

(No. 47.)



1883.

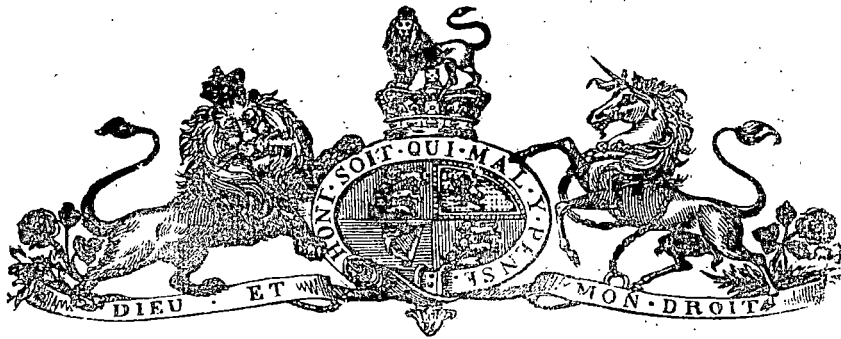
T A S M A N I A.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

NEW GUINEA AND PACIFIC ISLANDS :

CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO ANNEXATION.

Laid upon the Table by Mr. Moore, and ordered by the Council to be printed,
July 24, 1883.



15, Strand, W.C., 13th December, 1882.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor, on behalf of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, to request your attention to an article contained in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (copy herewith) of the 27th November last, recommending the German Government to annex and colonise New Guinea.

On referring to Parliamentary Paper C. 1566 of 1876, you will observe that on 29th April, 1875, a large and influential deputation waited on Lord Carnarvon to present a Memorial from the Council and Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute strongly advocating the annexation of the eastern half of New Guinea by Great Britain. Among the arguments adduced in favour of such action being taken, one of the most important was that its possession by any foreign Power would, for many reasons, be highly detrimental to British interests.

One of the Deputation, the Hon. Arthur (now Lord) Kinnaird, remarked that "Germany was determined to be a great naval power, and would look to colonisation as the principal means to that end; and if she looked to New Guinea, we may lose a very important colony." (Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, Vol. VI., page 204.)

The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, still holding the opinions expressed in the Memorial referred to, beg that you will draw the attention of your Government to the article, of which I enclose a copy, as it is evident that the proposed action would be most disadvantageous to the interests of the Australian Colonies.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

FREDERICK YOUNG, *Honorary Secretary.*

The Hon. the Colonial Secretary, Hobart, Tasmania.

FORWARDED to the Honorable the Premier.

WM. MOORE.
2 Feb., 1883.

PERUSED and forwarded to the Treasurer, who will kindly forward it to the Minister of Lands when read. The question of the annexation of a large territory like New Guinea, with a difficult, if not savage, population, and with a doubtful climate, involves a number of considerations which can only be dealt with by Imperial statesmen. No doubt we should greatly prefer that this large island should be governed by England, and should be glad if Imperial policy permitted its annexation; but the position of Tasmania is so remote, and its interest so indirect, that I do not think we should intervene in any attempt to put pressure on the English Government in favour of the annexation of New Guinea.

W. R. GIBLIN.
5 February, 1883.

ABSTRACT of the Article on New Guinea in the "Allgemeine Zeitung."

THE article commences by stating that there can be no doubt but that New Guinea is part and parcel of Australia, both as to geographical formation and climate, and there is no doubt that at one time it was a portion of the "Australian tropical world." Now that Germany is beginning to experience a little knowledge of Australia, and gaining an insight into colonial politics, and as German writers are taking a deep interest in New Guinea, any information as to that country is of the utmost importance to Germany. After describing its geographical position, the *Zeitung* goes on to state that New Guinea is an outlying branch of Eastern India, and from that standpoint it may be considered as a part of Java and Sumatra, both as regards colonization and viewed climatically. But, perhaps, there is a higher point from which it may be regarded, namely, "as the first branch of the Australian island world." The *Zeitung* does not doubt that at one time it was joined to Australia by a "land bridge," (probably alluding to coral reefs) in the same way as Java, Seram, and Bulu were connected. That there was a "land bridge" between New Guinea and Cape York there can be no manner of doubt. If New Guinea were annexed, the *Zeitung* is certain that in time it would become a German Java. It would become a mercantile colony, which would in time form part of the great German Empire of the future. It must not be forgotten that the climate is tropical, and not adapted for Europeans; but it is not more unhealthy than Java. To the pioneers of civilization, who would have to live in the middle of mangrove forests and mosquito swamps, during tropical rains, and in a hot sun, without proper comforts, it would be very injurious. Heavy physical work could not be expected from Europeans; but the natives might be engaged. In this respect the aborigines of New Guinea would recommend themselves. They would not be better nor worse than the natives of Java and Sumatra. On every part of the coast there are good harbours; and the Fly River presents one of the most ample (practical) high roads to the centre of the country. It is well known that other nations have never overlooked the importance of New Guinea; but England lately has had her hands full, and been too much occupied with other matters. Captain Moresby, in his Appendix, when speaking of New Guinea, said, "It is a duty England owes to herself to annex and colonise New Guinea." "And, perhaps," remarks the *Zeitung*, "we have the same right, and we recommend the German nation to annex and colonise it." The fact that the Dutch have a vested interest in stations on the west coast of the island, based on the claim of occupation, does not matter in the least. It is of no importance, and needs little consideration at the hands of Germany. The article concludes by remarking, "We therefore consider it unnecessary to take that fact into consideration, and urge early annexation."

Chief Secretary's Office, Hobart, 25th May, 1883.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th December last with reference to recommendation by the *Allgemeine Zeitung* that the German Government should annex New Guinea.

I regret that, through inadvertence, I should have so long delayed replying to your communication, but, in the meantime, the action of the Government of Queensland has tended to the solution of the question, and it only remains for me to state that this Government coincides in the views of the other Australian Colonies as regards the importance of securing and maintaining the supremacy of Great Britain in New Guinea.

I have, &c.

WM. MOORE.

