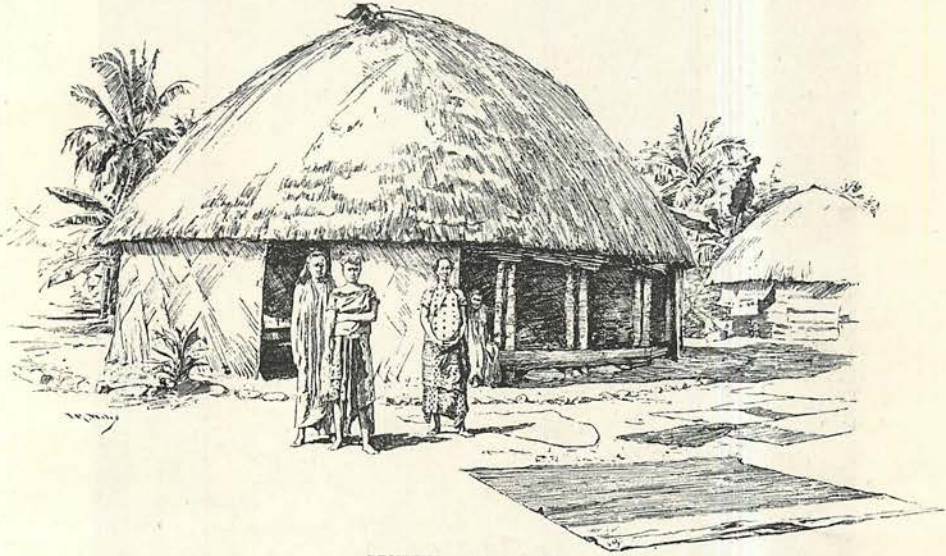


ages among the people, next to the chiefs, are the orators, or "talking men," who are the mouthpieces of the chiefs. This is a profession aspired to by only the few who become proficient in rhetoric, which they use with telling effect when addressing an assemblage according to the dictates of the chiefs whom they represent.

who consider that they possess equal rights in their distribution. So long as this condition of affairs exists the individual distinction acquired by personal wealth is impossible, and they will never progress to the state of those nations where the reign of personal interest is supreme.

It would be unnatural for the visitor who understands these brave, generous, and noble-



RESIDENCE OF MALIETOA.

There is an established communism among the people. To go among their friends, take up their abode, and remain with them as long as they please is a liberty that all enjoy alike; and with aboriginal naïveté they borrow or beg of one another whatever may please their fancy.

Stingy or disobliging are epithets so opprobrious and insulting to Samoans that they will give almost anything they possess, or will adroitly perpetrate an untruth, rather than acquire so repugnant a distinction. No matter how energetically one may labor, his earnings soon pass from his possession to his family or clan,

hearted people not to feel great sympathy for their future and welfare. "*Talofaa*" ("Love to you") is their word of greeting to him, always accompanied by a smile and an honest handshake. "*Tofaa*" ("God be with you") is their parting benediction, the significance of which was never appreciated until the hour arrived when with regret we took leave of our dusky friends who had assembled on the beach and at the boat landing, and heard their gracious last parting, "*Tofaa alii, alii tofaa*" ("Good-bye, chief; chief, good-bye"), which lingers like a melody in our memory after months of separation.

