trade on our islands, neither hear nor know of any difference in the way that Queensland and Fiji vessels get natives from the islands. They act alike in getting natives, and are equally dreaded by the natives, who call them 'Men-stealing vessels.' The affidavit of 'Jas. Harper and Daniel Foster, able seamen,' given before, and signed by William Brooks, J.P. in Queensland, on the 16th of March 1871, gives clear proof of how the trade is conducted on the islands by the *Jason* and other vessels from Queensland, as well as Fiji. The Queensland Act, so far as we know its character, is constantly violated, both on our islands and in Queensland, and is a cloak to cover every species of fraud, deception, and oppression. Is it not strange that, neither from the Queensland Government, nor through their agents, has a single copy of the Polynesian Labour Act reached any missionary on the New Hebrides islands?

12th, I pass in silence the *ex parte* editorials and correspondence my letter has drawn forth. But there is one point on which all appear to dwell with delight, that requires here to be noticed—the advantages natives derive from being taken to Queensland and other colonies, and their conduct after they return to the islands.

"The general character of returned natives from Sydney and Queensland is very bad on our islands. They are feared and suspected by their fellow-islanders, as they have learned all the vices of the degraded white men with whom they have been associated, and none of the virtues of the colonies to which they were taken. Nor is our group singular in this respect. Bishop Patteson, on the Polynesian labourers, in the *New Zealand Herald* of March 1871, says, 'There is no instance that I can remember of any one of these natives exhibiting, on his island, any proof of his having received any benefit from his contact with civilisation, much less of his conferring any benefit on his people. The few that have been brought back to the Banks Islands bear a bad character among their own people,' &c.

"To this island one native has been returned from Fiji, one from Sydney, and two from Queensland. On being landed, they cast aside their European

clothing, and have since walked about in a state of nudity, and three of them, with their faces painted like the worst savages, holding to heathen customs, which all the other islanders here had given up in their absence. The one returned from Fiji has given his friends and us least trouble. The native returned from Sydney, and one of those returned from Queensland, have opposed Christianity and civilisation among the natives of this island ever since their return. The one from Sydney, who speaks English fluently, a short time ago nearly killed two women by clubbing them. The one alluded to from Queensland is the ringleader of all disorder and wickedness. They compelled their wives and children to cast away their clothing, and to give up attending the school and the church. The inhabitants of this island are a hard-working and very industrious people; but those returned have lost all their habits of industry, live upon and tyrannise over their friends, glory in immorality, and walk about with a musket each and a bag of ammunition, which is nearly all they can show for their three years' work in the colonies. Their conduct has made them so uncomfortable now, on this their own island, that I doubt not they will be glad to get away again by some vessel—where the *agent* will undoubtedly *note* their return to Queensland as a proof of their desire to return from *savage life* to enjoy again the blessings of civilisation.

“Having disposed of Mr Gray's report regarding what applies to the *Lyttona*, I now come to the Nguna case, where the *Jason*, Captain Coath, is charged with having purchased four men for a musket. The accompanying letters will prove beyond doubt that the charge is true, and that the information given him by the Captain of the *Spunkie* is false, and the rest of his report needs no reply.

“Mr Gray's report says, ‘The captain of the *Spunkie* informs me that he never has been in company with the *Jason* while recruiting’ (see the letters at the end of this reply). Again he says, ‘It is, however, well known that on many of the islands the chiefs have absolute control over the actions of their subjects; and however willing the islanders may be to engage, they dare not do so without the consent of their chief. In all probability, the captain of the *Jason* did get the men from Nguna, but not in the way Mr Paton would have the public believe he did.’ Mr Gray admits further, ‘That he gave the chiefs a musket I have also no doubt, but merely to secure his consent to their leaving the island.’ As Mr Robert Travis & Co. here come to Mr Gray's help, I must also show how little truth there is in his letter. He says, ‘The Rev. Mr Milne did not wish the men to leave the island, as they were wanted to assist in the erection of a missionary house. The islanders declined remaining, and informed the missionary they would leave, and did leave in the *Jason's* boat. They speak English fluently, and a little French; and are just the sort of men not to be done by working for the missionary gratuitously.’ This is a fabrication of Mr Travis', without foundation.

“Mr Milne had only been a day or two at Nguna when the men left the island, and being sick in the *Dayspring*, he had not even been on shore till after the four lads *were sold*. No teacher or missionary had been on that island before him. He never saw nor spoke to the natives that left by the *Jason's* boat. He had not asked the lads who left, nor any one else on Nguna, to work for him in any way before they left. A large party of Erakar, Pago, and Fille natives were engaged at £1 per month to go with the *Dayspring* and do all the work required to be done on Nguna in erecting the new mission-houses. But on an after-reflection, for fear of offending the Nguna people, for Mr Milne, Captain Fraser engaged one Nguna chief to put up two small houses; and within two days both houses were finished, for which the captain, for Mr Milne, paid above £3 worth of goods, valued at home-cost prices. Do Messrs Gray and Travis pay at this rate, or call that ‘working for the missionary gratuitously?’ Mr Milne solemnly declares that he had not spoken to the natives who left Nguna, or to any one else on that island, against their going away.

"That the musket was given to the chief of Nguna, for his consent to allow the natives to leave, is also untrue. On Aneityum, Tana, Futuna, Aniwa, Eromanga, Faté or Sandwich, Nguna, and Santo, and probably on all our islands, the chiefs have not power to prevent the natives from going away in vessels, if they so desire to go. But if a chief or powerful man urges a native youth to go in a vessel in exchange for a musket, to refuse, they know, would be to incur certain punishment or death when his time for revenge should come. We have not known or heard of any chief on the New Hebrides Islands who has 'absolute control over the actions of his subjects.'

"Mr Travis & Co.'s trade in human beings is no doubt a very lucrative one in the Queensland market; and as, in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of March 3, 1871, he says, 'I will pay the rev. gentleman's expenses to and from Sydney, &c., and soliciting his earliest attention to any grievance he may have against the owners and master of the *Jason*,' &c.

"I am authorised to state, that as soon as Mr Travis & Co. places in the hands of our agent, Dr Steel, of Sydney, a sufficient sum to pay *all the expenses* of myself and the witnesses necessary to accompany me, I will visit Sydney in such a cause.

