

of all the trouble in Samoa, and because those who knew better about Samoa than you did, and were in a position to advise you, you not only took offence but deported them without trial and afterwards bore false witness against them at Geneva behind closed doors.¹⁸

But Westbrook was much more inclined to preach to the converted. It was largely through his efforts that the New Zealand Samoa Defence League, the *New Zealand Samoa Guardian*, along with Nelson, Gurr and others were kept informed of developments in Samoa. He also did good service to anyone else whom he thought might help the dissident cause in Samoa. Thus, Newton Rowe was given every assistance in the writing of a book on Samoa¹⁹ and the support of Harry Holland, the Labour Party leader, was energetically cultivated. It was information from Westbrook and Nelson that enabled Holland to elevate 'the disturbed situation in Samoa' to national importance on several occasions and also to write his pamphlet, *The Revolt of the Samoans*.²⁰

For about eight years Westbrook kept in touch with Holland. Their exchanges were notably cordial and this hides the fact that the area of agreement between the two was extremely limited. But Holland, the militant socialist, was not prepared to accept many of the assertions of Westbrook, the small capitalist. Neither was he interested in Westbrook's personal and financial problems. All he wanted was someone in Samoa to keep him informed of 'intolerable administrative acts' and 'outrageous injustices'. It is therefore wrong to say that '... although Holland used some of Westbrook's information, he did not use it uncritically or without discrimination'.²¹ Rather, he accepted without a moment's notice the information from Westbrook's long letters acceptable to his doctrinaire socialist thinking and ignored details to the contrary. Indeed, Westbrook's naivety is staggering. In all innocence, he assumed that Holland supported capitalist trading in Samoa and expected him to speak out against Richardson's efforts to nationalise the copra market. Holland did precisely the opposite.²² And being unaware of another socialist principle, he thought Holland would go along with his assertions that traders in Samoa did not exploit the Samoans. Again Holland failed to oblige.²³ Thus to say that Westbrook attempted to use Holland for his own ends²⁴ is only part of the story. Each approached the other with a different purpose in mind but both attempted to use the other. Holland, being the more experienced politician, got the better of the bargain. He asked Westbrook for specific information, which he got along with numerous grievances that he ignored.

If Holland was less than scrupulous in his dealings with Westbrook it is only because he had no other choice. His humanitarian commitment towards 'non-self governing peoples' impelled him to do something for