

SESS. II.—1884.
NEW ZEALAND.

CONFEDERATION AND ANNEXATION.

LORD DERBY'S DESPATCH RESPECTING
A FEDERAL COUNCIL AND NEW GUINEA PROTECTORATE,
AND CORRESPONDENCE RELATING THERETO.

Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Command of His Excellency.

No. 1.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES to the GOVERNOR of NEW ZEALAND.
(New Zealand.—No. 26.)

SIR,—

Downing Street, 9th May, 1884.

Her Majesty's Government have not lost sight of the resolutions adopted by the Convention of representatives of the Australasian Colonies at Sydney in December last, and have considered the provisions of the draft Bill for constituting a Federal Council, which the representatives pledged themselves to submit to the Legislatures of their respective colonies. I had been led to believe that addresses in favour of this Bill would be adopted by the Colonial Legislatures in time to enable Her Majesty's Government to introduce the measure during the present session of Parliament with a good prospect of its being passed; but the necessary action does not appear to have been yet taken in any colony. As, therefore, the probability of legislation during this year is diminishing, it appears desirable to consider the position of Her Majesty's Government and of the Colonial Governments in regard to the proposals of the Convention.

2. I had explained in my despatch of the 11th July, 1883, to the Administrator of the Government of Queensland, which was before the Convention, that, in order to place Her Majesty's Government in a position to consider proposals for the protection or government of New Guinea or other places in the Western Pacific Ocean, it was desirable for the Australasian Colonies to combine together effectively, and provide the cost of carrying out any policy which it might be decided to adopt; and that, in the meantime, Her Majesty's Government must continue to decline proposals for large annexations of territory adjacent to Australia; adding, that if a reasonable annual sum were provided by the colonies, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to strengthen the naval force on the Australian Station, and make the High Commissionership more effective.

3. The Convention does not appear to have taken this part of my despatch into consideration, but it agreed that the Governments represented at it should recommend their respective Legislatures to make permanent provisions, in proportion to population, for the cost of the policy advocated, namely:—

- (1.) To check, in whatever manner might be deemed wisest and most effectual, the further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific, south of the equator, by any Foreign Power;
- (2.) To secure the incorporation with the British Empire of so much of New Guinea and the small islands adjacent thereto as is not claimed by the Government of the Netherlands; and
- (3.) To acquire, if possible, the control of the New Hebrides, in the interests of Australasia.

The Legislature of Queensland has recorded its entire concurrence in these resolutions; but no colony has taken measures to provide the requisite funds, as suggested by the Convention.

4. As, therefore, in the absence of any joint action by the colonies, Her Majesty's Government are not in a position to deal with those questions of policy to which I have referred, and some further delay seems unavoidable, it may be desirable that your Government should consider, with the Governments of the other Australasian Colonies, whether there may not be advantage in making provision for the intervening period in the manner suggested by me in paragraph 7 of my despatch of July 11th last to Sir A. H. Palmer. As I then stated, Her Majesty's Government

are confident that no Foreign Power contemplates interference with New Guinea; but, in the absence of any controlling authority, it is always possible that the subjects of a Foreign Power might require the protection or intervention of their Government, and British subjects also, by coming into collision with the Natives, or, by setting up claims to land, might cause complications which would give much trouble hereafter.

5. Her Majesty's Government are disposed to think that there should be a High Commissioner, or at least a Deputy Commissioner with large powers of independent action, stationed on or near the eastern coasts of New Guinea, and that he should be furnished with a steamship, independent of Her Majesty's Naval Squadron, and with a staff sufficient to enable him to exercise protection, in the name of the Queen, over those shores. The cost of this arrangement cannot be accurately estimated, as I have previously stated; but if one or more colonies will secure to Her Majesty's Government the payment of a sum of, say, £15,000 during the year ending 1st June, 1885, they will be prepared to take immediate steps for establishing the High Commissioner's jurisdiction, and will render to the contributing Governments an account of the expenditure incurred. It would be possible, after some months, to determine whether this arrangement should be further continued, and to consider fully with the Colonial Governments (or with the Federal Council, if established) what arrangements should be made for the future supervision of the labour trade, if it should be decided that it can continue to be allowed. Her Majesty's Government have come to no conclusions as to the recommendations of the Western Pacific Committee, in regard to which the colonies should first be consulted; but I think it doubtful whether it will be found practicable to place the regulation of the labour traffic under Imperial control.

6. I may state, in conclusion, that the annual expenditure of this country in the maintenance of the squadron on the Australian Station, including schooners and surveying vessels, is estimated as amounting at present to about £157,000.

I need hardly add that it is desirable that I should learn, as soon as possible, the result of the careful consideration which I trust that this despatch will receive from your Government, in conjunction with the Governments of the other Australasian Colonies.

Sir W. F. D. Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B.

I have, &c.

DERBY.

No. 2.

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

HAVE received through Governor a despatch from Secretary of State, dated 9th May, respecting the proceedings of the Sydney Convention. It is not marked "Circular," but I presume an identical one has been addressed to you. Shall be glad to know, and, if so, what your views with reference to it are. Lord Derby suggests, as an *ad interim* arrangement that a Commissioner be stationed at or near New Guinea, colonies contributing £15,000 for year ending 1st June, 1885.

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

Melbourne, June 18.

No. 3.

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

DESPATCH 9th May. Greatly regret decision here impossible until after meeting new Parliament.

ATKINSON.

Wellington, July 1.

No. 4.

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

I EXPECTED that would be your difficulty. All the other colonies have now agreed to contribute, and Queensland and Victoria have given their guarantee for any balance deficient.

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

Melbourne, July 2.

No. 5.

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

SIR,—

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 22nd July, 1884.

On receiving Lord Derby's despatch dated the 9th of May, suggesting temporary measures for furthering the views of the Sydney Convention, and suggesting also a joint consideration of the matter by the Australasian Governments, I considered it advisable, as Chairman of the Standing Committee appointed to watch over all matters relating to the subjects discussed at the Convention, to take steps to elicit the views of the various Australasian Governments on the proposals of the despatch.