FREDERICK YOUNG, *Esquire, Honorary Secretary,*
Royal Colonial Institute, 15, Strand, London, W.C.

TELEGRAM.

Melbourne, 8th June, 1883.

(Confidential.)

HAVE been urged by weighty deputation invite Australian co-operation to induce Imperial Government annex Islands from New Hebrides to New Britain and New Ireland. Credibly reported in Melbourne that as French annexation is imminent, and will be accomplished unless prompt action be taken, suggest each Colony telegraphs urgently through Governors to Colonial Office representing immense importance to Australasia, that these islands should not fall into hands of any foreign Power.

JAMES SERVICE, *Premier.*

Chief Secretary, Hobart.

TELEGRAM.

Hobart, 8th June, 1883.

(Confidential.)

YOUR Message received. Will cordially co-operate as requested.

The Premier, Melbourne.

W. R. GIBLIN.

(Confidential.)

Government House, Hobart, 9th June, 1883.

MY LORD,

IN compliance with the instructions contained in Your Lordship's Circular Despatch of 6th January last, I have the honor to report to you that I have this day forwarded a Telegram to your Lordship expressing, in view of a rumour that the French Government wished to at once annex the Islands from New Hebrides to New Ireland, the desire of this Government to join with the other Colonies in urging that steps may be taken to prevent it.

I have &c.

(Signed) GEO. C. STRAHAN.

The Right Honorable the EARL OF DERBY, &c.,
Colonial Office.

TELEGRAM.

Melbourne, 13th June, 1883.

PROPOSE sending Telegram to our Agent-General as follows; if you concur, please communicate similarly with yours:—(Copy.)—Pacific Islands annexation or protectorate necessary for Australian future. Colonies willing contribute expense. In interests of natives British philanthropists should support. England should do for Australia what Australia cannot do for self. Great dissatisfaction if England fails to secure our future.

JAS. SERVICE, Premier.

The Hon. the Chief Secretary.

(Circular.)

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 25th June, 1883.

SIR,

WITH reference to the recent Telegrams which have passed between this Government and that of Tasmania on the subject of the desired annexation of the New Hebrides and the Islands from thence to New Guinea, I now have the honor to inform you that on the 18th instant I addressed a Despatch to His Excellency the Marquis of Normanby submitting copies of documents bearing on the subject, and setting out the salient points in the claim which Australia makes for Imperial action in this matter.

I have much pleasure in submitting herewith, for your information, a copy, marked "Confidential," of the Despatch in question and of its enclosures.

I have, &c.

JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

The Hon. the Chief Secretary, Hobart.

FORWARDED to the Honorable the Premier. The receipt has been acknowledged with thanks.

The Hon. the Premier.

WM. MOORE.
30 June, 1883.

(Confidential.)

PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF NEW HEBRIDES AND ADJACENT ISLANDS.

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 18th June, 1883.

No. 67.

(COPY.)

MY LORD,

With reference to the interview which I had with Your Excellency on the 9th inst., respecting the desired annexation or protectorate of the New Hebrides and neighbouring islands, I now have the honour to transmit herewith to Your Excellency, for the information of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, certain documents bearing upon the subject in question.

The first is a letter from the Rev. D. Macdonald, a New Hebridean missionary, at present on a visit to this colony, and (besides being interesting in itself) sets forth what, I submit, are cogent reasons why the British Empire should take possession of the Islands in question.

I received the deputation proposed by Mr. Macdonald, and returned a reply, in substance the same as that contained in a newspaper report which forms my second enclosure.

Enclosure No. 3 gives a list, asked for by me when receiving the deputation, of the various petitions which have at different times been directly or indirectly addressed to the Imperial Government (some from the natives themselves), praying for the annexation or a protectorate of the Islands; and No. 4 is a letter from the Rev. J. G. Paton, setting out the reasons for the desired course.

To the reasons contained in these documents I trust Lord Derby will give the gravest consideration.

I will now add, that the action of this colony has been somewhat precipitated by the circumstance, that it was reported in Melbourne, a few days after my interview with the deputation, that the French Consul here had telegraphed to his Government an account of the matter, with a view to prevent British possession of the Islands.

It was at once felt by Ministers that it might prove a fault, to be ever deplored, but never to be remedied, if Australia, through supineness, were to allow these islands in the important strategic position which they occupy towards her, to fall without an effort into the hands of a foreign Power.

I therefore at once communicated with the other colonies, and they joined unanimously in this view.

I would ask Your Excellency to be so good as to call special attention to the fact, that the desired annexation of these Islands stands *altogether apart* from any question as to a *general annexation policy* on the part of the Empire. It is of the first importance, in order to apprehend the true bearings of the question, that it should be seen that *this* annexation has no connexion with any such general policy; that, in fact, the unwisdom of such a policy may be freely granted, so far as it is concerned, and the proposition still remains true, that it is an *urgent necessity* of Australia that the possibility of these island-territories becoming the post for foreign guns and foreign ships should, without delay, be placed beyond question and beyond fear. It undoubtedly prejudices the case that it comes to be considered at a time when any such general policy is before the public mind, but I trust it may not be confused with it by the experienced statesmen who will have to deal with it.

As to the question of expense, I would point out that the course we advocate may yet prove to be the truest economy. To take and hold possession would be at present a very small expense, but what would be the expense if in time of war these islands should become points from which foreign vessels could issue to attack Australian ports, and harass British commerce? And it must be recollected that the great majority of the ships that trade to Australia are British registered, and of British owners.

But, independently of this consideration, I feel sure that *Australia would not wish* the mother country to be at the whole expense of the projected measure. I have communicated with the other colonies, asking their concurrence in this, and there has not yet been time to receive their replies; but I would ask Your Excellency to be good enough to convey to Lord Derby my opinion, that expense should not, so far as an Australian subsidy is concerned, *would not*, be allowed to stand in the way.

It will probably be deemed equitable that, if Australia shares the expense, she should be consulted as to the mode of governing; but this a matter of detail which should not be allowed to hinder proceedings.