"And to whet his zeal, I make the following new charges against the *Jason* and Captain Coath:—

"On the 24th of June last, as the *Dayspring* was sailing out of Havannah harbour, she met the *Jason* coming in. The wind was very light, the vessels made slow progress, and were within speaking distance of each other for some time. The *Jason* was said to have on board seventy-eight islanders for the Queensland market, from Api, Malicolo, Ambrym, &c. The Ambrym natives climbed up the rigging, and sang a native song to attract the attention of an Ambrym lad from near their own district, that they saw on board the *Dayspring*. A conversation then took place in their own language, in which they said they had been on a visit to Malicolo in a canoe. On seeing them at sea, the *Jason* lowered her boat, captured their canoe—containing twelve men and boys, whose names were given. The boat towed the canoe to the *Jason*, the natives were ordered on board, and the canoe was destroyed. Five of these natives were married men. To this charge, as given, we can also produce competent eye-witnesses. But, no doubt, before this reaches Sydney, Captain Coath, the ship's agent, and Messrs Travis and Gray will have them all passed into the Queensland market as a cheerful and contented lot, leaving the islands willingly, or so 'eager to get away that they came off to the ship in a canoe,' and 'thoroughly understanding the terms of their engagement.'

"I am glad to see that the Queensland authorities have taken up the criminal charge preferred against the Rev. P. Milne, of Nguna, by Captain Coath, of the *Jason*, in the *Maryborough Chronicle* of March 7, 1871, and by his chief mate, John Irving, as given when on oath before a Justice of the Peace, and published in the *Brisbane Courier*, 'that Mr Milne caused the natives of that island, on the 24th January 1871 (this date should be the 21st), to fire on the boat,' &c. The fact is, Mr Milne was not present, nor did he ever hear of the occurrence till the *Jason* returned, when, on Mr J. C. Irving himself calling with letters, he said to Mr Milne, 'Oh, I see you are not the man that caused the natives to fire on my boat.' This led Mr Milne to inquire about it, when, for the first time, he learnt that two shots were fired at the boat. Mr Irving was taking away in his boat two married women, and the enraged husband of one of them fired the first shot at the boat, and it was either the husband or a near relative of the other woman that fired the other shot at the boat. These facts can all be established by competent Christian eye-witnesses, and prove how utterly hopeless it is to get the truth from *any one voluntarily engaged* in this demoralising trade.

"We trust the Queensland Government will show as great zeal for truth and

justice in prosecuting the really guilty parties, when they know the truth of this painful affair.

"Mr Travis says, 'I have had for the last four years in my employ several pupils of the Revs. *R.* and *M.*,' &c., and then he gives a list of mysterious initials, 'Messrs W. W., A., A. F., Captains T. and G., who have examined them,' &c., seemingly as to the bad treatment they had received from the missionaries. Who the Revs. *R.* and *M.* are we know not. There never has been a missionary on the New Hebrides group whose surname began with *R.* Mr Milne's only begins with *M.*; and as he is lately come, and has never had pupils, they could not be his. Mr Travis ought to have made himself better acquainted with the mission before making his accusations, so as to give them even a shadow of truthfulness. He says, 'The captain is well paid, the sailors well paid, and the vessel is well found, and a credit to the port from which it hails; and there is little doubt that all connected with her will act as honourable and upright men; and I now ask the Rev. Mr Paton, as an honest man, to prove one dishonourable act on the part of the captain and owners.' If Mr Travis does not consider it dishonourable to purchase our natives for muskets, &c.; to take *wives* away from their husbands; to run canoes down at sea, and steal the natives in them, what would he consider a dishonourable act? If this vessel and all connected with her are 'a credit to the port from which it hails,' alas! alas! the colony of Queensland must have sunk very low indeed. And may God in mercy to it and them lead the British Government, by legislation, and the strong arm of power, to set free the Polynesian slaves now in Queensland, and to sweep from these seas for ever, and from every British colony, this disgraceful traffic in human beings, before His retributive justice overtakes them.

"In conclusion, the Queensland Government, through their Colonial Secretary, call upon the immigration agent to reply to my letter. Mr Gray knows the difficulty of his task; and having called every available help to his assistance, he finds it impossible to disprove the clear and truthful statement of facts given by so many missionaries and eye-witnesses; therefore he adopts the *easy* method of saying all he can against the character of the missionaries, well knowing that they are at too great a distance to hear of it, or if, by their agent or some friend, they should receive a paper with the information, they cannot possibly defend themselves for at least six months after, while the probabilities are that they will never hear of such things. And, meantime, such unanswered charges form delightful themes for editorials for such papers as take pleasure in speaking against Christianity and missionaries. But we are glad to see that, even in Queensland, there are such papers as the *Wide Bay* and *Burmat News* ready to expose the abuses of our downtrodden Polynesians, and to defend the cause of truth and justice."

"In proof of the above statements Captain Fraser of the *Dayspring* writes as follows:—

"ANIWA, July 8, 1871.

"REV. J. G. PATON.

"DEAR SIR,—In answer to your request that I should give you the facts, as stated to me by Mari Wota, chief of the south-east end of Nguna, as to his having sold four men for a musket—Nguna, July 18, 1870—on landing at the mission station, I met the chief, Mari Wota. He had in his hand a new musket. I inquired where he got it, and how much he paid for it. His reply was to this effect:—'Me buy him from *Jason*; me pay four men.'

"The schooners *Jason* and *Spunkie* were both in the harbour together. I also saw the said two vessels at the Havannah Harbour.—I remain, my dear sir, yours truly,

W. A. FRASER."

The Rev. John Goodwill, of Santo, writes thus :—

"SANTO, June 1871.

"To the Rev. JOHN G. PATON.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have seen an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, by one Mr Travis, calling on you to appear in Sydney, and prove your statements with respect to the conduct of the ship *Jason* at Nguna, offering at the same time to pay your expenses. As it gives you an opportunity of maintaining the truth, and of exposing more fully this iniquitous traffic in human beings, I trust that you will do so. The writer, for one, and he is not alone, is fully prepared to corroborate the truthfulness of your statements.