Accordingly, I sent you my circular telegram of the 18th of June, the net result of which is that I have ascertained that, excepting New Zealand, which is at present passing through a political crisis, all the Australasian Governments have expressed their readiness to take the necessary steps for guaranteeing the subsidy of £15,000 proposed by the Secretary of State.

The Honourable the Premier of Queensland has had a Bill drafted for the purpose of giving legal effect to the intentions thus expressed. This Bill I have now the honour to submit for your consideration. I dare say it will be obvious to you that it is desirable to pass in the several colonies Acts as nearly identical as conveniently may be; and I shall be glad, therefore, to learn whether you see your way to adopt the Bill now submitted.

I would explain that, though the proposed subsidy is asked for more particularly in connection with New Guinea, it has been thought well, in drafting the Bill, to give expression to the entire policy of the Convention in its relation to the other islands, as well as New Guinea; and, therefore, in the preamble, the Convention's resolutions respecting all the islands have been recited, and the appropriation clause is made of similarly wide application.

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

JAMES SERVICE, Chairman.

Enclosure.

A BILL to make Provision for the Payment by the Colony of of a Proportionate Share of the Expenses incurred by Her Majesty's Government in giving effect to certain Resolutions arrived at by the Convention of Australasian Delegates which met in Sydney in November and December, 1883.

WHEREAS at a Convention of representatives of the Governments of the several Australasian colonies, lately held at Sydney, in the Colony of New South Wales, it was, amongst other things, resolved,—

- (1.) That further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific, south of the Equator, by any Foreign Power, would be highly detrimental to the safety and well-being of the British possessions in Australasia, and injurious to the interests of the Empire;
- (2.) That, having regard to the geographical position of the Island of New Guinea, the rapid extension of British trade and enterprise in Torres Straits, the certainty that the island will shortly be the resort of many adventurous subjects of Great Britain and other nations, and the absence or inadequacy of any existing laws for regulating their relations with the native tribes, this Convention, while fully recognizing that the responsibility of extending the boundaries of the Empire belongs to the Imperial Government, is emphatically of opinion that such steps should be immediately taken as will most conveniently and effectively secure the incorporation with the British Empire of so much of New Guinea and the small islands adjacent thereto as is not claimed by the Government of the Netherlands;
- (3.) That although the understanding arrived at in 1878 between Great Britain and France recognizing the independence of the New Hebrides appears to preclude this Convention from making any recommendation inconsistent with that understanding, the Convention urges upon Her Majesty's Government that it is extremely desirable that such understanding should give place to some more definite engagement which shall secure those islands from falling under any foreign dominion; at the same time, the Convention trusts that Her Majesty's Government will avail itself of any opportunity that may arise for negotiating with the Government of France with the object of obtaining the control of those islands in the interests of Australasia; and
- (4.) That the Governments represented at this Convention undertake to submit and recommend to their respective Legislatures measures of permanent appropriation for defraying, in proportion to population, such share of the cost incurred in giving effect to the foregoing resolutions as Her Majesty's Government, having regard to the relative importance of Imperial and Australasian interests, may deem fair and reasonable:

And whereas we, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the members of the Legislative Assembly of , are desirous of making permanent provision for defraying, out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of , a proportionate part of the cost to be incurred by your Majesty in giving effect to the foregoing resolutions, or any of them:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of , in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. There shall be issued and paid to Her Majesty, out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, in each and every year during the continuance of this Act, for and towards the expenses incurred in respect of the maintenance of a naval force in the waters of New Guinea, and the exercise of protection in Her Majesty's name over the eastern shores of that island, or over any other island or islands in the Pacific Ocean over which Her Majesty may be pleased to exercise protection, a sum bearing the same proportion to the sum of fifteen thousand pounds as the population of the Colony of bears to the total population of the Australasian Colonies which for the time being contribute towards such expenses.

In case of any difference arising as to the amount of such contribution, the same shall be referred to and decided by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

2. The Colonial Treasurer shall issue and pay the amount of such contribution to such person and in such manner as the Governor, by any warrant or order under his hand, shall direct.

3. The Colonial Treasurer shall, in his accounts, from time to time be allowed credit for any sum or sums of money paid by him in pursuance of any such warrant or order; and the receipt or receipts of the person to whom the same shall be so paid shall be a full and valid discharge to him in passing his accounts for any such sum or sums as shall be therein mentioned, and he shall receive credit for the same accordingly.

4. This Act may be cited as "The New Guinea Jurisdiction Contribution Act of 1884."

No. 6.

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

SIR,—

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 2nd August, 1884.

Referring to my circular of the 22nd ultimo, I have the honour to inform you that the Bill therewith submitted has been passed by the Queensland Legislative Assembly.

A few verbal alterations were made, which you will probably agree with me are improvements; and, as it seems advisable to observe uniformity as much as possible in matters which are common to the colonies, I think it worth while to submit the alterations to your notice.

I have, &c.

JAMES SERVICE,

Premier.

The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

Enclosure.

[The alterations made in the Bill, which is printed as an Enclosure to No. 5, are the following:—

The title to read, "A Bill to make Provision for the Payment by the Colony of of a Proportionate Share of the Expenses to be incurred by Her Majesty's Government in giving effect to certain Resolutions adopted by the Convention of Representatives of the Governments of the several Australasian Colonies held in Sydney in November and December, 1883."

The Short Title to read, "The New Guinea and Pacific Jurisdiction Contribution Act of 1884."

Clause 1, paragraph 1, to read, "There shall be issued and paid to Her Majesty, out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund, in each and every year during the continuance of this Act, for and towards the expenses incurred in respect of the maintenance of a naval force in the waters of New Guinea, and the exercise of protection in Her Majesty's name over the eastern shores of that island, and over any other island or islands in the Western Pacific Ocean over which Her Majesty may be pleased to exercise protection, a sum bearing the same proportion to the sum of fifteen thousand pounds as the population of the Colony of bears to the total population of the Australasian Colonies which for the time being contribute towards such expenses."]