*Hervey W. Whitaker.*

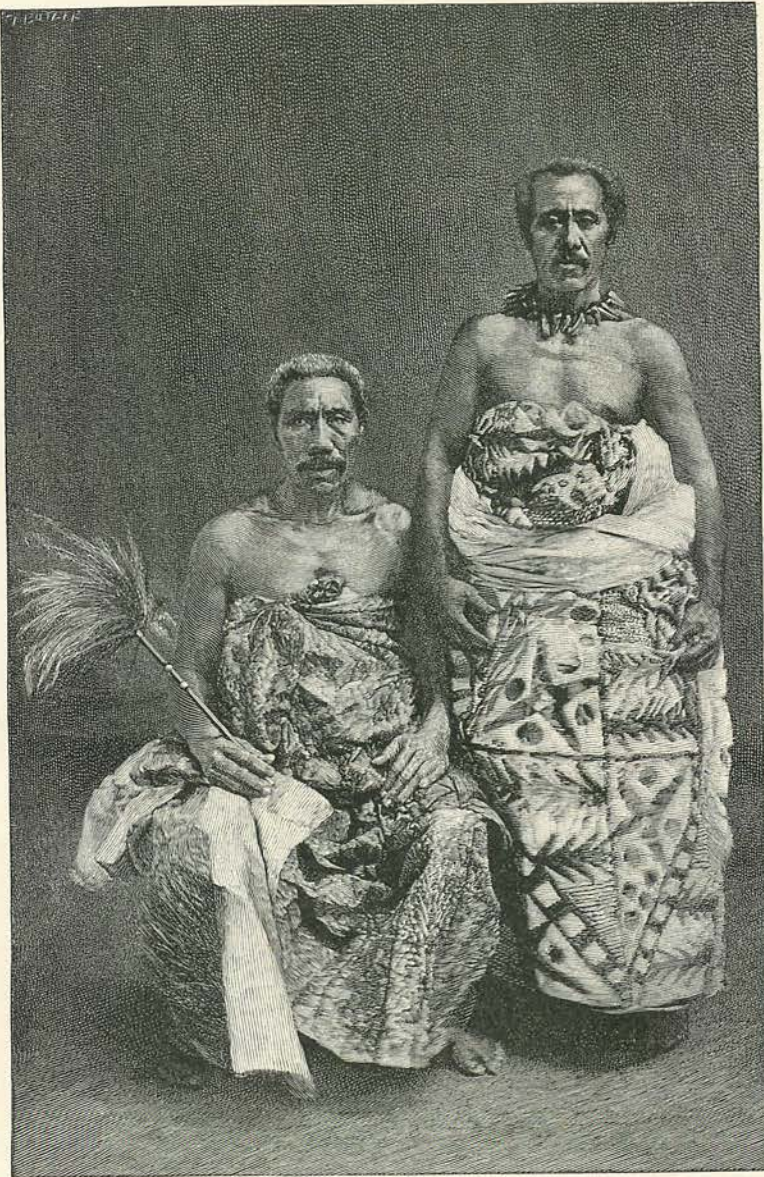
## OUR RELATIONS TO SAMOA.

BY THE COMMISSIONER SENT TO SAMOA BY THE UNITED STATES IN 1886.



WITHIN the last few months the agitation of the subject in Congress and in the press has made known to the country a group of islands superior in location, in natural advantages, and in the character and intelligence of its people to the

rest of Polynesia; and we have learned that we possess treaty rights of the utmost value, including the opportunity to control the most magnificent harbor in the Pacific, the loss of which to the British Empire was long ago bewailed by the most intelligent Englishmen. The change of sentiment in this country on this subject is well reflected by the action of



VICE-KING TAMASESE AND ORATOR.

Congress with respect to it. Though hitherto suggestions from the Navy Department as to the necessity of an appropriation for the improvement of this harbor and for the establishment of a naval station received no attention whatever, a substantial sum has recently been voted in both Houses for that purpose, and the attention of Congress and of the country has been thoroughly aroused to the necessity of asserting and maintaining our right to the permanent neutralization of Samoa and the establishment of its autonomy on a firm foundation.

Mr. John Williams, the martyr missionary,

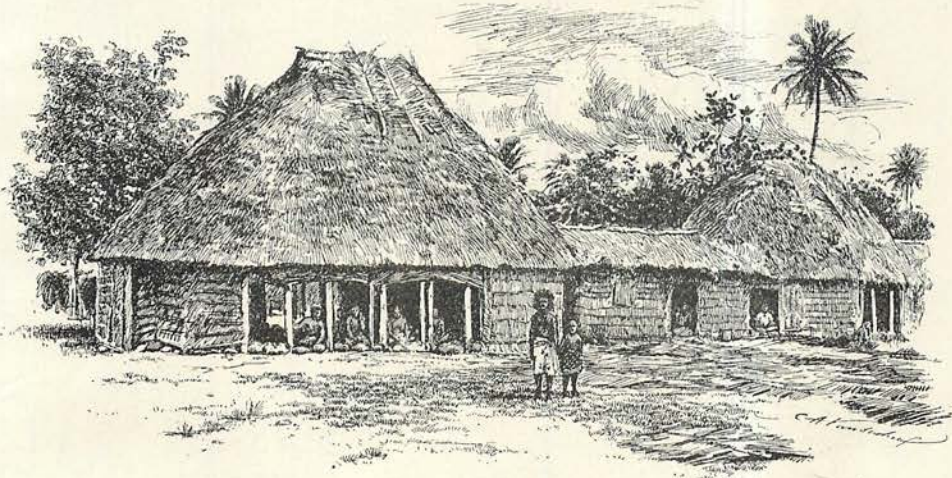
who claimed to be the first Englishman to visit the group, found the Samoans peculiarly susceptible to the influence and teachings of the missionaries, and he relates that in less than twenty months chapels were erected and the people ready and anxious for instruction. The islanders are now generally Christians by profession, and their consistency in practice is quite up to the standard of more civilized people. They are particularly rigid in their observance of Sunday, and cannot be induced to engage in any work on that day.