"With regard to the lads taken by the *Jason* at Nguna, it is said that they came and told Mr Milne that they were going away, alleging, as a reason, the paltry pittance received for their labour from him. Now, the truth is, Mr Milne never saw these lads. The day on which the *Dayspring* anchored at Nguna, Mr Milne was laid up with fever, and not being able to land, the writer and others went on shore, and selected a place for a mission station. The next day, with some difficulty, we got Mr Milne on shore, to give his approval to our selection, but on our landing the chief could not be found. After some searching, however, he appeared with a musket on his shoulder. On being asked from whom he got it, he replied, 'White man give him me.' 'What white man?' 'Captain of *Jason*, I 'pose,' at the same time pointing to the boat, that was on its way to the vessel. 'He buy him four men belong a me, and give me a musket for 'em.' 'Four men for a musket?' 'Yes; but some of 'em all the same boy.' On the third day, Captain Fraser came on shore, superintended the work, engaged a chief to build a store for Mr Milne, and paid the chief when it was finished. You are at liberty to give to this letter all publicity.—Yours faithfully,

"JOHN GOODWILL."

The Rev. William Watt, of Kwamera, Tana, writes :—

"ANIWA, July 1871.

"Rev. JOHN G. PATON.

"MY DEAR SIR,—With reference to the letter written by you, and published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which has called forth so many replies, I have to state that, so far as it relates to matters that came under my personal observation, the letter is substantially correct. Only in one point is it incorrect. The *Dayspring* and *Jason* were not lying in Havannah Harbour, but in the North-West (Havana Harbour), I think it is so designated, when the captain of the *Jason* came on board the *Dayspring* at about 3 A.M., requesting advice as to how he should act in order to protect himself from his crew, who were threatening to take his life. The whole crew were drunk.

"The only point, however, about which there is any difference is, was the musket given to the chief at Nguna as a mere present, or as payment for the boys received? All admit that the *Jason* received the boys, and that a musket was given, and that the musket was given in exchange for the boys. The musket would not have been given if the boys had not gone on board the vessel—one present is given on the distinct understanding that the other present will be received. It has all the appearance of a money transaction. In the shebeens in the old country a similar evasion is attempted; but the authorities there appear to have blunter understandings, and so are unable to take in and comprehend the subtle distinction between a present of money, in many cases given to the children of the family, after receiving a present of a drink, and paying for the drink. The natives considered the musket given as payment for the boys received."

"Along with the Rev. Messrs Milne and Goodwill I was assisting in erecting the mission station referred to. Whilst proceeding on shore one morning in the *Dayspring's* boat, we saw the chief and some of his natives going off in the *Fason's* boat to the *Fason*. Some time afterwards, on the same day, I noticed that the chief had a new musket. I asked him how he had received it. He answered—'Captain, he buy him four boy belong a me.'

"As to the other point, the *Fason* and *Spunkie* being in company. The *Fason* lay close to the *Dayspring*, the *Spunkie* near the Faté or southern side of the harbour, and both ships' boats were trading with the Nguna natives at the same time.—I remain, yours most sincerely,

"WILLIAM WATT."

The Rev. Peter Milne, of Nguna, writes as follows :—

"ANIWA, July 18, 1871.

"Rev. JOHN G. PATON.

"MY DEAR SIR,—With regard to what you ask me, as to whether the four men taken from Nguna by the *Fason* on the 18th July last year were sold by the chief for a musket or not, I am in a position to state that they were. I know that a musket was given in exchange for them.

"And as to whether the *Spunkie* was at Nguna at the same time, I remember seeing another vessel in the bay besides the *Fason* and the *Dayspring*, but I did not ascertain her name.—Yours truly,

"PETER MILNE."

POLYNESIAN LABOUR—THE "CHALLENGE" CASE.

From the "Sydney Morning Herald," August 8, 1871.

At the last sittings of the Central Police Court, Sydney, Alexander Longmuir was indicted for that he, on the 23d day of April last, did assault a man unknown, on board a ship or vessel called the *Challenge*, at an island called Torres, in the Pacific Ocean, not under the dominion of Her Majesty, or of any European state or power. There was a second count for an assault on a man unknown on the high seas. The Solicitor-General prosecuted for the Crown.

Mr Darley appeared for the accused, being instructed by Alexander Longmuir's attorney, Mr Yeomans. In this instance the apprehending constable (detective officer Richard Elliot) was not called upon. The accused was arrested on the charge at Newcastle.

William Lannon, a seaman (who had belonged to the *Challenge*, a schooner of fifty tons, under the command of Captain Longmuir), deposed that the *Challenge*, after leaving Sydney, went first to Tana for a boat's crew, and then to Sandwich Island, in the New Hebrides, and next afterwards to Torres Islands, in the Banks group; when off Torres Island the natives swam off to the ship, and six were decoyed into the hold by the Tana men taken on board; they were decoyed below by beads and trinkets; the captain ordered hatches to be put over the hatchway, but the cover fell in, whereupon the captain ordered a boat to be put over the hatchway; the men thus secured below fired arrows up at the side of the boat; after a while, it being feared that these six men would cut a hole in the side of the ship and sink the vessel, the boat was taken off the hatchway, and the men climbed up and all

jumped overboard ; the vessel was then seven miles from the land, the captain having given the order to heave the anchor when the hatches had been so fastened down ; this happened on the 23d April, the day after they arrived off Tana ; there was no Governor at this island ; the captain went ashore with a boat's crew of Tana men on the first day. Robert Townsend, another seamen (second mate on board the *Challenge*), then gave his evidence, which corroborated the main facts deposed to by the witness Lannon ; many natives came off to the ship by swimming ; they were savages ; Torres is an island of savages ; the captain gave the savages beads, red cloth, and knives ; the Tana men decoyed the Torres men down below ; witness was trading with the natives forward when he heard the words "Quick ! quick !" and saw some of the crew attempting to cover the hatchway ; several of the Torres men jumped overboard, but seven men were caught below ; one Tana man was struck by the captain with a marline-spike (apparently by mistake) as he was climbing up out of the hold ; the captain ordered the ship to be got under weigh, and the vessel left ; the men were heard trying to cut through the ship, and the captain asked what was best to be done ; everybody said it was best to let the men go ; the hatchway was uncovered, and the seven men jumped overboard ; the vessel was then about four or five miles from land. Captain Eury gave evidence as to the position of Torres Island, to the north-west of Banks group ; it was in a cluster by itself, inhabited by uncivilised men—blacks, not having a settled Government. This witness said he knew the witness Townsend, and did not think him a reliable witness ; would not believe him on his oath. This closed the case for the Crown. Robert Nicholson (late first mate of the *Challenge*) deposed that the *Challenge* was moored at about a cable's length from Torres Island. There was some "skylarking" between the Tana men and Torres men on the 23d April ; the captain ordered the ship to be cleared, and in carrying out this order there was a disturbance, and arrows were shot off ; the vessel made sail down the bay ; some of the natives had somehow become shut up in the hold when the hatchway was closed ; these men were released, and at once made off. In cross examination, this witness reluctantly admitted that these savages had been detained in the hold against their will. Mr Darley addressed the jury for the defence, insisting chiefly on the character of the evidence for the prosecution, and especially discrediting the evidence of Townsend, whose testimony had been declared to be unreliable by Captain Eury. The Solicitor-General replied. The learned Judge summed up. The jury (after some hesitation, but without quitting the box) returned a verdict of guilty.