No. 7.

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

I INVITE your attention to the still unsettled and unsatisfactory condition of the Islands question. We have gained something as regards Guinea; but even that is imperfect, leaving out, as I understand, north-west portion. As regards other Islands, the policy of delay adopted by Lord Derby, simply increases the difficulties. Twelve months ago, the Islands might have been ours, without difficulty. Now, at any moment, another Power may appear upon the scene. All considerations induce me to submit, at the present juncture, that we make unitedly one more effort to prevail upon England to make a complete work, by establishing Protectorate over unappropriated Islands, respecting, of course, international obligations. If you concur in this, the course I should suggest is, that colonies having an Agent-General should instruct, by telegram, their Agents to consult, and make one more united effort with Lord Derby, or even the Premier. Colonies not having an Agent, but concurring, to authorize one of the other colonies to speak for them in this matter. To leave the matter where it is, would be an impotent conclusion to our efforts; but, more than that, we should be letting slip an opportunity that may never recur.

JAMES SERVICE,

Chairman of Convention Committee.

Melbourne, September 17.

No. 8.

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

PACIFIC Islands. Quite concur. Will instruct Agent-General as you suggest. Telegraph me terms your cablegram to Agent-General, and we will send one in accordance. Will reply next week respecting New Guinea and High Commissionership.

ROBERT STOUT.

Wellington, Sept. 18.

No. 9.

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

PACIFIC Islands. Form of telegram to our Agent-General will be simply instructing him to consult and zealously co-operate with Agents-General of other colonies, in making one more effort with Lord Derby, or even Mr. Gladstone, if necessary, to establish as speedily as possible a Protectorate over these Islands and New Guinea.

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

Melbourne, Sept. 23,

No. 10.

The PREMIER to the AGENT-GENERAL for NEW ZEALAND.

PACIFIC Islands. Co-operate zealously with Agents-General, induce Imperial Government establish speedily Protectorate Islands generally, and New Guinea. Victoria desires representation be made direct to Ministers. We concur.

STOUT.
Wellington, Sept. 25.

No. 11.

The AGENT-GENERAL to the PREMIER, New Zealand.

YOURS yesterday. Position requires extreme care, because Sydney Agent-General been instructed not to press Colonial Office. Advise your urging Sydney allow concerted action here.

BELL.
London, Sept. 26.

No. 12.

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

PLEASE cable how £15,000 contribution, High Commissioner, stands. Do you still want our assent? Have other colonies assented?

ROBERT STOUT.
Wellington, Sept. 26.

No. 13.

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

ALL other colonies have agreed to contribute. I wrote you letters three days ago, explaining the whole position, which please see.

JAMES SERVICE.
St. Kilda, Sept. 26.

No. 14.

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

SIR,—

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 17th September, 1884.

On the 22nd July I addressed a circular to the other Australasian Governments respecting the proposal made by Lord Derby in his despatch of the 9th May last, that these colonies should guarantee a subsidy of £15,000 towards the expenses of the Imperial Government with regard to a protectorate of a part of New Guinea.

2. I addressed this circular *pro forma* to the then Premier of New Zealand, but the Hon. Major Atkinson had previously informed me that political circumstances prevented his dealing with the matter. As the subject thus falls to be decided upon by your Cabinet, I beg to ask that you will favour me with your views regarding it.

3. I transmit herewith, for your information, a printed copy of correspondence relating to this matter, from which you will perceive that, on the 30th June last, having received the assent of a majority of the colonies to the proposal of Lord Derby, the Government of Victoria, in conjunction with that of Queensland, undertook, on behalf of those colonies which had not pronounced on the matter, to guarantee the whole of the proposed subsidy of £15,000.

4. As the political circumstances of your colony no longer preclude a decision, and as the whole of the other Australasian Colonies have agreed to contribute, I beg to inquire whether your Government will now be pleased to express its concurrence, and so relieve Queensland and Victoria of the slight responsibility temporarily assumed by them.

I have, &c.

The Hon. Robert Stout, M.H.R.,
Premier of New Zealand, Wellington.

JAMES SERVICE,
Premier.

No. 15.

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

SIR,—

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 19th September, 1884.

While congratulating you upon the accession of your Ministry to office, I take the opportunity of inquiring whether your Cabinet has yet taken into consideration the important matter of Australasian Federation, as formulated by the Convention which met in Sydney in November and December last.

2. With the proceedings of the Convention you will, doubtless, be already acquainted, and you will probably also be aware that, since then, the conclusions arrived at by the Convention have been indorsed by the Legislatures of—

Queensland—unanimously.

Tasmania—unanimously.

Western Australia—unanimously.

South Australia—with only seven dissentients.

Victoria—with only five dissentients.

There is the slight exception that Western Australia refrained from adopting the two resolutions deprecating further acquisition of dominion in the Western Pacific, south of the equator, by any Foreign Power, probably because, in a Crown colony, the Government deemed it inadvisable to pronounce on a point affecting foreign relations.

3. I believe Fiji may be added to the preceding list of colonies indorsing the Convention's programme. The Governor of Fiji heartily coincides, and the resolutions are morally certain to be adopted by the Legislative Council there, if they have not been already.

4. Practically, it may be set down that six Australasian Colonies, out of the eight represented at the Convention, have given their adhesion to the Convention's policy. In the other two—your own colony and New South Wales—the matter has not yet been placed before the Legislature, and I earnestly hope that, with so large a measure of unanimity already attained, your Government may see its way to join in the general agreement. I am glad to say that the matter has been very generally recognized as fairly outside the sphere of party politics—as being, indeed, of such a national character that Governments and Oppositions have combined to further it.

