

1876.

NEW ZEALAND.

SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

(FURTHER PAPERS RELATING TO.)

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

No. 1.

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Right Hon. the Earl of CARNARVON to
Governor the Most Hon. the Marquis of NORMANBY.

(Circular.)

MY LORD,—

Downing Street, 9th July, 1875.

In the autumn of last year, and in the course of a correspondence with reference to the cession of the Fiji Islands, I suggested in a despatch addressed to the Governor of New South Wales, of which copies were subsequently sent to the Governors of Victoria, New Zealand, and Queensland, that each of these four colonies, being from various reasons specially interested in the establishment of the new colony, should contribute a small annual sum, not to exceed in any case £4,000, towards the probable deficiency in the revenue.

2. Even before the lamentable outbreak of disease which has recently ravaged the islands, sufficient proof had been afforded that the anticipations of revenue were not likely to be realized; and the last return which I have received shows the collections from the 11th of October to the 31st of December, 1874, to fall short by £1,544 13s., or considerably less than the moderate expenditure of the same period. The late calamity, it is needless to say, has of course seriously crippled the necessarily slender financial resources of the young colony.

3. Her Majesty's Government has now made such provision as seems necessary for enabling the Colony of Fiji to contend with what I trust may be only a limited period of financial difficulty, and it is not my object to renew in this despatch the suggestion that any of the colonies should co-operate in the way contemplated by me last year. But I think it due to myself, and indeed to the Colonial Governments also (all of whom readily entered upon the consideration of the question, although none of them were satisfied that they could confidently make any recommendation to their Parliaments), that I should take some notice of the replies which have been made, more especially as the principle on which I proceeded would seem not to have been sufficiently explained or understood.

4. The circumstances under which I considered that Her Majesty's Government might be justified in accepting a money contribution from the Australian colonies were these: At their strong and repeated instance, and for reasons on which I need not now dwell, it had been decided to accept the cession of Fiji, and to establish there a British Government, which, though its presence must necessarily affect in many ways the neighbouring colonies, it was not thought desirable to place in special connection with, or under the political influence of, any one of them.

5. It became, therefore, necessary to provide a sufficient civil staff for the proper administration of Fiji as a separate Crown colony; and having been called

upon on many recent occasions to consider what minimum of expenditure could be safely adopted in similar cases, I framed a scale of establishments involving the lowest possible cost which, according to my experience, could safely be incurred.

I at once perceived, however, that it was very doubtful whether the revenue would meet the cost of such an administration; and as New South Wales and New Zealand had liberally volunteered to give assistance, through their Governors or Judges, or otherwise, in the conduct of public affairs, I thought it not impossible that they might be disposed to make their contributions in another, and, as it so happened, in a more convenient form, and that the other two colonies principally concerned in Polynesian matters, namely, Victoria and Queensland, might desire not to be excluded from any such arrangement. In order to place all as far as possible on the same footing, it appeared to me that the most satisfactory course for all parties might be a money contribution, but that, for reasons which I explained, and which I think must command general assent, the colonies contributing should not undertake any share in the government of Fiji.

7. Without recapitulating in detail the replies of the several Governments, I may state briefly that the Government of New South Wales was of opinion that it would not be possible for all the four colonies to combine with the Imperial Government in granting financial assistance, but, with a liberality and readiness which Her Majesty's Government fully appreciate, offered to ask the sanction of the Legislature to a proposal that New South Wales should bear an equal part of any deficit with this Government: suggesting, as an alternative, that New South Wales and England should each guarantee one-half of a contemplated loan of £100,000.

8. The Government of Queensland, on the other hand, was not favourable to the principle of a contribution from the revenue of that colony, and considered that Fiji had no claim, direct or indirect, upon it, on the ground that no trading relations exist between the two colonies. Without desiring to enter into any unnecessary controversy, I feel bound, in passing, to observe on this head, that as Queensland has been largely concerned in the labour traffic, the regulation of which was a principal object of the annexation of Fiji, that colony could not be considered to be uninterested—if, indeed, it was not under a special obligation to assist in such a case as this.

9. The Government of New Zealand took a somewhat different view, and was unwilling to contribute towards the expenses of Fiji without a corresponding voice in the direction of the administration.