There is one other consideration of great importance, and that is, that Australia is, in this respect, fettered in her action by her forming part of the British Empire. She cannot take the course which her truest interest dictates without the authority of the Crown. She is therefore entitled to make request of the Imperial authority to do that for her, which her connexion with the Empire prevents her from doing for herself.

I have confined myself in this letter to the political aspect of the question, but, as well pointed out by the missionaries, there are questions of humanity and civilization which seem to add a clenching force to every other consideration.

In conclusion, I would ask Your Excellency to be so good as to represent that there is no doubt that a strong feeling of dissatisfaction will spread throughout these colonies, if England, while holding Australia back from acting in her own interests, at the same time neglects to take a step which Australia deems essential to her future security and welfare.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JAMES SERVICE, *Premier.*

His Excellency the Most Noble THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, *G.C.M.G.*,
&c., &c., &c.

ENCLOSURE No. 1.

4, Eamont Terrace, Grey-street, East Melbourne, 31 May, 1883.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to lay before you, as briefly as possible, the following statement:—

From a recent telegram we learn that the British Government, partly owing to the action of Queensland, supported as it has been by the other Australian Colonies, has annexed the southern part of New Guinea to the Empire, and resolved to administer it as a Crown Colony. This is a result heartily to be rejoiced in.

But to annex merely the south-eastern part of New Guinea is not, considered from any standpoint, sufficient, whether in the way of protecting the Australasian Colonies from the danger that would arise from the establishment of an alien power in the neighbouring islands, or in the way of protecting the natives of these islands from the atrocities of the labour traffic, and so of conserving the honor of the Empire, while promoting the interests of its commerce and of civilization. A glance at the map will show that the chain of islands, inhabited by the same race, extending from New Guinea to the New Hebrides, or rather to the Fijis, including New Britain, New Ireland, and the Solomons, forms a natural group, should be annexed together, and together put under the same administration.

As to the danger that might arise from the proximity of a great naval power in any part of this region of Western or Papuan Polynesia, the New Hebrides is exactly the same distance from Brisbane as New Guinea; Melbourne is somewhat, and New Zealand immensely nearer to the New Hebrides than to New Guinea. To the swift war vessels of the present day a few hundred miles is a very small matter. The climate of the New Hebrides is healthier than that of New Guinea, or any other part of the region above named except Fiji, and it has by far the best harbours; the Island of Efate or Sandwich has two of the best harbours in the world, well supplied with fresh water. Finally, the natives of the New Hebrides group are more prepared for the reception of civilization than those of any other islands in the Papuan Archipelago, with the exception of Fiji, and it would be easier to establish a civilised Government among them; if not so advanced as the Fijians when Fiji was annexed, they are more advanced than the islanders of the Solomons, New Britain, and Guinea. Speaking of Fiji reminds us that it may be regarded as the outlying extremity of the chain of islands above named, being only 400 miles from the New Hebrides, which again are only 1000 miles from New Guinea. It is most undesirable that a foreign power should possess the New Hebrides and Solomons lying between Fiji and New Guinea, and forming the very heart of our nascent South Sea Empire, for it would be a standing menace to it as well as to the Australasian Colonies.

As to the protection of the natives from labour traffic atrocities, and conserving the honor of the British name, the necessity of doing which we have abundantly recognised by Acts of the Imperial Parliament and otherwise, it is in the New Hebrides and Solomons that that protection is most needed; there the flag of England has been most foully stained, and there has been done to the helpless people most grievous wrong, for which we are nationally responsible; we owe therefore to them a national debt of reparation which we do not owe to the people of New Guinea. And the perpetration of that wrong is going on every day in these islands, whereas it is only begun in New Guinea. There is no other way worth trying of putting an end to these outrages and massacres that we are constantly hearing of, and many which we never hear of, but by annexing the islands and thereby making the islanders British subjects. Lord Derby and the Home authorities recognise the need of new efforts to put a stop to them, or better regulate the labour traffic.—[See his reply to a deputation in February last.] Nothing short of annexation, and putting the Papuan islander, as a labourer, on a footing analogous to that of the Hindu coolie, will avail. This, in fact, is a strong argument for annexation. The expenses now incurred—and they are considerable—for inefficient regulations would be applied efficiently under the new system; the honour, the interests, and the safety of the empire would be promoted, the natives protected, and commerce and civilization permanently rooted and grounded in one of the fairest and most fertile portions of the globe.

There are four Missionary Societies at work in Papuan Polynesia, and only four, and the whole four are British; the Presbyterian in the New Hebrides, Church of England in the Solomons, Wesleyan in New Britain, and London Missionary Society in New Guinea. Of these missions the Presbyterian in the New Hebrides is the oldest and largest; it has now fourteen European missionaries, together with about 150 native Christian teachers and evangelists, who may be regarded as the hope of their race, both as to Christianity and civilization, and it is carried on at an annual expense of about £6000 of British, home and colonial, money. Similar things might be said of the other missions. Already a considerable number of traders and planters have settled in the New Hebrides, and most or nearly all of these are British subjects. All would hail annexation as a boon. The natives to a man are as much in favour of British as they are opposed to French annexation. There is not commercially a richer or more fertile or desirable group than the New Hebrides throughout the vast extent of the Pacific.

The Imperial Government can have no objection, on principle, to annexing these islands, since they have annexed New Guinea and Fiji; and there can be no reasonable objection on the score of expense, as the same machinery that is necessary for New Guinea and Fiji can be extended over the intervening islands, and the present expense of the abortive regulation of the so-called "labour traffic" will be available, and probably sufficient to cover any slight additional expense. And as soon as civilized Government is extended over these islands in connexion with either of the established Governments of Fiji or New Guinea, as may be most convenient, the rapid commercial development and progress certain to take place in them will speedily secure more than the defrayment of their proportion of the expense of Government; for these islands will become the Australasian Indies, and will yield cotton, coffee, and cocoa-nut oil, sugar, and spices, and all other tropical products in large quantities.