Alexander Longmuir was again indicted for that he, on the 19th April last, did assault a man unknown, on board a ship or vessel called the *Challenge*, at an island in the Pacific Ocean called "Vanua Lavu," in Banks group, not under the dominion of Her Majesty, or of any European state or power. There was a second count for an assault on the high seas. The Solicitor-General prosecuted, Mr Darley defended. The effect of the evidence was that at Vanua Lavu the captain had given orders to have some of the natives put below, and that Townsend heard him order one man in particular to be so put down the hold. Lannon and Townsend both swore that they had heard Longmuir order two of the uncivilised natives who had come on board to be put down the hatches, and that two had been then forced down accordingly. Townsend also swore positively that the captain had told him to strike a native (who was escaping) with his oar. The two men shoved into the hold by the captain's orders were carried away to Fiji. Mr Darley addressed the jury, and read two documents in favour of the accused—one from Mr Alexander Stuart, and one from Mr John Cuthbert. Mr Charles Left, clerk in the department of the Crown Law Officers, proved that the prisoner had already been convicted by the court of a similar offence. The Solicitor-General said that the prisoner might be a skilful captain and a man of quiet and inoffensive temperament, but even such men were often

gradually led into evil deeds. A man of this kind undertook, perhaps, a voyage of this nature, believing, perhaps, that there would be no difficulty in obtaining native labourers; but when he found there was a difficulty, he would feel impelled, as it were, to resort to highly objectionable and unlawful acts, rather than fail altogether in the object proposed to be secured. The Rev. Dr Lang and Captain M'Donald gave Longmuir an excellent character, extending over a period of many years past. Captain M'Donald spoke well of the prisoner as a master mariner. The jury found the prisoner guilty. The prisoner was remanded for sentence.

SENTENCE.

Alexander Longmuir, convicted on the 2d instant of an assault on the high seas, was brought up for sentence.

Mr Darley, counsel for the prisoner, briefly addressed the court. He trusted the high character long sustained by the prisoner, the novelty of the charge as here proved against him, and the length of the imprisonment he had already undergone, would be mercifully taken into consideration by the Court in passing sentence.

The prisoner also handed in a written statement, which was read aloud by Mr Cheeke, the Judge's associate. The statement was one which differed very materially as to almost all the facts of this painful case.

His Honour said :

"After a careful trial by a jury, who have given very attentive consideration to all the facts and circumstances in support of the informations filed against you for an assault upon the high seas, you have been found guilty upon both informations.

"It is impossible to question the correctness of these verdicts, or for a moment to doubt that it was by your express orders, and under your authority as master of the vessel the *Challenge*, whilst sailing under the British flag, that the natives mentioned in the informations as persons unknown to the Attorney-General were assaulted in law—that is, that you unlawfully imprisoned and detained their persons, and against their will.

"It is not my intention to aggravate the guilt of your conduct by imputing any cruelty or murderous intentions in your illegal conduct towards these ignorant savages. Nevertheless, it is my duty to express from this seat the clear principles of law applicable to such conduct as yours, both as an example to yourself, as well as to all other shipmasters and seamen engaged in such expeditions among the islands adjoining the Australian shores. It is apparent that great wrong is effected by such practices, and not only to trading generally, but also to unfortunate shipwrecked persons. Indiscriminate revenge is sought, all white people being supposed as guilty as the robbers of the natives. Besides, it must be remembered, that although you were convicted of the assault upon only two natives, yet the evidence disclosed that several were by your actings intended to be kidnapped.

"The first principle of law applicable to your case is the one so clearly and without doubt laid down by Mr Justice Blackburn in the recent case of *Marshall v. Murgahoyd* (D. and R. 2. B. p. 31), that it is part of the common law, and of the law of nations, that a ship on the high seas (and not within the jurisdiction or port of any recognised state or territory) is a portion of the territory of that state to which she belongs, and, therefore, your vessel is considered as part of the British dominions.

"The second principle of law applicable to your case is that the entire criminal law of this colonial British court of justice, where you have been tried, was in full force and effect on board your vessel on the days of the 19th and 22d April 1871. Every principle of British law relating to the 'liberty of the subject,' including within that word these 'ignorant savages,' so soon as they came within the 'Queen's peace' by placing their feet upon the deck of your vessel, was also in full force and effect.

"This was established by Blackstone, vol. i. p. 126, and the case of the negro Somerset, 20 State Trials, 79, also the case of *Forbes v. Cochrane*, 2 B. and C. 448, have placed emphatically this second principle of law beyond discussion in any British court of justice.

"Although you have received an excellent character from several influential citizens to whom you have been known for many years, and to that testimonial I have given every weight and consideration, yet it is my imperative duty to pass such a sentence upon you as will, I hope, tend to prevent all future offences such as yours.

"The sentence: Imprisonment for two years in Sydney gaol upon first information, and one year upon second information.

"I may add, that in England it is proposed to pass an Act making the offence of kidnapping a felony, and the vessel liable to forfeiture."

LETTERS IN REFERENCE TO THE CHARGE OF THE PURCHASE OF FOUR MEN FOR A MUSKET AT NGUNA.

FROM MR ROBERT TRAVIS, PART OWNER AND AGENT OF THE SCHOONER "JASON."

"To the Editor of the 'Sydney Morning Herald.' (Per favour of the 'Chronicle'.)