10. And lastly, the Government of Victoria, observing that it had not been a party to previous communications with respect to the annexation of Fiji, felt unable to decide whether it should place the proposal before Parliament without further information as to the duration of the proposed grant, and as to the obligations which would devolve on Victoria in the event of complications in Fiji—matters which I had endeavoured, though as it would appear imperfectly, to explain in my despatch to the Governor of New South Wales of the 7th August. The representation, however, made by the Government of Victoria, that “no colony or colonies should exercise any exclusive control or enjoy any special privileges in Fiji from which the rest of Australia should be shut out,” would in any case have had great weight with me, and expressed a conclusion to which I had myself already been led.

12. It would, in my opinion, have been obviously undesirable, in a matter where the grace of the action depended upon it being voluntary, and where the amount involved was so small that it would be mainly valuable as proving the readiness of the great colonies to accept their membership in the common duties of the Empire, to put the slightest pressure upon any one of them to make this joint contribution.

It was, as I explained in my former despatch, principally to give trial and effect to the principle of joint action among different members of the Empire in such cases that I invited co-operation in a matter in which the contributions proposed were so inconsiderable as to make it practically immaterial, except in connection with such a principle, whether the arrangements could be at once carried out.

13. But as I am still inclined to believe that the Colonial Governments are alive to the expediency of bearing, in certain cases, a share of those burdens which cannot fairly be thrown entirely upon the revenue of Great Britain, it may be well that I should take this opportunity of again explaining the part which, in my opinion, it would be reasonable, in any similar case in future, for them to bear in an undertaking into which they may desire the Imperial Government to enter.

14. It may again hereafter be deemed a matter of great importance to a colony or group of colonies that the protection or sovereignty of the Crown should be extended to a place adjacent to those colonies, either because British subjects have settled or are likely to settle there, or because there is a trade with colonial ports needing protection or development, or in order to anticipate the occupation of the country by any foreign Power.

15. Taking, in illustration of this principle, the case of Fiji, or that of New Guinea (over a portion of which Her Majesty's Government have been invited, for reasons which are more or less worthy of consideration, to advise that the Crown should assume jurisdiction), it must be obvious that the future of these islands is of the most direct and material importance to the colonies of Australasia; while it would be impossible for a very large proportion of the taxpayers of this country to understand on what principle they should bear—whilst the colonies immediately concerned should be exempted from—the burden of any expenditure that may be incurred in connection with such places.

16. In the corresponding case of a Crown colony, there would be no doubt as to the course to be pursued. If the Government of such a colony should recommend the intervention of this country and the expenditure of money in a neighbouring territory, among the first questions to be considered would be what amount the colony could and ought to expend on such objects, as in fact has recently happened in the Malay Peninsula. There, in order to promote British enterprise and extend relations in the Malay territories adjacent to the Straits Settlements, the Government of those settlements has granted a subsidy for a telegraph line beyond its frontiers, and has made itself responsible, in the first instance, for the salaries of residents at the Courts of the Native princes. The progress of the Australasian colonies is so rapid that one can hardly venture at any particular date to calculate what their aggregate revenues may be; but it has been lately said that they amount to some £14,000,000 per annum. I cannot doubt that colonies which possess such magnificent resources, and which have shown not only an enlightened liberality in their internal government, but, on occasional emergency, a remarkable eagerness to contribute to Imperial needs, will be desirous to join in establishing some system under which they may share in the cost of any policy which they may hereafter propose as essential to their interests and those of the Empire generally; and I request you, in communicating this despatch to your Ministers, to intimate to them, that while I am obliged by the consideration which they have given to my suggestion in reference to a contribution towards the deficiency of revenue in Fiji, and have no desire to press it further on them, I shall be glad if they will consider whether as regards the Colony of New Zealand alone, or, better still, in my opinion, should this appear convenient, in concert with the other Governments of Australasia, whether the time has not arrived for the adoption of some general principle (such as has in fact been already tested, though on a very small scale, in the case of the joint contributions towards the settlement of Cape York), under which each colony more immediately concerned shall bear its reasonable proportion of the expense attending any policy which it may advocate or approve.

I have, &c.,

CARNARVON.

Governor the Most Hon. the Marquis of Normanby,
K.C.M.G., &c., &c.