Thus, generally speaking, it is exceedingly desirable to annex these islands along with New Guinea and Fiji. Hitherto the British Government have not seen their way to annex the New Hebrides, though frequently petitioned to do so; but now that Fiji at the one extremity, and New Guinea at the other, have been annexed, it is reasonable to expect that they would see it to be their wisdom to annex the intervening islands also, attaching them to either of the existing Colonies of Fiji or New Guinea, according to their proximity; and these islands not only lie between the two extremities of our South Sea Empire, but also form a chain that runs parallel to the Australian Coast.

I therefore respectfully and earnestly suggest to you, as Premier of the Colony of Victoria, that, if you agree with these views, you take such steps as your long political experience may dictate to you to secure the co-operation of the other Australian Governments, in order to the annexation to the British Empire of the New Hebrides, Solomons, and New Britain, along with New Guinea and the Fijis; and have much satisfaction in feeling that to none could so important a business be more appropriately committed.

May I request that you will be good enough to appoint a time to receive myself and a number of gentlemen who are deeply interested in this matter, at your earliest convenience, to more fully explain their views on the subject.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

D. MACDONALD, *Missionary, New Hebrides.*

*The Hon. JAMES SERVICE, M.L.A.,
Premier of the Colony of Victoria.*

ENCLOSURE No. 2.

EXTRACT FROM THE "ARGUS" NEWSPAPER OF 7TH JUNE, 1883.

The South Sea Islands.

A LARGE deputation, including a number of clergymen, waited on the Premier yesterday to urge him to do everything in his power to induce the Imperial Government to annex or accord its protection to the Islands in the South Seas that are not at present under the dominion of any other power. Mr. Balfour, M.L.C., introduced the deputation, which was also accompanied by Messrs. Anderson, Mirams, Gibb, and M. H. Davies, M.L.A.'s. The Minister of Justice was present with the Premier.

Mr. Balfour said that for many years those connected with the missions in the New Hebrides Islands had seen the necessity for the annexation of those islands, or else for their being brought under the protection of the Empire. The iniquitous labour traffic was really not under control, and it had had the effect of almost bringing Christianity and civilization to a standstill. Movements in favour of annexation or protection had been repeated, but unsuccessful. He assumed that Great Britain would either annex New Guinea or allow the Colonies to do so; and the present seemed a good opportunity to urge the annexation of the other islands, which could be advocated not only from a missionary's but from a statesman's point of view, for on these islands valuable products could be grown. Common humanity demanded the suppression of the labour traffic, about which there were numerous official reports, and which had lately been commented upon by Mr. Morrison, an independent witness. The Wesleyan mission at New Britain was represented in the deputation. The missionaries there did not want annexation until the natives had been consulted. But the New Hebrides missionaries could speak confidently as to the desire for annexation of the natives there. Throughout these islands there was a great dread of other powers, but a great desire to be annexed to the British Empire.

The Rev. D. Macdonald, Presbyterian missionary of the New Hebrides, said the British had the most right to annex the islands because they had spent more money there than any other nation. Moreover, precious British blood had been spilled there, and the British were more numerous represented than any other foreign nation. The annexation of the islands would be a reparation for the wrong done to them by the labour traffic by persons of British nationality more than any other. There was no other means than annexation of stopping the constantly occurring massacres. The New Hebrides were centrally situated, and were near to the Australian Colonies, and contained splendid harbours, the best of which was in the central island, called Sandwich Island.

The Rev. J. King, of the Victorian Auxiliary to the London Missionary Society, said that he had spent ten years on the Navigators' Islands. The missionaries did not advocate annexation because they desired governmental patronage and help. They did not want British gun-boats to assist them in evangelising the people. The greatest achievements of Christianity had been accomplished in the islands without such aid. He advocated annexation purely on humanitarian grounds. The British Government was the natural protector of these races. The long connection of the British people with the islanders in missionary work and commercial enterprise had led the islanders to look up to the British as their natural protectors. Samoa, over and over again, asked the British Government for a protectorate, but such requests had been declined, and now Germany and America had obtained very strong footing there. Unless the British Government soon stepped in, the New Hebrides also would soon arrive at a stage at which British annexation would be impossible. The French had a considerable interest in the Loyalty Group beyond New Caledonia. In the past the English Government had signally failed in conserving native races, because it had not yet adopted the right policy.

The Rev. E. I. Watkin, President of the Wesleyan Conference, said he was not authorized to speak on behalf of the Wesleyan Church, but so far as he knew the opinion of her missionaries, it was that the case of the New Hebrides was not parallel with that of the Solomon Islands and New Britain. There had been a Presbyterian mission in the New Hebrides for many years, and annexation was desired there. He was inclined to favour the establishment of a protectorate over the Solomon Islands and New Britain, with a view to annexation should the natives desire it. There was already, it should be remembered, self-government in some of the islands. The natives had rights that should not be interfered with, except for political reasons. Such reasons justified the annexation of New Guinea, and on the same grounds the annexation of the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, and New Britain might perhaps be justified.

The Rev. T. Nelson, of the New Hebrides Mission, said that the French strongly desired to take possession of those islands, the natives of which, however, strongly wished for annexation to Great Britain.

The Rev. J. G. Paton, missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, said that twenty years ago the Tanna Chiefs petitioned for British annexation, and such request had been since renewed. As to the expenditure that annexation of the islands would entail, it had been magnified, because some of the islands could be governed from Fiji, and the others from New Guinea when that was annexed. The natives hated and feared the French, but they loved the name of Queen Victoria. If the French annexed the islands, the Protestant missions would be suppressed. All the islanders longed for British protection. It would be a pity if, after the expenditure of so much British money there, some other nation were to step in and reap the harvest. He concluded by relating instances of atrocities perpetrated by the labour vessels.