Nine years after the first visit of Williams,

Commander Wilkes not only touched at the islands during the course of his famous expedition, but made a thorough examination and survey, and his narrative contains an extremely interesting report of the group and its inhabitants. He was much struck with the manliness and intelligence of the natives, and found that the greatest restraint on the conduct of the chiefs appeared to be the fear of losing the good

observing and reporting upon Samoan affairs, and to impressing those in authority there with the lively interest which we take in their happiness."

During his second visit Steinberger resigned his position as an agent of our Government and became premier of a Samoan government, formed under his direction. His prominence and influence excited the apprehensions of the



TAMASESE'S RESIDENCE.

name of their ancestors, and of not handing it down to posterity pure and unspotted. His conclusion was that with instruction and civilization they would probably become a thriving people.

After the visit of Wilkes the attention of our Government was again attracted to the group by the report made by Commander Meade, United States Navy, of his agreement with the chief of Tutuila in 1872. About the same time the attention of President Grant was directed to Samoa by a report of an investigation of the resources of the islands by private individuals on the Pacific coast, and the result was the appointment of Colonel Steinberger as a special commissioner of the United States.

The commissioner sailed from San Francisco June 29, 1873, and on February 9, 1874, transmitted a long and interesting report covering the subject matter of his instructions.<sup>1</sup>

Having won the confidence not only of the natives but of the foreign residents, Steinberger returned to Samoa in a man-of-war in 1874 as a special agent of our Government, to serve without pay. He was the bearer of certain presents from our Government to the king of Samoa; and his instructions, dated December 11, 1874, expressly limited his functions "to

English; and our own consul being also hostile to him, the king was induced to ask his deportation, which was accomplished by a British man-of-war.

Among his papers, which were seized, was found a secret agreement with the German firm at Apia, which was used as evidence that he was acting in its interest. The causes of his losing influence have been the subject of much discussion, which is now of less interest than the existing situation.

It was after Steinberger's term that the treaties of 1878 and 1879 were made, and the present chapter of Samoan history began when first the German and then the American flag was raised, both acts being disavowed by the respective governments.

The agreement between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States that each should send to Samoa a confidential agent to make an investigation and report grew out of a suggestion of our Government for a conference at Washington between representatives of the three treaty powers. The proposition was accepted, with a modification, previously suggested by Germany, that before the conference each power should send a representative to investigate the political condition of the islands and report thereupon, with suggestions

<sup>1</sup> Ex. Doc. No. 161, H. R. 44 Cong., 1st Sess.



KING MALIETOA AT HOME.

as to the best remedies for the troubles existing there. The essential basis of all negotiations, prior to that time and since, has been the preservation of Samoan autonomy; and the neutrality of the group was treated throughout as something which could not be interfered with without the violation of rights possessed by the Government of the United States and considered valuable enough to be maintained. After the German flag had been raised at Apia, under date of January 12, 1886, the Secretary of State telegraphed to our Minister at Berlin:

You will temperately but decidedly, in oral conference, notify the German Minister for Foreign Affairs that we expect nothing will be done to impair the rights of the United States under existing treaty with Samoa, and anticipated fulfillment of solemn assurances heretofore and recently given that Germany seeks no exclusive control in Samoa.

In reply to this Count Bismarck said to Mr. Pendleton, January 16, 1886:

Whatever may have occurred, we intend to maintain the *status* as it has heretofore existed. We have been satisfied with that; it has been satisfactory to the three governments; we have neither interest nor desire to change it; but if we had, we would take no step, make no movement, without frankly consulting in advance the United States and Great Britain. If any wrong has been done, it shall be

righted and reparation shall be made, and nothing shall be allowed to change the relative positions of these governments.