No. 2.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor the Most Hon. the Marquis of NORMANBY
to the Right Hon. the Earl of CARNARVON.

Government House, Auckland,

MY LORD,—

New Zealand, 27th April, 1876.

Referring to your Lordship's circular despatch of the 9th of July, 1875, on the subject of the annexation of Fiji, in which, while waiving any desire to press further the consideration of a contribution from this colony towards the deficiency in Fiji, your Lordship expressed a desire that, as regards future action, my Government should consider "Whether the time has not arrived for the adoption of some general principle, under which each colony more immediately concerned shall bear its reasonable proportion of the expense attending any policy which it may advocate or approve," I have now the honor to enclose six copies of a memorandum in which my Government have embodied their views upon the subject.

2. I regret that there has been so much delay in obtaining this reply, but my Government were anxious to reserve their answer until after the return of Sir Julius Vogel, with whom they wished to consult.

3. It certainly appears to me most desirable that, in future, any question of contribution from the revenue of one colony towards the support of any new colony that it is proposed to annex, should be distinctly settled before the annexation takes place, so as to preclude any subsequent misunderstanding. At the same time, however, where such annexation takes place at the instigation and for the benefit of any particular colony or colonies, it does seem to me most reasonable that, before complying with their request, they should be required to fix definitely the funds that they are prepared to appropriate towards the carrying out of the policy they are advocating.

4. The advantages and disadvantages to this colony of the proposed annexation could then be dispassionately considered; and while the Imperial revenue would thus be relieved from a fair proportion of the burden entailed, the colonies could have no possible complaint, as their contribution would have been voluntarily tendered in consideration of the benefit they expected to derive.

5. My Government will, in accordance with the wish expressed by your Lordship, communicate with the other Australian Governments, with the view, if possible, of adopting some general principle on the subject.

I have, &c.,

NORMANBY.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.

Enclosure.

The Hon. Sir J. VOGEL to His Excellency the GOVERNOR.

MY LORD,—

Wellington, 8th April, 1876.

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency a memorandum which has been agreed to in Cabinet, in reply to Lord Carnarvon's despatch of the 9th of July, 1875.

I also enclose copies of the memorandum, as your Excellency may desire to communicate with the Secretary of State by the out-going mail.

I have, &c.,

His Excellency the Most Hon. the Marquis of Normanby, Auckland.

JULIUS VOGEL.

Sub-Enclosure.

MEMO. for His EXCELLENCY.

THE Premier, with the approval of the Cabinet, has the honor to respectfully submit to His Excellency the following remarks upon the circular despatch of the Earl of Carnarvon, dated 9th July, 1875, on the subject of Colonial contributions to the cost of governing the Islands of the Pacific, of which Her Majesty assumes possession for the benefit of these colonies.

The delay in commenting on this despatch has arisen through the Premier's absence, and his colleagues desiring to await his return before taking action about it.

Lord Carnarvon states his views with great kindness and courtesy, and evidently desires to consider that the colonies have been actuated by not illiberal motives: but it is impossible to fail to see that the case, as put by his Lordship, means—That the Australasian Colonies more or less urged on the Imperial Government the expediency and the necessity of assuming possession of Fiji; that partly

in consequence of these representations possession was assumed; that the colonies are particularly interested in such possession being taken; that they have ample revenues; that, as soon as annexation was effected, a trifling contribution to the revenue of Fiji was asked from them, as much with the view of testing their feelings as from the necessity of such contribution; that the contribution was refused on various grounds; that the Imperial Government were left to bear alone the consequence of complying with the advice of the colonies; and that, to avoid any similar misconception, it will be better, in future, for the colonies to recognize the principle that certain responsibilities attach to the advice they render.

It is not unnatural that the Secretary of State should see the subject in this light. He finds the Imperial Government threatened with a deficiency on account of Her Majesty having accepted the possession of Fiji, that possession having been taken at the instance of the colonies; and when he turns to them for aid, the specific request he makes meets with refusal.