Mr. Service said that he would like to be furnished with a short *resumé* of all the appeals that had been made for the annexation of the islands and of other facts bearing on the subject. Every consideration pointed to the desirableness of the course so strongly recommended by the deputation. Unfortunately, humanitarian, civilising, and Christianising movements were often, if not antagonistic to political considerations, at all events not on the same line with them, but here every consideration pointed in the same direction. Politics, religion, commerce, civilisation, humanity, all pointed to the absolute desirability of getting hold of these islands. As to New Guinea, he not only put himself in communication with the Agent-General, but requested the other Colonies to support the action of the Queensland Government. But in the steps he took on that subject he had not the slightest desire to encourage that labour trade which the deputation had referred to in terms that were not half strong enough. The mission of England all along had been to elevate, Christianise, and civilise the dark nations of the earth. Of late years she seemed to have felt that she was getting too many dependencies, but he believed that that was a mistaken notion altogether. England was an immense moral power among the nations; she owed her position to her grand moral status, and it was a position that her military power would never give her. He would immediately bring the matter under the notice of his colleagues, and would allow no delay to elapse in his efforts to bring about the desired result. If the Australian Legislatures could be induced to pass resolutions in favour of annexation, that would tell very favourably with the Government and Parliament of England, who would regard such opinions as of more importance than mere governmental action. He believed the Victorian Government would be unanimously in favour of prompt action.

The deputation withdrew, gratified with the statement of the Premier.

ENCLOSURE No. 3.

Cotham Road, Kew, Friday, June 8th, 1883.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry I could not sooner send you the required dates of memorials and petitions to the Queen for a protectorate and for annexation of the New Hebrides Islands. I feel also sorry the following are so imperfect, as all such records are kept by Dr. Steel, the agent of our mission in Sydney, and now he is in Melbourne attending a

conference, but they can be got from him on his return; but at present I forward all I have been able to get from blue books, though very imperfect, as a number are not noted in books now within my reach.

In A.D. 1862, the chiefs of Tanna sent a petition through me to Sir John Young, Governor of New South Wales, for a protectorate. He did not forward it.

In A.D. 1868, a petition was presented to the Earl of Belmore, by the New Hebrides Mission, for Her Majesty the Queen.

In A.D. 1868, a petition was presented to Lord Stanley, by the Reform Presbyterian Church of Scotland, for Her Majesty the Queen.

In A.D. 1872, a petition was presented to Earl Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, for the Queen.

In A.D. 1874, a petition was sent to the Queen regarding the labour traffic and implying a British protectorate, like all the above noted.

In November, 1874, another petition was sent from Victoria regarding the "slave or labour traffic," and a protectorate.

In A.D. 1874 or 1875, a petition was sent by the natives of Efate, per Lieutenant Carey, of H.M. gun-boat *Confict*, which was presented, for annexation like Fiji, as they expressed it, through Mr. Macdonald.

In A.D. 1877, the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales, and the Free Church of Scotland, and the Mission, all sent petitions to the Queen for annexation of the New Hebrides to Great Britain.

In A.D. 1882, a petition was sent from a conference which met in Sydney, representing all the Presbyterians of Australasia, and others followed from Victoria, and South Australia, and Tasmania, and the New Hebrides Mission, and the natives, and the Free Church of Scotland, to the Queen, entreating the annexation of the group to Great Britain.

The above will show you that the subject has been long before the minds of the natives, the missionaries, and Europeans on the islands, and all the churches at home and in our Australasian Colonies, which have been engaged in the work of civilising and Christianising the New Hebrides Islands.

In the conference of the Australasian Presbyterian Churches, which met in Sydney in April of last year, I pleaded for British annexation of the New Hebrides Islands, on account of eight reasons which I have written out to you and enclose, and which led to the six petitions being sent to the Queen, as above referred to, for annexation to Great Britain.

Thanking you heartily for the cordial reception of our deputation, and wishing you every blessing in Christ Jesus,

I remain, your humble servant,

JOHN G. PATON.

The Honorable JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

Sub-Enclosure to Enclosure No. 3.

[I enclose this from Dr. Steel, Sydney.—John G. Paton.]

Some ten years ago, when an abortive effort was made by a number of private individuals to form a settlement in New Guinea, representations were made to some of the Colonial Governments on the importance of the annexation of New Guinea by the British Government. At the same period, simultaneous efforts were made by Presbyterian Churches to the Governments of Australasian Colonies respecting the annexation of the New Hebrides. The labour traffic at that time excited great interest on account of its many inhumanities.

The Government of New South Wales, at the period referred to, formally agreed to recommend the annexation of New Guinea, the Duke of York Islands, New Britain, New Ireland, and the New Hebrides. Sir John Robinson, then Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, addressed a communication to the Earl of Kimberley, the British Minister for the Colonies, urging the importance of annexation. The answer of the Earl of Kimberley was unfavourable. But the correspondence, which was published by the Government of New South Wales, shows that this proposal is not now urged for the first time.

The population of natives in the New Hebrides is rapidly declining, and these islands will certainly be annexed by some power, as they are well fitted to grow all kinds of tropical spices and other fruits. They were discovered for the most part by British navigators, traded with by British vessels, regularly visited by Her Majesty's ships of war, and justice frequently administered by Her Majesty's naval officers, and finally evangelised by the labours and munificence of British subjects.

ENCLOSURE No. 4.

SIR,

For the following reasons we think the British Government ought now to take possession of the New Hebrides Group of the South Sea Islands, of the Solomon Group, and of all the intervening chain of islands from Fiji to Guinea:—

1st. Because she has already taken possession of Fiji in the east, and we hope it will soon be known authoritatively that she has taken possession of New Guinea at the north-west, adjoining her Australian possessions, and the islands between complete this chain of islands lying along the Australian coast. Taking possession of the New Hebrides would not add much to her expenses, as her Governments on Fiji and New Guinea, with the visits of her men-of-war passing through the group of the New Hebrides and intervening islands on their way to New Guinea, would almost be sufficient for all her requirements on the islands between.

2nd. The sympathy of the New Hebrides natives are all with Great Britain, hence they long for British protection; while they fear and hate the French, who appear eager to annex the group, because they have seen the way the French have treated the native races of New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, and other South Sea Islands.