In the same interview Mr. Pendleton said "that the United States have a treaty with Samoa, antedating that of Germany or England, securing to their citizens great advantages in the way of trade and whatever further benefits might, at any time, be granted to the most favored nation, and would not look with composure on an attempt from any quarter whatsoever to interfere with the provisions of that treaty, or to acquire any exclusive rights or privileges of occupancy or trade." "To all of which," Mr. Pendleton writes, "Count Bismarck assented very appreciatively." The first suggestion of joint control by the three treaty powers was made by the Secretary of State in the dispatch to Mr. Pendleton, June 1, 1886, proposing the conference which contemplated absolute equality of action and control among the three powers. The proposition of a conference, and prior to it an investigation by the commissioners, was in the line of this purpose alone.

The instructions to the American commissioner, under date of July 22, 1886, after referring to the provisions and assurances of the

three powers, "of their positive abstention from schemes of annexation or sole protection of the islands," proceeded to recognize that "the temporary situation in the islands may prove to be such as to require the joint effort of the treaty powers to preserve order and insure stable government, in which native interests should be under autonomous control." It is asserted that

Each [power] has its treaty with the native Government, and their several rights run side by side, so that any predominance of one would clash with the interests of the others. This is admitted by the treaties themselves. Those of Germany and Great Britain each recognize the prior treaty with the United States, and both, by implication and in terms, bind those powers to respect it. This is especially true of the right to maintain coaling stations on the islands, which was first secured by the United States by their treaty of 1878, a portion of the harbor of Pago-Pago being set apart for the purpose. The British and German treaties followed with similar provisions, the former expressly recognizing the prior right of the United States in the premises by providing that their national stations should not encroach on that portion of the harbor already secured to the United States. We have here the principle of neutralization distinctly enunciated, and this circumstance has had an important influence on all that has since transpired. It is of special importance to the United States, for in no other part of Polynesia is a right of this nature possessed by them.

Under these circumstances and with these instructions I went to Samoa. Leaving San Francisco on the mail steamer July 31, 1886, I reached Tutuila on Sunday, August 15, having spent a night and a day at Honolulu. It was about noon when the island was reported, and very soon it rose out of the sea, lofty and precipitous and clad in a singularly beautiful garb of green, which was an agreeable surprise after having fed the imagination for a week upon the bare and blackened appearance of the Hawaiian group. It was not long before I and my belongings were put over the side of the steamer and transferred to a small German schooner which had taken the place of the German mail cutter. The voyage of sixty miles from the westerly end of Tutuila to Apia occupied the afternoon and night. By daybreak we were sailing around the eastern end of Upolu, and as the dawn progressed the beautifully wooded slopes of the island, rising from the sea by gradual ascent to the height of four or five thousand feet, came out in bold relief. Before 8 o'clock we rounded the point at the entrance to the harbor, and as we slowly approached our anchorage there was ample time to observe the beauty of Apia, nestling under the hills and stretched along the shore in a semicircle from Matautu Point to Mulinu, until recently the traditional seat of Samoan government.

The United States steamer *Mohican* had

been ordered by cable to Auckland to meet me, and it was a disappointment not to find her at Tutuila. I learned later that she had been in Fiji, beyond the reach of the cable; and it was some time after my arrival before I had the satisfaction of seeing her steam into Apia. Meanwhile, in the absence of the consul, I found myself comfortably ensconced at the American consulate, taking my meals for a few days at the International Hotel, kept by an American. Afterwards, in view of its distance, I was fortunate enough to make an arrangement for meals nearer the consulate until the *Mohican* should arrive. The German officials have most excellent quarters, and Mr. Travers, the German special commissioner, was kind enough to invite me to take up my abode there, and the British consul and his wife also threw open their very attractive and comfortable house to me. Both these invitations, however, I was obliged to decline, as the acceptance of either would have given a false impression to the natives, who are easily affected by the most trifling circumstances.