"SIR,—Your issue of the 13th February has been handed to me, and I request you will allow me to reply through your columns to the letter of the Rev. John G. Paton respecting Queensland slavery, but particularly to the following paragraph it contains:—

"When the *Dayspring* was at Nguna last trip, the boats of the vessels *Jason* and *Spunkie* from Queensland came where the Rev. Messrs Watt, Milne, Goodwill, and Captain Fraser were assisting to put up a new mission house, and purchased from a chief four boys for one musket. The *Jason's* boat took the boys away."

"Three of these boys mentioned are now in my employ, under a three years' agreement, and were specially engaged at the island of Nguna for me, by my own servant, Langule, then also under a three years' agreement, and at the present time engaged by an old resident of this town, and receiving much higher wages than when under agreement with me. These men have, within this last week, distinctly stated to several magistrates, residents, and others, that the Rev. Mr Milne did not wish the men to leave the island, as they were wanted to assist in the erection of a missionary house. The islanders declined remaining, and informed the missionary that they would leave; and they did leave in the *Jason's* boat. The men had been previously under agreement, and have resided at Sidney, Brisbane, Cleveland Bay, and New Caledonia. They speak English fluently, and a little French, and were just the sort of men not to be done by working for the missionaries gratuitously. This reason is, I believe, the sole cause why Mr Paton and his friends are annoyed with the schooner *Jason* taken from his heathen flock his most able and energetic pupils in house-building.

"I am not afraid, as part owner and agent of the schooner *Jason*, in being able to prove that Captain Coath, or those under his command, never with his knowledge or consent in any one instance acted contrary to law, or to the instructions given to him, copies of which I enclose for your perusal, should you require them. I have, for the last four years, had in my employ

Lingalie, Melang, Nassa, and several others, pupils of the Revs. R—— and M——, all of whom fled from their late masters, in consequence of what may be well termed the penurious treatment received at their hands. These men have been seen, interrogated, and examined by the following well-known residents of Sidney :—Messrs W. W—— (formerly a passenger by the *Dayspring*), A——, A. F——, Captain T—— and S——, as also many others ; and I now assert, in not a single instance has a complaint been made or shown to lie against the captain or owners of the schooner *Jason*. The captain is well paid, the sailors are well paid, and the vessel is well found, and a credit to the port from which she hails ; and there is little doubt that any one connected with the ship will act as honourable and upright men. And I now ask the Rev. Mr Paton, as an honest man, to prove one dishonourable act on the part of the captain and owners. I will pay the rev. gentleman's expenses to and from Sidney to this place, and solicit his earliest attention to any grievance he may have against the owners and master of the *Jason*.—I am, sir, yours faithfully,

ROBERT TRAVIS.

"P.S.—Since writing the above I have seen the captain of the *Mary Campbell*, which has just returned to this port with islanders, and he informs me that so well-known is Captain Coath and the *Jason*, that at several islands numbers of islanders were awaiting the arrival of the *Jason* to proceed to Maryborough with her, not one of whom could be induced to come by his own vessel.

R. T."

[The reply to the above letter from Mr R. Travis will be found on pp. 78–80 of this pamphlet, in the form of letters from Captain Fraser, Rev. Messrs Goodwill, Watt, and Milne.—J. K.]

A PROFITABLE TRADE.

From the "*Adelaide Register*," February 15, 1871.

The interesting reports recently published by the *Dayspring* missionaries disclose a fact which cannot unhappily be said to be altogether new, but which calls for the strongest reprehension, and for repeated protests so long as its disgraceful existence continues to be proclaimed. The unhallowed traffic in human flesh, which was denounced by the voice of public opinion before this century began its course, and which was made illegal, and solemnly declared by Act of Parliament to be "contrary to the principles of justice and humanity" sixty-four years ago, is now being carried on as a paying speculation upon the shores of the New Hebrides by British subjects, who openly carry their wares into the market of a British colony, where they are enabled to sell them freely at an enormous profit. This statement is no exaggeration. The labour ships which frequent the islands find, it is true, some few natives who are willing to accompany them either from curiosity or from a craving to seek their long-lost relatives and friends ; but the larger portion of their human freight is obtained by purchase from the chiefs and other influential personages, who are of course alone responsible for the way they collect their living merchandise ; while the balance of the cargoes is frequently made up by

direct kidnapping. The primary cost of the first and last of these classes is of course *nil*. The average cost of the hands obtained by purchase is from ten shillings to a pound per head. The expense of feeding them on the voyage to Queensland is not allowed to tax the owner's pocket very heavily, and when his vessel reaches the shores of Australia, he can get from £6 to £7 a head for the whole of his live stock, thus netting a very considerable profit on his outlay. Setting aside such trifling considerations as humanity and the moral law of God, we imagine few speculations at present open to the enterprising Queenslander will pay better than this.

Of course the Queensland Government cannot openly recognise the traffic which thus supplies its unscrupulous settlers with such a cheap and convenient class of labour, and an officer is therefore appointed to be present at the sale of every shipment that arrives. Fortunately, however, he does not understand the language of the natives, whose dialects vary as greatly as those of the different nations of Europe, so that complaints of enforced abduction, even if the miserable creatures thought it worth while to urge them, to one who openly acts as *particeps criminis*, would fall unheeded on his ears. But he sees that a proper agreement is drawn up in writing between the planter who buys and the labourer who is bought, and by this the former undertakes to send back the latter to his home after a service of three years, provided the agreement is not in the meantime violated. No effort is made to explain the terms of the contract to the native, who submissively touches the pen where-with his mark is made, and who generally relieves his "employer" from the necessity of shipping him home again by some unconscious violation of his contract before the three years' term has expired. We are assured that the enactment of this solemn farce, sanctioned by the law and countenanced by the public opinion of an Australian colony, is at this moment a matter of constant occurrence. No effort seems to be made to ascertain how the unhappy subjects of this monstrous practical joke come to be there. Although they are thus officially initiated into the mysteries of a civil contract, it is not thought necessary to enlighten them as to our criminal code. No one explains to them that if they can prove a case of forcible detention they may procure reparation for themselves and punishment for their captors. Interpreters are wisely discouraged, and awkward questions of this sort judiciously eschewed. The labour is wanted; the contract is a fair one; the slaver's profit is considerable; the labourers are not ill-treated; they cannot be dealt with exactly as slaves on shore; and if, when they find this out, they are so unreasonable as to deem their violent deportation a ground for not working for their new masters, it is nobody's business but their own, and of course they must take the consequences.