3rd. Till within the past few months almost all the Europeans on the New Hebrides were British subjects, who long for British protection.

4th. All the men, and all the money (over £140,000) used in civilising and Christianising the New Hebrides, have been British. Now fourteen missionaries, and the *Dayspring* mission ship, and about 150 native evangelists and teachers are employed in the above work on this group, in which over £6000 yearly of British and British-Colonial money is expended, and certainly it would be unwise to let any other power now take possession and reap the fruits of all this British outlay.

5th. Because the New Hebrides are already a British dependency in this sense: all its imports are from Sydney and Melbourne and British Colonies, and all its exports are also to British Colonies.

6th. The islands in this group are generally very rich in soil and in tropical products, so that, if a possession of Great Britain, and the labour traffic stopped, so as to retain what remains of the native populations on them, they would soon, and for ages to come, become rich sources of tropical wealth to these Colonies, as sugar cane is extensively cultivated on them by every native of the group even in his heathen state. For natives they are an industrious, hard-working race, living in villages and towns, and like farmers depending on the cultivation and products of the ground for their support by their plantations. The islands also grow maize, cotton, coffee, arrowroot, and spices, &c., &c., and all tropical products could be largely produced on them.

7th. Because if any other nation takes possession of them their excellent and spacious harbours, as on Efate, so well supplied with the best fresh water, and their near proximity to Great Britain's Australasian Colonies, would in time of war make them dangerous to British interests and commerce in the South Seas and to her Colonies.

8th. The thirteen islands of this group on which life and property are now comparatively safe, the 8000 professed Christians on the group, and all the churches formed among them, are, by God's blessing, the fruits of the labours of British missionaries, who, at great toil, expense, and loss of life, have translated, got printed, and taught the natives to read the Bible, in part or in whole, in nine different languages of this group, while 70,000 at least are longing and ready for the Gospel. On this group twenty-one members of the mission family died or were murdered by the savages in beginning God's work among them, not including good Bishop Patteson, of the Melanesian Mission, and we fear all this good work would be lost if the New Hebrides fell into other than British hands.

9th. Because we see no other way of suppressing the labour traffic in Polynesians, with all its many evils, as it rapidly depopulates the islands, being attended by much bloodshed, misery, and loss of life. It is an unmitigated evil to the natives, and ruinous to all engaged in it, and to the work of civilising and Christianising the islanders. While all experience proves that all labour laws and regulations, with Government agents and gun-boats, cannot prevent such evils, which have always been the sad accompaniments of all such traffic in men and women in every land, and because this traffic and its evils are a sad stain on our British glory and Australasian honour, seeing Britain has done so much to free the slave, and suppress slavery in other lands.

For the above reasons, and others that might be given, we sincerely hope and pray that you will do all possible to get Victoria and the other Colonial Governments to help and unite in urging Great Britain at once to take possession of the New Hebrides Group. Whether looked at in the interests of humanity, or Christianity, or commercially, or politically, surely it is most desirable that they should at once be British possessions, hence we plead for your judicious and able help, and remain,

Your humble servant,

JOHN G. PATON,

To the Honorable JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

Senior Missionary, New Hebrides Mission.

Premier's Office, Hobart, 29th June, 1883.

SIR,

WITH reference to the proposal that Great Britain should take steps to prevent the New Hebrides and other South Sea Islands from being taken possession of by any foreign Power, I observe from the public prints and from a telegram addressed by you to the Chief Secretary of this Colony, that you are of opinion that the Australasian Colonies as a whole should urge on the Imperial Authorities the annexation to the British Empire of these Islands, and should agree to defray the cost of their government.

It appears to me that any cost attending the maintenance of order in any islands which the British Government might think proper to take possession of should be borne by the particular Colony to which they might be attached, and which would reap any commercial or fiscal advantage which might hereafter accrue from the annexation. At any rate, as at present advised, I could not recommend the Government of this Colony to accept any share of such a responsibility. I cannot help thinking that, under existing circumstances, it would be better for the Australasian Colonies to confine their representation to the prevention of annexation by any foreign Power until the experiment of colonizing New Guinea, and even of Fiji, shall have been more fully developed.

I have, &c.

W. R. GIBLIN.

Hon. JAMES SERVICE, Premier, Victoria.

No. 170.

Premier's Office, Melbourne, 11th July, 1883.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th June in reply to the communications addressed by this Government to that of Tasmania on the subject of the proposal for the annexation of, or the establishment of a Protectorate over, the New Hebrides and neighbouring islands.

I feel greatly obliged for the frank expression of your views with which you have favoured me, but I am so impressed with the grave, indeed critical importance of the question for this group of Colonies, that I venture to ask you to re-look at the matter before regarding it as finally disposed of.

As a ground for further consideration, I would point out that the proposal to which assent is asked is not quite of the character objected to in your letter. It is not that the Islands, or either of them, should be attached to any particular Colony, in which case I quite concur with you that it would be equitable that that Colony should bear the burden of the expense. The measure proposed, however, merely is that Great Britain should take possession of, or establish a Protectorate over the Islands; and as this would be mainly, if not solely in the interests of the existing Colonies, it seems only just that they should bear the cost, or, at the least, a part of the cost. The amount of this might be apportioned in relation to the population—or the revenue—of each Colony, and the burden thus divided would be not only small, but, as compared with the advantages, infinitesimal.

I shall be very glad if you will look at the question from this point of view, for the purpose of, if possible, recommending your Cabinet to agree with the other Colonies in sharing the expense of the proposed action.

In our future this question must exercise a considerable influence upon commerce, and it may prove that the matter of naval and military establishments will come to be almost governed by the favourable or adverse possession of these Islands.

On all these grounds I would strongly urge the importance of all the Colonies joining in a unanimous utterance on the subject. The question forms a national one for Australasia, and one with regard to which unanimity must greatly augment her dignity and her influence abroad.

I have, &c.

JAMES SERVICE, *Premier.*

The Honorable the Premier, Hobart.

TELEGRAM.

Melbourne, 11th July, 1883.