5. I transmit herewith a copy of the resolutions submitted to and passed by the Queensland Parliament. This colony adopted the Queensland resolutions for the sake of uniformity, and I believe the same course was taken in the other colonies.

6. Foremost among the matters dealt with by the Convention stands that of Federation. The scheme of the Convention was that the Imperial Parliament should pass an enabling Act on the basis of the sketch Bill approved by the Convention, which provided that, on four of the colonies approving, by Act of the local Parliaments, of this Imperial Act, the Federal Council should be constituted. Thus, each colony is left entirely free to join or to refrain from joining.

7. So many of the colonies having already expressed concurrence with this scheme, it is presumed that the requisite enabling Act will be granted by the Imperial Parliament. I am, however, extremely desirous that these colonies should be all united in this first step towards the establishment of an Australasian Dominion; and I hope to learn that, under the guidance of your Cabinet, the important Colony of New Zealand will take its place with those whose union in this matter will constitute the foundation of Australasian Federation.

I have, &c.

JAMES SERVICE,

Chairman of Convention's Committee.

The Hon. Robert Stout, M.H.R.,
Premier of New Zealand, Wellington.

Enclosures.

EXTRACT from "VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF QUEENSLAND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,"
26th February, 1884.

MR. GRIFFITH moved, pursuant to notice,—

1. That this House, having had under consideration the following resolutions adopted at the Intercolonial Convention held in Sydney in November and December, 1883, namely,—

- (1.) That further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific, south of the equator, by any Foreign Power, would be highly detrimental to the safety and well-being of the British possessions in Australasia, and injurious to the interests of the Empire;
- (2.) That this Convention refrains from suggesting the action by which effect can best be given to the foregoing resolution, in the confident belief that the Imperial Government will promptly adopt the wisest and most effectual measures for securing the safety and contentment of this portion of Her Majesty's dominions;
- (3.) That, having regard to the geographical position of the Island of New Guinea, the rapid extension of British trade and enterprise in Torres Straits, the certainty that the island will shortly be the resort of many adventurous subjects of Great Britain and other nations, and the absence or inadequacy of any existing laws for regulating their relations with the native tribes, this Convention, while fully recognizing that the responsibility of extending the boundaries of the Empire belongs to the Imperial Government, is emphatically of opinion that such steps should be immediately taken as will most conveniently and effectively secure the incorporation with the British Empire of so much of New Guinea, and the small islands adjacent thereto, as is not claimed by the Government of the Netherlands;
- (4.) That, although the understanding arrived at in 1878 between Great Britain and France, recognizing the independence of the New Hebrides, appears to preclude this Convention from making any recommendation inconsistent with that understanding, the Convention urges upon Her Majesty's Government that it is extremely desirable that such understanding should give place to some more definite engagement, which shall secure those islands from falling under any foreign dominion; at the same time the Convention trusts that Her Majesty's Government will avail itself of any opportunity that may arise for negotiating with the Government of France, with the object of obtaining the control of those islands in the interests of Australasia;
- (5.) That the Governments represented at this Convention undertake to submit and recommend to their respective Legislatures measures of permanent appropriation for defraying, in proportion to population, such share of the cost incurred in giving effect to the foregoing resolutions as Her Majesty's Government, having regard to the relative importance of Imperial and Australasian interests, may deem fair and reasonable;
- (6.) That the Convention protests in the strongest manner against the declared intention of the Government of France to transport large numbers of relapsed criminals to the French possessions in the Pacific, and urges Her Majesty's Government to use every means in its power to prevent the adoption of a course so disastrous to the interests of Australasia and the Pacific Islands;

(7.) That the Convention expresses a confident hope that no penal settlement for the reception of European criminals will long continue to exist in the Pacific, and invites Her Majesty's Government to make to the Government of France such serious representations on this subject as may be deemed expedient;

records its entire approval of the said resolutions.

2. That an address be presented to His Excellency the Governor informing him of the foregoing resolution.

Debate ensued.

Question put and passed.

MOTION CARRIED in QUEENSLAND PARLIAMENT on 22nd July, 1884.

"That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of constituting a Federal Council of Australasia, upon the basis of the draft Bill adopted by the Convention held in Sydney in the months of November and December, 1883."

No. 16.

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

AFTER considering telegram from New Zealand Agent-General, copy subjoined, cable whether you think we can be of use in inducing Sydney take concerted action. Also, whether Sydney's defection will not prevent concerted action being of use. This Government desires act with other Governments unitedly.

ROBERT STOUT.

Wellington, Sept. 29.

No. 17.

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

THE attitude of New South Wales greatly to be regretted; and I thank you much for offering to assist in inducing Stuart to co-operate. Kindly do so in the way you think best, and inform of result. All the other colonies are heartily united, and should persevere, even if we cannot have the assistance of Sydney.

JAS. SERVICE, Premier.

Melbourne, Sept. 29.

No. 18. -

The PREMIER, New Zealand, to the PREMIER, New South Wales.

WISH you could see your way to instructing your Agent-General co-operate with others in pressing Lord Derby *re* Protectorate Guinea and other islands. We have agreed to join, but are very reluctant to appear in disunion with New South Wales. Hope you will excuse my urging you, in memory of long amity with this colony, to join in the representation. Delay is dangerous. Several countries undoubtedly, disposed place difficulties in way, and these will increase the longer decision delayed.

ROBERT STOUT.

Wellington, Sept. 30.

No. 19.

The PREMIER, New South Wales, to the PREMIER, New Zealand.

THIS Government's desire is, to carry out Convention's resolutions, which were, Annexation or Protectorate of New Guinea, and leaving Imperial Government entirely free to take its own course with regard to the other islands, with only the expression of our opinion, that their Annexation by Foreign Powers would be inimical to welfare of these colonies.

ALEX. STUART.

Sydney, October 3.

No. 20.

The AGENT-GENERAL to the PREMIER, New Zealand.