On the morning of my arrival, after breakfasting at the hotel I started out in quest of the American consulate, and stopped to inquire the way at the store of an American merchant, to whom I had brought letters and messages from his friends in the United States. While talking with him, he suddenly turned and beckoned to a fine-looking native who was passing, saying to me at the same time, "Let me introduce you to the Secretary of State." It proved to be Mamea,<sup>1</sup> who came to Washington in 1878, and who was a cosignatory with Mr. Evarts of the treaty between the United States and Samoa. I had already become somewhat accustomed to seeing the natives walking along the street with only a breech-cloth, or lava-lava, except that many of the women wore some loose garment about the shoulders; but it required a readjustment of preconceived ideas to stand as I did, shaking hands with Mamea and observing a Secretary of State barefooted, bareheaded, with a loose doublet around his legs reaching to the knees, and a blouse or jacket, which, I afterwards observed, was rather characteristic of high officials, who usually wear either such a garment or a shirt hanging loose over the lava-lava. I found Mamea affable and intelligent and able to speak English moderately well. He walked with me to the consulate, near which I saw, flying from a flag-staff lashed to the top of a large tree in front of the Government building, the Samoan flag, and waving over it the little American flag which

<sup>1</sup> It turned out that he was really Secretary of the Interior; but it made little difference, as there was then practically an interregnum and the offices were merely nominal.

Consul Greenebaum had raised the May previous. Captain E. L. Hamilton, the American vice-consul, received me very courteously, as did also Mr. Travers, the German commissioner, on whom I called a little later. Captain Hamilton has resided in the islands over thirty years, has accumulated property there, and both personally and officially was a creditable representative of this country. His wife is a Samoan woman of high rank, very attractive in person and manners, whose hospitality is doubtless remembered by all Americans who have visited Apia within the last few years.

Soon after my arrival at Apia, the English commissioner, Mr. (now Sir John B.) Thurston, arrived, and he and Mr. Travers and I became absorbed in the investigation which was the object of our visit. Very soon after my arrival, though I had no official relation to the Government there, I made a call of courtesy upon the king and found him to be a man of fine personal appearance, with an intelligent and benignant countenance, and great dignity of bearing, which the extreme simplicity of his native dress did not lessen. Mr. Thurston also called upon the king, but Mr. Travers did not, giving as his reason the strained relations between the local German officials and Malietoa, which were afterwards made the pretext for a declaration of war by Germany against Malietoa personally. The king shortly afterwards made an appointment with Mr. Thurston and me to return our calls, and we received him together. I afterwards saw him frequently without any reason to change my opinion.

This king presents a figure humble but heroic. Monarchs of prouder name and more extended sway might emulate the singleness of heart with which he devoted himself to his one object in life—the good of his people. It was impossible to converse with him frequently without being deeply impressed by this as his leading characteristic. Conscious of his own limitations, but of extreme rectitude of purpose, he lent a willing ear to those who could unfold the better ways of higher civilization and adapt them to the growing needs of a people strong in native stock and promising in capability of development under stable government and enlightened contact; even his apparent vacillation at times, as he sought annexation or protection from one or other of the great powers, was due to a lofty preference for the welfare of his country at the expense of his own sovereignty. When at last confusion, disappointment, and treachery closed around him, Malietoa gave himself up, in the vain hope that the abnegation of all that made life dear, his personal hope of being the medium of reform and advancement to the Samoans, might spare them the cruelty

of further outrage and suffering. Calm, Christian, and in a certain sense statesmanlike, from his exile home in strange islands of the western Pacific, Malietoa Laupepa, the rightful and recognized king of Samoa, has a call upon our high consideration and active remembrance. Three other chiefs deserve special mention. Mataafa, since chosen king and surnamed Malietoa, was, during my visit, in the party of Tamasese, though the latter was his inferior both in lineage and capacity. Mataafa is a man of great force of character, as he has recently demonstrated to the world. He is, in common with many of his countrymen, a devout Roman Catholic, of which church there is a flourishing branch in Apia under the care of French missionaries. In my report, since published, I referred to Mataafa in connection with a prediction which I ventured to make that the recognition of Tamasese would result in immediate divisions among his followers as to future leadership. Seumana was the governor or head chief of the Tuamasaga district, in which Apia is situated. He seemed to me, taking in the whole range of physical, mental, and moral attributes, a man of as fine nature as can be produced anywhere. The highest civilization has not revealed a more attractive picture of domestic happiness than that of Seumana and his wife, Faatolia, and their baby. In the stirring time prior to Malietoa's deportation Faatolia was, probably with truth, suspected of being a medium of communication between Apia and her friends in the bush. Consequently she was taken to the German barracks and placed under a guard, who are said to have refused to permit her to go out of their sight, even under the most extreme necessity.