It is difficult to conceive that such a monstrous violation of the commonest laws of humanity can be perpetrated by men speaking the same tongue, owning the same allegiance, and professing the same religion as ourselves. Yet the details respecting this inhuman traffic with which we have been furnished by Dr Geddie, and respecting which we may have more to say hereafter, are such as to leave no room for doubt upon our minds, both as to the extent to which the natives are carried away from the islands against their will, and as to the callousness with which the Queensland Government connives at the practice. Appeals to the local authorities having proved in vain, steps are now being taken to urge the matter upon the Imperial Government; but past experience teaches us that even such an appeal carries but little weight, unless backed by the overwhelming testimony of facts and the urgent pressure of public opinion. We trust that no effort will be spared by the missionaries and their friends to supply the former, and we are sure that South Australia will not be slow to give her humble aid in the latter. It is now sixty years since Henry Brougham induced the House of Commons to adopt an address to the Crown, which represented "that this House has learnt, with the greatest surprise and indignation, that certain persons in this country have not scrupled to continue, in a clandestine and

fraudulent manner, the detestable traffic in slaves ; and that this House does most humbly pray His Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to cause to be given to the commanders of His Majesty's ships and vessels of war, the officers of His Majesty's Customs, and the other persons in His Majesty's service whose situation enables them to detect and suppress these abuses, such orders as may effectually check practices equally contemptuous to the authority of Parliament and derogatory to the interests and the honour of the country." It is not very creditable to our civilisation that after so many years an address to the Crown might be presented with equal cause, and couched in similar terms, save that it would not be necessary to describe the traffic as "clandestine," and save also that whereas in 1811 the slaver's market was confined exclusively to foreign countries, in 1871 it is more conveniently situated in a dependency of the British Crown.

COPY OF MEMORIAL TO THE SUPREME COURTS OF THE VARIOUS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES.

To the Moderator and other Members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of , to meet, &c., the Memorial of the Presbyterian Missionaries on the New Hebrides, met on Aniwa, the 7th of July 1871,

Humbly Sheweth,—

That this mission is supported by upwards of five hundred Presbyterian ministers and their congregations. The supporters of this mission have expended upwards of £40,000 sterling, with the view of Christianising, educating, and civilising the natives of this group. They are expending upwards of £4000 sterling annually for this object, and they have made arrangements for greatly extending their operations within the next few years. They have at present thirteen missionaries on the group, and a large staff of native agents ; for the last eight years they have had a mission vessel, the *Dayspring*, of 115 tons ; they have missionaries located permanently on eight islands ; there are not fewer than twenty distinct languages spoken on this group ; your memorialists have prepared and printed books, and more or less opened the Word of God to the natives, in seven of these languages. The work of this mission has been to a great extent preparatory, and your memorialists were looking forward to see their labours crowned with some encouraging measure of success. They are being doomed, however, to a sad disappointment.

That for the last seven or eight years great numbers of the natives of this group have been taken away for labourers to Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia, and elsewhere, and only a very small proportion of them have found their way back to their own islands. This system is known as the "labour recruiting service ;" but it is in reality, to a very great extent, a system of kidnapping—a modified form of the slave trade, so far as the obtaining of the natives is concerned. Some are taken by force ; a much larger number are obtained by fraud ; at present the most of them are bought from chiefs and relations. Every scheme, every trick, every form of dodging, is employed to get the natives on board ; and when once on board, there is no disputing—there is then no alternative for the poor natives.

But although the system were carried out according to the most liberal interpretation of the regulations enacted by Consuls, Parliaments, and Governments (which it never has been, and never will be), your memorialists would oppose the system; but all the more, carried on as it is. It is in many ways seriously retarding the progress of this mission, perhaps more than all other causes put together. It has broken up to a large extent some newly-formed stations; it is ruining the mission by anticipation, by removing in such large numbers the natives on whom your memorialists were preparing to act; and it has rendered missionary and all European life tenfold more insecure, especially in the heathen islands in the north of the group. If this system goes on, the operations of this mission, the whole expenditure of labour and money, will end in next to nothing. It is generally believed that these labourers return greatly improved—richer, wiser, better, and happier; the reverse of all this is generally the case: they return more inveterate heathens, far more inaccessible to Christian influences, than before they went away. This seems to apply especially to those who return from Queensland; so far as your memorialists have observed, they seem to return from that colony with a strong antipathy to everything missionary; and as for the Christianity of Queensland, they bring none of it with them.

This system is proving ruinous to the natives. They are being carried away in such numbers that the islands will very soon be depopulated. Many think that there is no end to the population of those islands, and that to remove a portion of the surplus labour must be highly beneficial to the islanders. The islands are not populous; while the drain upon the able-bodied labourers has been excessive and highly injurious. Judging of what is imperfectly known from what is well known, it is highly probable that one-half of the adult male population of this group are away from their own islands at the present time, and they are still being carried away; and wives, children, parents, the aged, the sick—all who are naturally dependent upon these—are left unprovided for, so that society is becoming fast disorganised.

These islands are extremely fertile, but they are unhealthy. The natives are acclimated; they can live and labour with impunity on their own islands. The natives of no other group can. If let alone, therefore, till they are Christianised, till life and property be safe among them, capital and skill will then find acclimated labour waiting for them; but if this system go on unchecked till the islands are depopulated (which they soon will be), they can never be again repeopled—they will be lost to the Australasian colonies for ever.

This is not a question affecting this mission alone: it is affecting every mission in these seas, though, perhaps, none so injuriously as this. It is not affecting this group only; the traffic is fast extending, and will soon affect every group of islands from Fiji to China. It is not a question affecting the colony of Queensland only; it will eventually affect, and that disastrously, every colony in Australasia.

May it therefore please your venerable Assembly to take this subject into its serious and prayerful consideration, and adopt such a line of action as shall bear most effectually on the total and immediate abolition of this form of the slave trade carried on at present on the New Hebrides. Grace, mercy, and peace be with you.

JOHN INGLIS, Clerk of Meeting.