PACIFIC Islands. Necessary know following, before concerted action possible. Firstly, Whether co-operate Victorian Agent-General, Federation; secondly, Whether you contribute share of £15,000. Obviously, cannot press Colonial Office take action, without sharing.

BELL.

London, Sept. 29.

No. 21.

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

URGENT. Newspaper telegram, this morning, says that Bell has declined to co-operate with other Agents-General, unless Samuel, for New South Wales, also joins. I presume there is some error here, and shall be glad to be in a position to contradict. Kindly reply promptly. Tasmania has now joined in the movement, and asks our Agent-General to act for her. The Australian concert is thus complete, only excepting New South Wales.

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

Melbourne, Oct. 2.

No. 22.

The PREMIER, New Zealand, to the AGENT-GENERAL.

GUINEA, Pacific Islands. Instruct you immediate co-operate heartily, vigorously, Agent-General, Victoria. May state, supposing necessary, Federal Council Bill remains undecided: £15,000, will recommend Parliament New Zealand pay proportion.

STOUT.

Wellington, Oct. 3.

No. 23.

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

AGENT-GENERAL positively instructed immediately co-operate vigorously, heartily, with your Agent-General.

ROBERT STOUT.

Wellington, Oct. 3.

No. 24.

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

HEARTY thanks for your cordial co-operation. It is a thousand pities Sydney is not with us, the future is so wrapt up in the present. Have you communicated with Stuart. If Sydney won't act, the more reason for the other colonies closing their ranks firmly.

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

Melbourne, Oct. 3.

No. 25.

The AGENT-GENERAL to the PREMIER, New Zealand.

PACIFIC Islands. Am utterly unable imagine cause for message such peremptory terms. Victorian Agent-General and myself have throughout acted perfect concert, and had already devised course, supposing Sydney still refused join.

BELL.

London, Oct. 3.

No. 26.

The PREMIER, New Zealand, to the AGENT-GENERAL.

PLEASED acting with Victorian Agent-General. Induced send positive telegram, through Premier, Victoria, representing Melbourne newspapers stated declined act without Samuel.

STOUT.

Wellington, Oct. 4.

No. 27.

The AGENT-GENERAL to the PREMIER, New Zealand.

THANKS. All right.

BELL.

London, Oct. 4.

No. 28.

The AGENT-GENERAL for NEW ZEALAND to the PREMIER.

SIR,—

7, Westminster Chambers, London, S.W., 27th June, 1884.

I have already mentioned, in a letter to the Postmaster-General, the proposal of Prince von Bismarck for the establishment of a line of German steamers to the Australias. That proposal has just led to animated debates in the German Parliament, condensed notices of which I have extracted from the *Times*, and now transmit to you herewith.

In the course of yesterday, the Agents-General of Victoria, New South Wales, and New Zealand became aware that what took place in these debates had engaged the serious attention of the Colonial Office, and that Lord Derby was disposed, in consequence, to take more decided action in declaring a Protectorate over New Guinea and the adjacent islands, if he could learn for certain what answer the Colonies would give to his circular despatch of 9th May. The informal communications which took place yesterday were renewed to-day, and we have endeavoured to obtain Lord Derby's assent to a message being sent by us to our respective Governments, containing a distinct assurance that, provided the contribution of £15,000 mentioned in that despatch is guaranteed, he will at once declare Her Majesty's protection to be extended over New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, and the Solomon and Santa Cruz Groups. I am not without hope that this may be done, but hardly think it will be settled in time to make any report to you of it by this mail,

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

F. D. BELL.

Enclosures.

[*The Times*, Tuesday, June 24.]

GERMAN COLONIAL POLICY.

Berlin, June 23.

At this evening's private sitting of the Budget Committee, to which was referred the Bill for subsidizing, by an annual grant of 4,000,000 marks, a double line of steamers to Australia and China, the Government was interpellated as to its colonial policy, with especial reference to Angra Pequena; and Prince Bismarck, who was present, vouchsafed to reply.

The substance of his speech (which reaches me at a late hour—11 o'clock—before the sitting is at an end) was simply this: that the Imperial Government does not aim at pursuing a colonial policy in the sense that England or France does, but merely desires, and is determined, to afford Germans, wherever settled, the protection of the Empire. And in this connection he took occasion to inform the Committee that he had yesterday received a telegram from London to the effect that the English Government had no objection to Germany affording the necessary protection to Herr Lüderitz and his settlement at Angra Pequena without prejudice to the question of suzerainty over the district.

Later.

In spite of Prince Bismarck's energetic speech in the Committee, there is little chance that the Transoceanic Steamer Bill will be accepted. The Prince left the sitting about 11, but the debate was warmly continued. Extraordinary interest was manifested in the result by outsiders.

The Chancellor repeatedly said that Germany did not desire to found a colonial empire like England and France, but was merely determined to protect German settlers wherever they were, including those at Angra Pequena.

In view of the published despatch of Prince Bismarck to the German Consul at the Cape, in which he declared that Herr Lüderitz had already been assured the protection of the Empire, the *ex post facto* assent of Lord Granville to this *fait accompli* is sure to excite sneering and unfavourable comment in the German Press.

[The Times, Wednesday, June 25.]

GERMAN COLONIAL POLICY.

Berlin, June 24.

THE main topic of interest here to-day is naturally the speech delivered yesterday evening by Prince Bismarck in the private sitting of the Budget Committee, to which had been referred the Bill for subsidizing a double line of steamers to Australia and the East. Some idea of the importance attached to the subject by the Chancellor himself may be formed from the fact that it is thirteen years since he deemed it necessary to attend the sitting of any Committee whatever, the last occasion on which he did so having been in 1871, when the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine was under consideration. Yesterday again, to a certain extent strange to say, it was a question of what may almost be called territorial aggrandizement for the Empire, which induced him to do such an exceptional thing as to attend a Committee meeting and stay there till well on to 11 o'clock at night.