Asi was the great war chief on the side of Malietoa. Having a physical frame unsurpassed by any I have ever seen, he was at times as gentle in manner as a woman. He conversed with fluency and force and emphasized his words with the right forefinger extended, which often came down upon a table in front of him with a force which made one tremble to think what would be the power of his uplifted arm with club or ax in battle. Asi's daughter, Faapeia, was the most graceful and beautiful Samoan dancing girl, with a figure which might excite the envy of any woman. She never moved about without a train of attendants, and in this style frequently visited the American ships and danced for the amusement of the officers. At the time of greatest stress she was asked to dance on the German ship, and her father refused to allow it. Her dancing in the United States ship *Adams* immediately after made the German officers very angry, and soon afterwards Asi was deported. The other native chief whom I specially recall

was Selu, the Secretary of State. Slight in stature and frame, he was keenly intellectual and fertile in resources, with courtly bearing and mild, though persuasive, speech; it often seemed to me that a high degree of education would make him capable of winning great social triumphs anywhere.

Tamasese, the leader of the insurgents, I did not see, he being with his forces at a distance from Apia; but there was a general concurrence of opinion, except among those who were engaged actively in supporting him, that he was a man inferior in capacity to the chiefs just mentioned; and although entitled to be treated as a chosen head of the Tupua family, it is hardly likely that he could have maintained himself as a leader except under the tutelage and with the active support of a foreign power.

The climate of Apia is not at all trying. The temperature does not vary the year round two degrees from 80° F., and there is always the trade-wind blowing with such regularity that the residents speak of going to windward or leeward instead of to east or west. The atmosphere is moist, and out of the breeze one perspires freely; but it is always easy to find a breeze by going out of doors. An umbrella is a constant companion, for protection not only from the sun, but also from frequent and sudden showers, which come without any premonition and are often over before shelter can be reached. The natives always run under shelter from these showers, not because they have any clothes to be injured, but because they object to having their hair wet after it has been dressed; and they present a comical appearance walking along naked above the waist, bareheaded, and holding an umbrella over them. The ease with which foreigners become accustomed to seeing the natives in scanty costume makes it doubtful whether the efforts of the missionaries to induce them to wear clothing like foreigners have been entirely judicious. Their natural costume, besides its inexpensiveness, is well suited to the climate. In Tonga, where the natives are compelled by law to wear clothes, they utilize every available fabric from old coffee-bags up; and the result is not conducive to cleanliness, which is a marked characteristic of the Samoans. The latter are greatly favored by having, all around the coast at short distances, beautiful freshwater rivers, which find their way from the mountains of the interior to the sea over pebbly beds; and in these, at all hours of the day, the natives of both sexes disport themselves like ducks, whose equals they are in managing themselves in the water.

It is the presence in Samoa of a relatively large foreign population; with more or less of the greed and selfishness usually characteristic

of the relations of white people to aboriginal races, that has made difficult the problem of government, and that necessitates the well-considered assistance of the great powers whose citizens and subjects have acquired residence and property interests in the islands.

Having immediately after my arrival settled down to work, after a short sojourn on the shore I had the satisfaction early one morning of seeing the *Mohican* steam around the point and into the harbor; and thereafter I found myself in most comfortable quarters on board, where I enjoyed to the fullest extent the unwearied hospitality of Captain Day and the cordial coöperation, with respect to the objects of my mission, of himself and his officers.

With the exception of two weeks' absence on a trip to Tonga, on the *Mohican*, I was unremittingly engaged in the investigations which I was required to make, and in the course of them found all the foreign residents not only willing but eager to impart information and opinions, all of which had to be carefully weighed with due regard to their source. At last I was transferred from the *Mohican* to the San Francisco mail steamer, and reluctantly bade farewell to Samoa. The 17th of October, on which I left the kingdom, was Sunday in east longitude time. This is observed in Samoa, although it is in west longitude, because the early missionaries carried with them New Zealand time. Consequently as I stepped on board the mail steamer I found myself in the middle of Saturday, October 16, and the following day enjoyed the novelty of a second Sunday, October 17. This made me even again, as I left the out-going steamer on Sunday, August 15, and on the following day found myself in Tuesday, August 17. Monday, August 16, 1886, was a day entirely lost to me, and in place of it I had in that year a second edition of Sunday, October 17.