V.B.—Printed copies of this memorial will be forwarded to the different Presbyterian Churches supporting this mission, and the clerks of those Churches are respectfully requested to take charge of presenting them to their respective supreme courts.

J. I.

LEADING ARTICLE FROM THE "DAILY NEWS," LONDON, ON
THE MURDER OF BISHOP PATTESON.

It is cheering to find that the attention of the public press of Great Britain is being drawn to the subject of which this pamphlet treats. It is one of the many excellences of our newspaper press that it has always a word to say on behalf of the oppressed of whatever nation or colour. The *Times* very recently contained a leader on the Polynesian Labourers' Act, characterised by all its well-known ability. The *Daily News* has also taken up the question. I quote the leader of this last journal, not only for the soundness of its views, but also for the no less merited than beautiful eulogium on the late Bishop Patteson.

From the "Daily News," November 29, 1871.

"The telegram we published on Monday, in anticipation of the Overland Mail from Australia, conveyed one piece of intelligence which has carried grief to many hearts. In this busy age there must be many a good work, and perhaps some great works of humanity, which proceed without even so much as a suspicion of their existence on the part of many. Bishop Patteson, however, though the scene of his labours lay among the Western Islands of the Pacific, had a name and a place in the hearts of many thousands of our countrymen. Melanesia, as his diocese was called, is almost more an ecclesiastical than a geographical designation; but its very vagueness was congenial to the character of one whose palace was his yacht, and the habit of whose life was to roam on system from island to island on his Christian errand. Patteson has been killed, 'murdered by a Melanesian native,' says the telegram. If the poor savage that struck him down had known who and what he was, we believe he would rather have knelt to him than have slain him. The islands of the Western Pacific, as many of our readers know, have been visited for the last ten years by a number of captains of vessels, who have inveigled the natives on board by promises or allurements of various kinds, and then have made off with their guests, and carried them into slavery. Again and again have we had to print accounts of proceedings of this kind, which are the opprobrium of the maritime powers whose flags visit those remote waters. It appears that in the month of October, Patteson was landing unsuspectingly on the Island of Santa Cruz, in company with the Rev. Mr Aitkin, when a native came down upon the party, probably with assistance, and killed them both. It was so that, thirty-three years ago, another great South Sea missionary, John Williams, fell, when the people of Eromanga, irritated by barbarities perpetrated by the crew of a vessel which had previously visited the island, rose upon him and his companion and killed them both.

The name of John Coleridge Patteson will endure as a memorial of a life unreservedly consecrated to the good of his fellow-creatures. The eldest son of an esteemed English judge, and descended on his mother's side from a family illustrious in literature, he paused but for a while after a successful academic career, and then gave himself up for life to live among races less favoured by Nature and Providence than that to which he belonged by birth, in order to strive for their elevation. When a man endowed and developed as he was devotes himself to this task, we feel sure that we shall see in his career something different from the sort of missionary labour which has been traditional since missions became a matter of machinery and organisation. It is an

immense advantage to such a work when a man of original mind and youthful energy throws himself into it, especially when he does so in circumstances which secure for him the freedom necessary for realising his conceptions. Missionary effort in the South Seas has always had a direct civilising aim. When Williams went to Tahiti he was an accomplished smith, and he spent the weeks immediately preceding his embarkation in acquiring a practical knowledge of other useful arts. It is not necessary that all who follow in his footsteps should possess his personal acquirements; but certainly any attempt to raise the people by doctrinal instruction, unaccompanied by earnest endeavours for the improvement of their material and social condition, would have small chance of success. By pursuing the course marked out by wisdom, the South Sea missionaries have achieved a success not surpassed, if it has been equalled, in any other part of the globe. Schools have been multiplied, and, by the diffusion of letters, the preservation of every advance made has been secured. Whole populations have been trained to foresight and industry, renouncing with Polytheism the moral and social degradation of which cannibalism was only one of the repulsive features. For eleven years Patteson had laboured in this apostolic work, when the hand of an infuriated islander ended his useful life. Month after month accounts arrived in England of his incessant voyages, and his cheerful, hopeful ministrations. Once only, a cloud passed over his fair fame. The natives of one of the islands had trespassed upon the rights of the white man so far as to bring upon themselves a visit from a man-of-war and a suitable chastisement. Through some confusion of names the report spread that Patteson had called in the belligerent forces of his country to confirm the influence which he could not make good by his character. But such a rumour could not live where he was known, and it was immediately and satisfactorily established that he was a perfect stranger to the whole transaction. His death worthily crowns his career. We cannot imagine him leaving his chosen sphere of labour, and becoming that ambiguous character, a "returned colonist." He knew the incidents of the work he had embraced—"in journeyings often, in perils by the heathen, in perils of robbers, in perils of the sea," and he has died at his post. At Eton, at Balliol, and at Merton the remembrance of him will be cherished, not as necessarily recommending the particular line of action which he saw to be fittest for him, but as an incentive to whatever is noble and disinterested in the paths opened out to individuals.

Perhaps, now that an eminent Englishman has fallen a victim to a crime originating too probably in the rapacious cupidity of the slave-dealer, it may be thought that the time is come to do something to put an end to the outrages which are of weekly occurrence in the South Seas. We are not suggesting that any one power should either formally or virtually undertake the police of the Pacific Ocean, but surely it must be possible for the great maritime States of the world to come to some agreement which would make it dangerous for the very worst class of pirates to continue their depredations. These captains, who under the pretence of trade and friendship visit the islands and kidnap the inhabitants, do more harm to the cause of civilisation than the avowed slaver, for they make intercourse between the native and the European dangerous and difficult, by destroying confidence. The savage who would not fear to trust his life to the strength of his arm or the fleetness of his foot, finds himself betrayed by that very respect for a superior which should have been to him a source of benefit and blessing. To give these children of the sea absolute immunity against the abuse of the law of the stronger, is more than we are called to do; but if the Governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States were to agree that the perpetrators of these outrages should be adequately punished when and wherever found in their territories, it would be possible very soon to make them desist from their evil practices. If we may not aspire to be the guardians of those races of the earth which are still in their minority, we may at least take care that

our own citizens shall not use the instrumentalities and agencies of civilisation to plunge them deeper into barbarism.

REPORT OF MEETING HELD IN WILLIS' ROOMS, LONDON, IN REFERENCE TO KIDNAPPING IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

From the "Daily News," December 14, 1871.