But the incident is further remarkable for the fact that this is the first time for several years that the Chancellor has delivered himself on any point of foreign policy. Secrecy and reticence are the principles of his action as Foreign Minister, as they have also, in a great measure, been the secrets of his success. He abhors blue-books, which form no part of the regular machinery of Government in Germany, and it is long since any deputy ventured to interpellate him on the subject of the Empire's international relations, with the slightest hope of getting the desired answer. It is therefore all the more remarkable that he should have condescended yesterday to speak so frankly on the subject of his colonial policy, which has lately been the cause of so much conjecture and controversy in the German Press. A large portion of the Press of the young Empire has for some time back been crying out for a colony of some kind, as a child weeps for want of a toy; and now that a toy colony has been given it, in the shape of Angra Pequena, we may expect to have fewer manifestations here of ill humour towards England, who was supposed to look with a jealous eye on the gratification of the young Empire's ambition.

The Bill for subsidizing, by an annual grant of four millions of marks, a double line of steamers to the East, had been received with decided coldness in the Reichstag itself, and referred for further consideration to the Budget Committee, which it was confidently expected would acquit itself of its duty by shelving the measure. For these Committees are composed of representative members of the various factions, and, as a general rule, their decision is espoused by their partisans in the full House. Knowing, therefore, that the Opposition element rather preponderated in the Committee sitting on his Steamers Subsidy Bill, Prince Bismarck would seem to have resolved to make another strong personal effort on its behalf.

The sitting was private, and the various reports of the Chancellor's speech have oozed out through those who heard it; but its general sense seems to have been as follows:—

The colonial question was intimately related with the Subsidy Bill, and the fate of the measure would certainly influence the attitude of the Government in the former respect; but all he wanted was a definite vote of the Reichstag on the subject, and then he would know where he stood. The forwarding of letters, &c., by the proposed lines of steamers was not the only end he had in view. He had other irons in the fire, and he did not wish to let them grow cool.

In the matter of colonial policy, he had previously felt the pulse of the nation with the Samoa Subsidy Bill, but that had been rejected, and, unfortunately, all such questions were regarded exclusively from the party and not the national point of view. The Packet Steamers Bill was a new feeler in the same direction, and its treatment by the Reichstag would be decisive for him. A colonial policy was only possible when they were all united. The Bill certainly implied a vote of confidence in him, but it did no more than the St. Gothard subsidy, which was cheerfully granted in 1870.

As for the colonial question itself, he did not desire to proceed on the English or French model, and say, "Here will I found a colony, and leave the rest to bureaucrats." The comparatively insignificant naval power of the Empire deterred him from pursuing such a system. But it was otherwise with such Germans as had found their clothes at home too small for them, and who, moved by their own free will and independence, had settled abroad. To these the protection of the Empire must be extended, if they were insufficiently protected by other Powers, or not at all. And, in this connection, he was glad to say that he had, on Sunday, received a telegram from the English

Government, assenting to the placing of Herr Lüderitz and his possessions at Angra Pequena under the *ægis* of the Empire, and wishing him joy of the enterprise. It was somewhat surprising, however, that he had had to wait since December for an answer from the English Government to his inquiry as to its views on the subject of Angra Pequena. But England evidently attached a high value to the friendship of Germany. The power of the German Empire was not to be underrated; and could be put forth, moreover, without its possessing a formidable fleet. France, for example, stood before the gates of Metz, and if any subjects of the Empire were to suffer at her hands in distant lands a reaction would not fail to take effect in the region of Metz. In this way the Empire would always be able to give protection to any colonists that it might come to possess; and Germans throughout the world must be taught to take pride in the *Civis Romanus sum* feeling.

As for the Congo question, that was a very complicated matter, since he could not well recognize the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty. But the Government was prepared to support Belgian enterprise, which aimed at the erection of a free State on the Congo, that would take account of Germany's commercial interests; and negotiations on this head were pending. The Empire demanded to be treated there on the same footing as other nations.

The Chancellor disclaimed any intention of making a demonstration against England by the debate; and all he wanted was a parliamentary division on the Subsidy Bill, in order to see who would really have the courage to vote against it. Should it be rejected, he would certainly feel discouraged in the matter of that colonial policy, of the moderate and non-adventurous kind that he had referred to, which had been advocated with such apparent enthusiasm by the nation at large.

The Chancellor's arguments were warmly opposed by Herren Rickert, Bamberger, and Richter, who contended that there was no necessary connection between the Subsidy Bill and the question of colonization, and argued that the former must be considered from the purely financial point of view. But with an Imperial deficit of twenty-two millions, it would be a wanton waste of money to lay out an annual sum of four millions for imaginary benefits. On the motion of Dr. Windthorst, the debate was adjourned till Friday; but it is expected that Parliament will rise on or about that day, and, in any case, there is not very much hope for the measure.

No. 29.

The AGENT-GENERAL for NEW ZEALAND to the PREMIER.

SIR,—

7, Westminster Chambers, London, S.W., 25th July, 1884.

Not having heard from Lord Derby the result of his having brought the question of New Guinea before the Cabinet, the Agents-General of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand sent in a letter to his Lordship of which I beg to transmit a copy herewith, expressing the hope that they might not appear importunate in asking to be informed as soon as possible of the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

F. D. BELL.

Enclosure.

8, Victoria Chambers, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.,

23rd July, 1884.

MY LORD,—

At the interview which we had with your Lordship on the 2nd instant, you were good enough to say that you would submit to the Cabinet the proposals then brought under your consideration in reference to the Western Pacific, and inform us of the result. As the Parliaments of the Australasian Colonies are at present either in session or about to meet, when authority must be asked for the confirmation of the contributions of the respective colonies to the guarantee of fifteen thousand pounds given by their Governments in response to the proposals contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of May, we hope we shall not be considered importunate if we request that the decision of Her Majesty's Government may be communicated to us as soon as possible.