The commissioners had reported to their governments early in 1887, extracts from their reports were exchanged, and in June and July of that year the conference met at Washington, the Secretary of State representing the United States, and the German and British ministers their respective governments. The protocols of the conference, recently sent to Congress, have fully disclosed its internal history. Its failure of immediate practical result was due to the insistence by the American representative upon the principle of equality of control which had theretofore been uniformly admitted in every reference to the subject by representatives of the treaty powers, while the German representative for the first time set up a claim to mandatory control for Germany, in violation of the understanding upon which the negotiations had proceeded. This divergence

of opinion and the surprise occasioned by it were forcibly expressed by the American representative at the time.

It may therefore be regarded as fully recognized and established that the object of the United States in proposing the present conference, and of all three powers in sending commissioners to the Samoan Islands to report on the condition of affairs, was to maintain autonomy and independence of the islands under a native government. Such being the declared object of the conference, I have listened with regret to plans and suggestions that appear to me to depend upon the recognition of an inequality of interest of the three powers in the political, moral, and commercial welfare of the islands, and to look unequivocally to the prompt suppression of the native government.<sup>1</sup>

They embarked upon the conference with a declaration of the absolute equality of the three powers, and that they were acting in an advisory capacity towards the Samoan people, and that they desired to preserve the independence and autonomy of the islands and absolute equality of treatment in respect of commerce, navigation, jurisdiction, etc., and it is further stated that it was intended that there was to be no inequality whatever in respect to the influence to be exerted by the three governments upon this community; that, whether their interest was little or large, the basis of their approach to this question was the equality of the three treaty powers in dealing with the subject of Samoan government. . . . They approached it with equal responsibility and equal right to deal with it. It was understood that they all had agreements in the form of treaties with this people and were disposed to stand by them. This is found in the united representation of the three powers that the existing treaties were to remain.<sup>2</sup>

The conference was adjourned, not concluded, on motion of Mr. Bayard, to permit the consultation of its members with their governments upon the subject of their differences; and in a dispatch, dated August 7, 1887, Prince von Bismarck, after restating the different views expressed in the conference, admitted that the position taken by the German minister could not be maintained except with the cordial concurrence of both of the other treaty powers, and he reiterated in the most unqualified terms the often expressed understanding as to equality of interest and control.

The Imperial Government does not see in the American counter-proposition any redress of the now existing evils; it does not aim, notwithstanding the preponderance of German interests over those of other nations in Samoa, at the exercise of a stronger influence with regard to the affairs of the islands than England and America, unless such influence would, in the common interest of the three nations, be willingly conceded to it, as has been done by Great Britain, and, as we were in hopes, would be done by the United States too. This hope having proved to be erroneous, we consider, as we have done hitherto, the now existing equality of rights of the three

<sup>1</sup> Protocol, sixth day.      <sup>2</sup> Protocol, fifth day.

nations as the acknowledged basis of their relations to Samoa.

The Imperial Government is, of course, far from intending to bring about any change in the political relations which the three powers represented there and connected by friendship entertain to Samoa; on the contrary, we maintain unaltered the existing treaties and stipulations between us and the Government of Great Britain and the United States with regard to that group of islands, as well as the equality of rights of the treaty powers. We shall also in the future continue our endeavors to arrive at an understanding about the necessary reforms in order to establish lasting peace on the Samoan Islands, in the interest of the foreign and native population.

A solemn recognition of the equality of the three treaty powers is found in the Municipal Convention of 1879, which was composed of the three consuls and an additional representative from each nationality; and so carefully were the rights of each power preserved that no business could be transacted at any meeting of the municipal board unless a representative of each power was present. Even after the deposition of Malietoa, and the setting up of a pretended native government by the Germans, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, as reported by a dispatch from Mr. Pendleton, dated October 13, 1887, professed to recognize that equality between the powers which the action of his government's authorized local representatives had done all that was in their power to destroy. Mr. Pendleton quotes Count Bismarck as saying "that the German Government desired to maintain the good *entente* between the powers in regard to Samoa upon the principles so well known to them all." And while at this time the German officials had assumed practical control of the Government of Samoa, the minister suggested "that there seemed to be no reason for haste just now; and that with new light on the *status*, as it should then appear, all the governments would go forward in the same spirit which had actuated them heretofore."