ADDRESS to Queen passed both Houses Parliament unanimously, and emphatic speeches in support of annexation or protectorate New Guinea and Pacific Islands, and that Victoria willing contribute towards expense on requisition signed by most influential persons of all classes. Mayor, Melbourne, has convened meeting in support Government proposals.

Premier, Tasmania.

JAMES SERVICE, *Premier.*

Premier's Office, Hobart, 16th July, 1883.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 170, of the 11th instant, and of your telegram of the same, as to the New Guinea and Pacific Islands question.

This Government is very desirous to act in harmony with the other Colonies in all matters of Australasian concern, and I will therefore willingly bring the matter before the Cabinet for re-consideration with a view to see how far we can assist the larger Colonies by asking our Parliament (which meets on the 24th instant) to adopt an Address from both Houses urging Her Majesty's Government to take such steps as may be most effectual to prevent the acquisition of any of the islands referred to by any foreign Power, whether those steps involved a protectorate or annexation, or some third course of action.

As to the question of expenses, I presume, in the case of a Protectorate, they would be almost nominal; but if annexation involves the governing, according to English ideas, of a considerable number of islands scattered over vast tracks of ocean, and inhabited by men speaking very various dialects, and of widely different degrees of civilisation, I confess myself unable to even approximate the cost of maintaining law and order on such territories and under such conditions. Nevertheless, as you justly suggest, if the cost were apportioned amongst the Australasian Colonies according to either revenue or population, our share would be but small as compared to the advantages which might be expected to accrue to the Australasian group.

I have, &c.

W. R. GIBLIN.

The Honorable the Premier, Melbourne.

TELEGRAM.

Melbourne, 25th July, 1883.

HAVE received following telegram from our Agent-General, and now forward it to you:—
"Joint Despatch presented yesterday, without Adelaide, calling special attention outrageous measure now before French Assembly to transport habitual criminals to Pacific. I and other Agents in constant conference and accord. Will not relax efforts. Inform other Colonies."

For the Premier—E. J. THOMAS, Secretary.

Chief Secretary, Hobart.

FORWARDED to the Hon. the Premier.

WM. MOORE.
26. 7. 83.

Queensland.

Colonial Secretary's Office, Brisbane, 17th July, 1883.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to forward to you the enclosed copy of an extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Executive Council of this Colony of this date, embodying a Memorandum by myself on the refusal of the Imperial Government to confirm the recent annexation of the island of New Guinea, and to request that you will be good enough to favour me with the views of your Government thereupon, and to take such steps as you may consider necessary to move the Imperial Government to an early reconsideration of their decision against the annexation of this valuable territory.

I have, &c.

THOMAS McILWRAITH.

The Honorable the Colonial Secretary, Tasmania.

FORWARDED to the Hon. the Premier.

WM. MOORE.
25 July, 1883.

NEW GUINEA.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Executive Council of Queensland.

At Government House, Brisbane, 17 July, 1883.

PRESENT :

HIS EXCELLENCY THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE GOVERNMENT IN COUNCIL.

HIS Excellency the Administrator of the Government, at the instance of the Honorable the Colonial Secretary, lays before the Council the following Memorandum by the Premier on the refusal of the Imperial Government to confirm the annexation of New Guinea, and recommends that the same be approved:—

MEMORANDUM by the Premier of Queensland on the refusal of the Imperial Government to confirm the Annexation of New Guinea.

THE decision arrived at by Her Majesty's Government in reference to the annexation of New Guinea seems to me to justify some decided and concerted action on the part of the Australian Colonies. It is scarcely necessary to refer at any length to the previous correspondence on this subject, or to the repeated representations in connection with it which have been made to the Imperial Government.

It seems to me right that reference should be made to the various reasons assigned for this refusal. In 1875, Lord Carnarvon, while not discouraging the idea of extensive annexation, assigned as one reason why he could not act on the representations of the Australian Colonies, that the British tax-payer could not and would not bear the expenditure. Lord Derby advances the same reason now. He adds to this other reasons—the enormous extent of the territory, the unknown character of the interior, and the hostility of the natives. These objections may be easily combated. The expense need not be great, and we now know that the Australian Colonies will undertake this expense, or share it with Her Majesty's Government, if required to do so. As for the natives, the Dutch have not interfered with the aborigines in that part of New Guinea claimed by them, and their claim costs them nothing. They wait, and simply hold the country as against any other Power. There would be no difficulty in our doing single-handed, in that part of New Guinea contiguous to our shores, a great deal more than the Dutch have done during the last fifty years in the North-Western portion of the Island. Queensland has simply been desirous that New Guinea should not fall into the hands of a foreign Power, and that the requisite authority should be exercised over those adventurers who frequent the shores of that island. Experience in Torres Straits has already proved valuable in this respect. The "beachcombers" who frequented the islands of Murray and Darnley have taken themselves off since the annexation of these islands to Queensland territory. What was effected in Torres Straits could have been carried out with perfect ease on the mainland of New Guinea. All that was required was the acceptance of the proclamation. I still think that it ought to have been accepted, and I hope that the Australian Colonies will, by their several and united representations, urge upon Her Majesty's Government a reconsideration of their decision.

But there can be no doubt that the refusal to annex New Guinea, together with the possible acquisition by foreign Powers of some of the Pacific Islands contiguous to Australia, does raise very serious questions intimately connected with the future interests of the Australasian Colonies. If Her Majesty's Government does not feel that the annexation of New Guinea, or of the islands adjacent to Australia is of so much importance to the Empire at large as it is to the Australian Colonies, let some means be devised by which those islands may be held and governed for the benefit of the Australian people. The step taken by the Queensland Government in causing a formal claim to be made over New Guinea was done in the interests not only of Queensland, but of all the Australian Colonies, and in the interests of the natives of New Guinea, who ought to be protected by some lawful authority from contact

with the lawless adventurers who are too often a law to themselves. That also which is for the advantage of this country, is surely for the advantage of Great Britain. The middle island of New Zealand was won for Great Britain by a timely act of annexation. In the last century, similar timely acts of annexation won large portions of America for the Anglo-Saxon race. Why, then, should not Queensland be permitted, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, to assist in carrying out this national and beneficial policy? If then, the real reason for the refusal to annex New Guinea be, not the expense, but the difficulty of providing for the government and protection of the native races, might not this be met by the sanction and authority of the united Colonies? Some justification, it has been often said, is required for federation—may it not be found in this exigency?