A meeting of gentlemen interested in this question, convened by the Aborigines Protection Society, was held yesterday at the rooms of the Social Science Association, Adam Street, Adelphi, for the purpose of considering the present state of the Polynesian slave trade question, with especial reference to the murder of the lamented Bishop Patteson. The following were among those who were present:—The Hon. A. Kinnaid, M.P., Lord Alfred S. Churchill, Sir T. Fowell and the Dowager Lady Buxton, Admiral Sir John Hay, M.P., Sir Donald M'Leod, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; Mr T. Hughes, M.P., the Rev. Dr Mullens, Secretary of the London Missionary Society; Mr Seton Karr, late Secretary to the Government of India; Lieutenant-General Alexander, Mr W. M'Arthur, M.P., Mr Samuel Gurney, Professor Sheldon Amos, Major Evans Bell, Mr F. W. Chesson, Mr Edmund Sturge, Mr G. W. Hastings, Chairman of the Social Science Association; the Rev. William Arthur, Mr Edwin Pears, Mr Ewen Davidson, of Queensland; Mr W. R. Selway, Mr C. H. Hopwood, &c. Mr A. Kinnaid, M.P., in taking the chair, said it had been suggested that the meeting should be postponed in consequence of the illness of the Prince of Wales, which they all so much deplored, but it was deemed advisable that immediate representations should be made to the Government on the subject on which they were assembled. He then proceeded to read extracts from colonial newspapers, and extracts from letters from Captain Palmer, of Her Majesty's ship *Rosario*, from the late Bishop Patteson, from Mr Thurston, the late, and Mr Miller, the present, Consul at the Fiji Islands, from the Rev. J. G. Paton, a missionary, and others, all tending to show that natives of the Fiji Islands, of the New Hebrides, and of other islands in the South Seas, were kidnapped, enticed by alluring promises on board vessels engaged in the trade, and sometimes conveyed on board by violence; that when once on board they were prevented from returning; and that, in short, this "immigration," as it is called, differs in no way from the slave trade so long carried on on the coast of Africa. And as a further evidence of the real value of the traffic, Mr Chesson, the secretary, read a letter from Captain Palmer to himself, in which he said:—"It seems only yesterday, that when in New Zealand, Bishop Patteson was telling me the story about the traders painting their vessel white like his mission schooner, the *Southern Cross*, and sending one of their number on shore, dressed like a missionary, to tell the natives she was the Bishop's schooner, and that he was on board, but had broken his leg, and consequently they must come off and see him. More than one cargo was secured in this atrocious manner." The first resolution, which expressed the profound sorrow of the meeting at the murder of Bishop Patteson, and affirmed that the sacrifice of his valuable life was attributable to the nefarious practice of kidnapping, which has been too long permitted in the islands of the Pacific, was moved by Sir Fowell Buxton, and seconded by Sir John Hay, both of whom expressed the opinion that the immigration of labourers from the islands of the Pacific might be of advantage both to the

colony and to the islanders if it were conducted under proper regulations. Mr Thomas Hughes, who moved that a memorial be presented to the Secretary for the Colonies, urging him to adopt vigorous measures for the repression of the practices referred to, recommended the extension of the slavery laws to this traffic, and the establishment of a prize court in one of the Australian colonies, but the Chancellor, of the Exchequer, he said, objected to the latter proposition on the score of expense. Mr W. M'Arthur expressed his disgust at such cheese-paring economy, and advocated the abolition of the traffic altogether. He cited the case of Mr J. Meiklejohn, a magistrate of Queensland, who, wishing to satisfy himself as to the real nature of the traffic, got himself appointed as Government agent on one of the vessels, and who, when the ship was anchored off one of the islands, and a batch of natives were brought on board, and put into the hold, protested against such conduct, whereupon the captain pointed a revolver at his head, and threatened to shoot him unless he promised that he would never divulge what he had seen. The meeting was also addressed by Lord Alfred Churchill; by Mr Davison, a planter from Queensland, who defended the system, and said that without it the plantations in North Queensland must be abandoned; by Mr Edmund Sturges, who remarked that Mr Davison's observations reminded him very much of the apologies that were wont to be made for slavery in the West Indies before the Act of Emancipation was carried; and by the Rev. A. M'Arthur, who contended that the traffic was not needed to enable settlers in Queensland to maintain themselves, though it might be needed to enable them to acquire fortunes. One of the speakers suggested that if the traffic were continued at all, it should be in Government vessels only; and Mr Davison said he approved of that suggestion, and believed it would be well received in Queensland. On the motion of Mr Hastings, a vote of thanks was then given to the chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

colony and to the islands if it were connected under proper regulations.
 Mr. Thomas Hughes, who moved that a resolution be passed to the effect
 that for the Colonies, urging him to adopt various measures for the redemption
 of the practices related to, recommended the extension of the slave laws to
 this traffic, and the establishment of a prize court in one of the Australian
 colonies, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he said, objected to either
 proposition on the score of expense. Mr. W. M. Ashurst expressed his
 at such cheese-paring economy, and advocated the abolition of the
 altogether. He cited the case of Mr. J. McLehennan, a magistrate of
 land, who, wishing to satisfy himself as to the real nature of the traffic, got
 himself appointed as Government agent on one of the vessels, and who, when
 the ship was anchored off one of the islands, and a batch of natives were
 brought on board, and put into the hold, protested against such conduct,
 whereupon the captain pointed a pistol at his head, and threatened to shoot
 him unless he complied. The matter was also addressed by Mr. Davidson, a
 member from Queensland, who said that without it
 the plantations in Queensland would be ruined; by Mr. Edmund
 Stanger, who reminded him that the Rev. A. M. Ashurst, who reminded him that
 much of the population was to be maintained in the West Indies
 before the fact of emancipation was needed, and that the Rev. A. M. Ashurst
 who contended that the traffic might be maintained to enable them to
 land to maintain themselves, though it might be maintained to enable them to
 maintain themselves. On the other hand, it was suggested that if the traffic were con-
 tinued at all it should be under strict supervision; and Mr. Davidson said
 he approved of that suggestion. On the motion of Mr. Stanger, a vote of thanks was then
 given to the chairman, and the meeting terminated.



JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY
 BRISBANE