And it would almost seem as if it was with the view of diverting the attention of our Government from the German operations in Samoa that Prince von Bismarck, on November 18, 1887, addressed to the German minister a dispatch to be communicated to the Department of State, commenting on the alleged "Anti-German attitude" of our consul-general and his predecessors. Even in this paper is reiterated the principle of equality, notwithstanding the asserted "mercantile preponderance" of Germany, when it says: "We have always maintained the principle of equality of rights of nations in Samoa, and never aspired to political advantages."

To this dispatch the Secretary of State, in a comprehensive view of the whole subject, on



the 17th of January, 1888, refuted the charges made against our consular officers, and concluded with this emphatic repetition of the American position:

But, for the very reason that the native Government of Samoa is weak, it has seemed all the more clear to the United States that the control of the islands by any strong foreign power, or its representatives, would defeat the great object of securing native independence and autonomy, and the practical neutralization of the group. Under such control a native government would necessarily cease to have more than a nominal existence; the native element in the islands, deprived of voice and influence in the management of their affairs, would quickly succumb to the aggressive and exclusive tendencies of the foreign residents; and, under these circumstances, the islands would inevitably become a colony of the foreign power by which, or by whose representatives, the Government was actually administered.

To this no direct reply appears to have been ever received.

Since the popular interest awakened in the subject in this country and in Congress, Prince Bismarck (January 13) reiterated his assurances of due regard to the treaty rights of America and England with respect to Samoa, and subsequently (February 1) informed our Government that the German consul had been instructed to withdraw his demand for temporary administration of the islands, such "demand not being in conformity to our [German] previous promises regarding the neutrality and independence of Samoa."

It was therefore upon the same basis of neutrality and autonomy for Samoa and equality of rights and influence for the treaty powers, which underlies the entire negotiation, that the renewal of the conference at Berlin was agreed to. The diplomatic assurances from Berlin have been fair from beginning to end. If doubts are entertained as to their fulfillment, they arise from the contrast between previous promises and the progress of events at Apia, as disclosed by the official papers sent to Congress. On August 23, less than a month after the adjournment of the conference, without notice to this Government, war was declared by Germany against Malietoa because of his inability, on twenty-four hours' notice, to pay a large indemnity for alleged thefts of fruit during four years, and for the injury to a German who had his nose broken in a brawl on the Emperor's birthday in March previous. At once, upon the declaration of war, Apia was filled with German sailors, who were ostentatious in their disregard of the most ordinary personal and property rights of Americans and Englishmen. The German flag was raised over the Government house of Samoa. Tamasese was brought

to Apia by a German ship, saluted, landed, and installed as king by the German forces. A so-called government was set up, under control of a clerk of the German trading house as Premier, who early in August had circulated reports anticipating what did occur. Malietoa, having surrendered himself to avoid bloodshed, was deported, and for months the local German officials and naval officers controlled affairs through the nominal government of Tamasese, disregarding the rights of all other foreigners and levying taxes to a point at which the Samoans could no longer pay them and live. The chiefs were summoned, under threats of war, and forced to sign an acknowledgment of Tamasese at a *fono*, held under the guns of the German fleet, at which all discussion was forbidden; and our Government was congratulated upon this result as carrying into effect its suggestion for the election of a king. The office of the Premier was in the German consulate, and thence all Tamasese's orders were issued. Finally the municipal government was broken up.

This condition of affairs grew worse and worse until it was ended by the revolt of the Samoans under Mataafa, the conquest of Tamasese's forces by him, and the awakening of interest in the United States, when the whole subject was brought by the President to the attention of Congress.

For the first time the German Government seemed to understand that there was a limit to the violation by local officials of its promises to us beyond which our Government would not remain quiescent, and a renewal of the conference was proposed with new assurances of good intentions for the future.

Such was the situation when the approaching end of the term of President Cleveland naturally suggested a pause until the new Administration could take up the question.

The position to which we should adhere has been laid down both in the long correspondence and in the attitude of Mr. Bayard in the conference of 1887. The justice of that position has been admitted by Germany and England. Recent events indicate that Prince Bismarck for the first time appreciates that the United States will submit to no less. He understands, as every one does, that Germany cannot go to war about Samoa, and that in such a war she would have an indefensible position upon the facts. Hence it is much to be desired that these two great nations, which ought to be not only at peace, but friendly, will now make a settlement of the vexed question which will conserve all the treaty rights of the United States and at the same time contain the fulfillment of our implied promises to Samoa.