I submit that a case has arisen which may be made use of to call into existence the higher forms of government required to give effect to this policy of annexation. The Australian Colonies are now united by sentiments of filial regard and devotion to the British Empire, though they are not represented in the British Legislature. The Imperial Parliament dominates the whole Empire, and the Colonies are not represented in that Parliament, though their interests may be vitally affected by its decisions. It is not possible to give authoritative effect to the wishes of the people of Australia in anything beyond their own domestic interests, except through the intervention of Her Majesty's Government.

The circumstances of the present case seem to point to a necessity for combination among the Australian Colonies—a combination for both legislative and executive purposes. Australian interests are involved in securing the peaceful and progressive supremacy of Australian influences in the adjoining seas. In order to effect this it is necessary that there should not only be sentiments held in common, but that a form of government should be provided capable of giving expression to these sentiments. The federation of the Australian Colonies may thus be forwarded. Here is work for the united Colonies to do, if they can be got to unite. I suggest that a convention of delegates should be held to discuss the basis upon which a Federal Government could be constituted.

This, I believe, was the form adopted in Canada previous to the constitution of the Dominion Parliament. May not this example be followed here? The Dominion Government has added largely to the influence and the national integrity of Canada. It seems probable that a similar form of government adapted to the special requirements of Australia would give life to national aspirations here, without repressing the autonomous Governments of the respective Colonies. To it would properly belong the discussion of such measures as are necessary for the consolidation and security of Australian interests, as well as for the government of these outlying islands in the Pacific, which at present are not claimed by any civilised Power.

I think, therefore, that there ought, in the first place, to be representations from all the Australian Colonies, urging upon Her Majesty's Government a reconsideration of their decision as regards New Guinea; and, in the next place, Her Majesty's Government should be invited to move in the direction of providing for a form of federal government suitable for the Australian Colonies. I propose that this memorandum should be embodied in an Executive Minute and forwarded both to Her Majesty's Government and to the Governments of the respective Australian Colonies for their consideration, and for such action as they may deem expedient.

T. McILWRAITH.

10th July, 1883.

The Council deliberate and advise as recommended. Immediate action.

A. V. DRURY, *Clerk of the Executive Council.*

Premier's Office, Hobart, 30th July, 1883.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, with reference to the proposed annexation of New Guinea, and enclosing a copy of a Memorandum by you on the subject, dated the 10th July, approved by the Administrator in Council on the 17th July.

I have perused with much interest your Memorandum, which deals with a subject which the Premier of Victoria has repeatedly brought under my notice during the past two months,—although Mr. Service's action appears to have been directed with a view to secure the annexation, not of New Guinea only, but of the New Hebrides and other Islands in the Pacific.

This Government is prepared to act in cordial unison with the other Australasian Colonies in making all urgent representations to Great Britain to induce the Imperial Authorities to prevent the occupation of either South-Western New Guinea or any of the at present unannexed Pacific Islands by any foreign Power. The occupation of any of these places by a foreign Government as a Penal Settlement would be in the highest degree objectionable; and their occupation, even for peaceful colonisation, by any Continental Power would, in all probability, cause trouble to Queensland and New South Wales in the future. Now the interests of the Australasian Colonies are so far linked together that even a probability of future trouble or danger to one Colony is a sufficient reason for united action on the part of all. But the real difficulty of the case, to my mind,

lies in this: that the question of what measures are expedient, or even possible to be taken, is one the determination of which must be left to Her Majesty's Ministers in England, and in coming to their decision they must necessarily be affected by larger considerations than those which present themselves to our minds, and their action may be limited by obligations of the nature of which we are uninformed, and of the extent of which we are ignorant. The question, therefore, whether the end we seek,—viz., the prevention of annexation by any other Power,—is only to be attained by an act of annexation on the part of England, or whether it may not be attained by diplomatic representations, is one that only English Ministers can settle, and it should be left in their hands. It is perfectly obvious that the Australasian Colonies, standing alone, are in no position to enter upon a policy of aggression; and that, apart from their position as a portion of the great English Empire, they could offer no effectual resistance to the occupation by France, Germany, or America of any one of the numerous islands which dot the Pacific, although the occupation of such island by a foreign Government might justly be deemed fraught with menace to the future peacefulness of these Southern seas. But if we are dependent upon England for any effective check to what we regard as foreign encroachment, is it wise, or even becoming, to assume a semi-hostile position to the Imperial Authorities because, on our first approach to the Queen's Advisers, we do not at once get all we ask? I cannot but believe, in view of the strong language that has been used as to this question of annexation, and of the impatience of control which the proposed action indicates, that the assembly of a Federal Council or Convention at the present time for the purpose of expressing more forcibly and more collectively our dissatisfaction with the decision of Her Majesty's Ministers, and our opinion of the unwisdom of their action, would be the beginning of difficulties the end of which I do not profess to be able to foresee.

The mere question of the expense of governing any new Dependency is, I venture to think, of secondary consideration. Shared among the Colonies it would not be burdensome, and probably Tasmania's share would be comparatively trifling. My objection to the course suggested is rather that it appears to me that we are going too fast and too far; that we are subordinating Imperial to Colonial interests, and assuming an incapacity or an unwillingness on the part of Great Britain to defend us from the evils which we dread, for which there does not seem to be any sufficient warrant.

For these reasons this Government is not prepared to do more than to join in urging Her Majesty to take such effectual steps as the wisdom of her Advisers may suggest to prevent the occupation of New Guinea or the Pacific Islands by any foreign Power.

The Honorable the Premier, Queensland.

I have, &c.

W. R. GIBLIN.