We have, &c.

SAUL SAMUEL,

Agent-General for New South Wales.

F. D. BELL,

Agent-General for New Zealand.

ROBT. MURRAY SMITH,

Agent-General for Victoria.

WM. HEMMANT,

Acting Agent-General for Queensland.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G.

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs.

No. 30.

The AGENT-GENERAL for NEW ZEALAND to the PREMIER.

SIR,—

7, Westminster Chambers, London, S.W. 29th July, 1884.

I transmit to you a *Times* report of what passed in the House of Commons last night, when two questions were put by Mr. Errington and Sir H. Maxwell, respecting Lord Derby's intentions in regard to a Protectorate over New Guinea, and in regard to the proposed uniform legislation by the colonies in case the Récidiviste Bill should become law.

You will observe that, while Mr. Evelyn Ashley informed the House that the question of New Guinea was still before the Cabinet, he also said that Her Majesty's Government would not interfere to prevent legislation for the protection of Australasia against an influx of French criminals.

The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

I have, &c.

F. D. BELL.

Enclosure.

[*The Times*, Tuesday, July 29.]

FRENCH CONVICTS IN AUSTRALIA.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether the attention of the Secretary of State had been called to the fact that, in addition to the influx into our Australian Colonies of casually escaped convicts from the French penal settlements, against which the colonists were constantly protesting, in April last the French Messageries steamer "Dupleix" landed openly at Sydney nine ex-convicts, the nature of whose sentence imported that they were only released from Noumea conditionally on their never returning to France; whether any, and what, steps were being taken to remonstrate with the French Government against the deliberate importation into the territories of a friendly Power of a class of criminals whom their own country would not receive, and among whom, according to the colonial authorities, "are found the criminals commonly known as récidivists, and undoubtedly the worst of their kind;" and whether, to put a stop to this practice, Her Majesty's Government would approve or recommend to the Colonial Governments legislation making it penal for the captain of any vessel, home or foreign, to land released convicts in any of the Australian Colonies.

MR. E. ASHLEY.—The attention of the Colonial Office has been called to the incident mentioned. Her Majesty's Government have been for many months in communication with the French Government on the general subject, and have reason to believe that their earnest representations are receiving serious consideration. It is, therefore, hoped that the necessity for legislation in the colonies may not arise; but Her Majesty's Government would not interfere with any reasonable measure that they might feel compelled to take for their own protection.

CONFEDERATION OF THE COLONIES.

SIR H. MAXWELL asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether it was true that the Legislative Assembly of Queensland had unanimously passed the Convention in favour of the confederation of the colonies, of the annexation of New Guinea and other Western Pacific islands, and of combined legislation against criminal aliens; and, if so, what was the attitude of Her Majesty's Government towards this policy.

MR. E. ASHLEY.—The facts are as stated in the honourable member's question. Her Majesty's Government have already signified their readiness to confirm and carry out by any necessary Imperial legislation the confederation scheme of the Sydney Convention, if, and when it is adopted by the different Colonial Legislatures, and Her Majesty's Government would not interpose should they combine in any well-considered legislation to protect themselves against criminal aliens. As to the other questions, all I can say at present is general, and that is that the whole matter is being considered by the Cabinet.

No. 31.

The AGENT-GENERAL for NEW ZEALAND to the PREMIER.

SIR,— 7, Westminster Chambers, London, S.W. 5th August, 1884.

I beg you to accept my sincere acknowledgments for your letter of the 21st June, referring to mine on the Recidivist Bill.

A question was asked last night in the House of Commons by Mr. Blake, whether Her Majesty's Government would pass the enabling Bill this session, as it had now been adopted by four of the Australian Governments represented at the Sydney Conference; when Mr. Gladstone replied that, if there was a prospect of the Bill passing unanimously, it might be brought in at once. I understand to-day that there are objections to this course, chiefly from members of the Conservative party. I enclose a report of what passed in the House.

Another question was asked a few nights ago by Mr. Errington, respecting the Recidivist Bill. I annex a report of what was said.

The Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

I have, &c.

F. D. BELL.

Enclosures.

[*The Times*, Tuesday, August 5.]

AUSTRALASIAN CONFEDERATION.

MR. BLAKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that four out of seven of the Australasian Colonies had agreed to proceed at once to confederate in an Australasian dominion, and of his statement that no business would be taken in the autumn session except the Franchise Bill, it might not be possible to introduce and pass an enabling Bill before the end of this session, so as to obviate the loss of a whole year, which would otherwise occur, in giving effect to the decisions of the Colonial Parliaments. The hon. member also asked whether the right honourable gentleman would undertake to introduce a Bill in the autumn session.

Mr. GLADSTONE.—I can give no pledge at the present time with regard to the autumn session in deviation of what I have already stated. Of course, what I have stated will not bind the House or the Government in connection with cases at present unforeseen and of a sufficient magnitude to require that we should deviate from the policy already laid down. The question which is upon the paper asks, whether this important object of enabling the Australasian Colonies to confederate might be accomplished by the introduction of an enabling Bill in the present session. What I have to say in answer is, that it would not be right to introduce such a Bill and then to withdraw it. That would not be respectful to the colonies, nor would it be right; and to continue sitting until a Bill, if it were opposed, could be passed would be contrary to the pledge which the Government have given to the House not to proceed with contentious business at this period of the session. But if we could be assured that the House would give its unanimous assent to a Bill for the simply enabling purpose described in the question, I would agree to its introduction. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BLAKE asked whether the right honourable gentleman would test the feeling of the House on the subject by introducing a Bill. (Laughter, and Hear, hear.)

Mr. GLADSTONE.—My honourable friend has not observed what I stated. He proposes that I should introduce a Bill to test the feeling of the House. But I observed that it would not be respectful to the colonies, and would not wear a friendly aspect, were I to introduce a Bill and then to withdraw it. I understand the honourable member to speak confidently for the quarter of the House with which he is connected, and so far I am well satisfied. I could not, however, at this moment inquire from right honourable and honourable members opposite what their views are, but I think it probable that in the course of the evening they may have the kindness to make their views known to us. (Hear, hear.) If it appears that there exists such a unanimous disposition as would alone justify the introduction of the Bill, notice of the Bill might be given this evening and it might be introduced to-morrow. (Hear, hear.)

[The Times, Saturday, August 2.]

FRENCH CONVICTS.

Mr. ERRINGTON asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether he could give the House any information as to the results of the remonstrance, which, in the interests of our Australasian Colonies, the Government had been making to the Government of France against the proposed wholesale deportation of French criminal classes to New Caledonia, and against the serious injuries which, even with their present limited development, the French penal settlements entail on our fellow-subjects.

Lord E. FITZMAURICE.—Her Majesty's Government have not yet received a reply to the representation which Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris addressed to the French Government on the 23rd of May last, but it is probable that, before replying, they have awaited the report of the Committee of the French Senate upon the Bill relating to this matter. This report was only laid before the Senate on the 29th ultimo, and then ordered to be printed.

This question continues to engage the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government.

No. 32.

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

SIR,—

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 25th September, 1884.

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a letter, dated the 23rd August, 1884, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary of Fiji, Suva, addressed to the Hon. the Premier of Victoria, Melbourne, on the subject of a contribution by Fiji to the New Guinea Protectorate Subsidy (£15,000). I enclose also a copy of my reply.

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Premier of New Zealand,
Wellington.

JAMES SERVICE,
Chairman of Convention's Committee.

Enclosure 1.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY, Fiji, to the PREMIER, Victoria.

SIR,—

Fiji.—Colonial Secretary's Office, 23rd August, 1884.

I am directed by His Excellency Sir G. William Des Vœux, Governor of Fiji, to express to you his thanks for your courtesy in forwarding for his consideration the correspondence which has passed between you, as Chairman, and the other members of the Committee appointed by the recent Intercolonial Convention to watch over Australian interests.

His Excellency has read this correspondence with much interest, and desires me to say that, in his opinion, Australasia generally is much indebted to you and the other members of the Committee, who are taking an active part in matters which so deeply concern its welfare.

His Excellency is prepared to recommend to Her Majesty's Government the payment by Fiji of its proportional share of the £15,000, to be contributed temporarily by Australasia, to the additional expenses to be incurred by the Imperial Government in connection with New Guinea and Polynesia, but he has some difficulty with regard to the question of the amount of that share. According to the resolution of the Convention, the contribution of each colony was to be in proportion to its population. If, however, that of Fiji should have reference to its whole population, including the natives, it would involve a charge upon the resources of the colony very disproportionate to that borne by other colonies. If, on the other hand, the non-native population were alone considered, the contribution would be unduly small. For this reason, His Excellency is of opinion that the quota of Fiji would best be determined by the proportion which its revenue bears.

to that of the other colonies. Before deciding on this matter, however, which involves a principle for the future, having by no means exclusive reference to the small sum now to be paid, His Excellency would be glad to have the views of your Committee on the subject.

With regard to the law for preventing the introduction of foreign criminals, which Mr. Griffith, the Premier of Queensland, has suggested for general adoption, His Excellency desires me to say that though he has not yet had an opportunity of giving it careful consideration in detail, he is, nevertheless, of opinion that its ably-drafted provisions are generally such as to meet the object desired; and that he will be prepared to recommend to the Legislature of this colony an Ordinance framed on a similar basis, should events, unhappily, render such a precaution necessary on the part of united Australasia.

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Premier, Victoria.

JOHN B. THURSTON.

Enclosure 2.

The PREMIER, Victoria, to the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Fiji.

SIR,—

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 19th September, 1884.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd August, and to request that you will be good enough to express to His Excellency Sir G. William Des Vœux my gratification at noticing His Excellency's cordial co-operation in the matters of general Australasian interest referred to in your letter.

2. I beg, also, that you will thank Sir William for his compliment to myself and the other members of the Convention's Committee, who are watching over matters which formed the subject of consideration by the Convention.

3. With regard to the question of the mode of determining Fiji's contribution to the expense of the New Guinea Protectorate, I will send a copy of your letter for the consideration of the other members of the Committee. As the participation of your colony in the expense will, I think, be chiefly valued as an expression of Australasian unanimity, there can be little doubt that whatever sum His Excellency deems equitable will be accepted.

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary, Suva, Fiji.

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

No. 33.

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

SIR,—

Premier's Office, Wellington, 11th October, 1884.

I have received, and desire heartily to thank you for, your circular letter of the 25th September, No. 2757, enclosing copy of correspondence between the Government of Fiji and yourself, as to the readiness of the Government of that colony to recommend that Fiji should bear its share in the payment of the £15,000 asked for by the Imperial Government as a New Guinea Protectorate Subsidy, and expressing general approval by His Excellency Sir William Des Vœux of the Foreign Criminals Bill, drafted by the Premier of Queensland, Mr. Griffith.

I am sorry to be unable, as yet, to inform you of the decision of the New Zealand Parliament respecting those matters, but they will be submitted for discussion and decision as soon as the state of the public business permits.

I have, &c.

The Hon. the Premier, Victoria.

ROBERT STOUT.

No. 34.

The PREMIER, New Zealand, to His Excellency the GOVERNOR.

Memorandum for His Excellency.

THE Premier presents his respectful compliments to the Governor, and has the honour to ask that His Excellency will inform Lord Derby that, because of the state of the public business, consequent upon the recent general election, it has not yet been possible to submit to the House the question of New Zealand contributing to the proposed New Guinea Protectorate Subsidy: but that the Government are in favour of contribution, and that the question as a whole will shortly be submitted for the decision of Parliament.

No. 1.

ROBERT STOUT.

Wellington, 10th October, 1884.