But the Premier wishes to say a few words on the colonial view of the case, to show that at any rate the colonies have not been actuated by an illiberal desire to evade responsibilities they conceived to be just. He believes that underlying the replies of all the colonies there have been these two feelings—First, that the mother country was drifting into an entirely new colonial, or rather anti-colonial, policy; that in times past she did not hesitate to incur colonial expenditure; that assuming possession of Fiji was analogous to many previous cases; that to ask contributions from the colonies was a novel proceeding, connected only with the presumed policy of casting the colonies adrift; and that to acquiesce in it would argue an acceptance by the colonies of the new position it was desired to assign to them. Second, that there was an anomaly in contributing to the cost of a Government in which no control was to be permitted to the contributors.

The Premier is glad to hope that the policy of disintegrating the Empire is less actively pursued. The Conservatives never supported it, and an important section of the Liberals appears to have abandoned it—as witness the remarkable speech on the colonies delivered a few months since by the Right Honorable Mr. Forster. But it is not to be supposed that the soreness which for several years had grown up in the colonies, at the idea that they were regarded as burdens on, rather than as valuable parts of, the Empire, should die away in a day. Lord Carnarvon's proposal was not altogether viewed in the spirit in which it was made. Besides, it is much better that prospective rather than retrospective arrangements should be made. It is not the business of Governments to be liberal; on the contrary, they have to consider it, as a rule, highly inexpedient to indulge in any expenditure that can with honor be avoided. The Imperial Government having annexed Fiji, made it more difficult to entertain the question of contributions than would have been the case had the Colonial Governments been told that agreement to make such contributions would be considered necessary before Her Majesty would be advised to annex those islands.

The case now to be considered is that of prospective contribution as a consequence of advising further annexation. The question is one of great interest to New Zealand, because this colony is no doubt much concerned in the annexation of the Navigator Islands. It is a new feature for a colony by pecuniary contributions to aid the mother country to enlarge the colonial possessions. The Secretary of State gives no analogous instance, excepting one of a joint contribution to a harbour of refuge at Somerset. Humanitarian rather than commercial reasons led to this arrangement, and it is very little in point. But a great deal of weight may be attached to the view, that the Imperial Government have the right to consider advice volunteered by the colonies, unsupported by any assistance, as, to say the least, not much entitled to consideration if it be made on the ground only of Imperial concern. On the ground of the interests of the whole Empire, a request to extend the colonial possessions made by 300,000 people in New Zealand, is entitled to no more weight than a similar request from 300,000 British subjects in a British town. To them, the answer would be, "Why do you want to cast an additional cost on the country? Our colonial possessions are sufficiently large." But the request from New Zealand would really not mean advice volunteered in the general interests only of the Empire: it would mean that it was volunteered, also, in the special interest of the portion of the Empire making the request. And here another fact obtrudes itself. The English Government, before Fiji was annexed, had commenced a crusade against labour traffic amongst the islands. Nothing could have been more satisfactory than this determination to stamp out a system of slavery; but the feeling was very strong, that the attempt to do it would be comparatively futile until the Government acquired a more substantial right to protect the islanders than they possessed. Whilst they did not hold, and were not directly interested in ruling, a single island between Sydney and San Francisco, their efforts were regarded as spasmodic and temporary, and had the effect of rather stimulating the labour trade, by making it more profitable. It is impossible to overstate the moral effects of annexing Fiji; but before the annexation, the colonies felt that their own interest in its annexation was trifling as compared with the interest which the mother country had in it, in aid of the determination to repress South Sea slavery.

The Premier, when he despaired of anything like a comprehensive South Sea Islands policy being pursued by the Imperial Government, proposed that New Zealand should take the task in hand by means of a chartered Company. It is his duty to admit that there is no longer need of New Zealand volunteering in this way; for he recognizes that, as far as the Empire is concerned, the steps being taken are in a wise and excellent direction. Not only has Fiji been annexed, but, by an Act of last year, Her Majesty, without possession, has asserted in a novel form a right of exercising considerable authority in those of the islands which do not possess civilized Governments. Sir Arthur Gordon, the High Commissioner appointed under the provisions of "The Pacific Islanders Protection Act, 1875," is certainly not likely to undervalue the responsibilities of the powerful position assigned to him. Under these circumstances, it seems to the Premier reasonable that any recommendations for further annexation which New Zealand makes should, unless those recommendations are wholly free from considerations specially affecting itself, be accompanied by a statement of the pecuniary aid it is prepared to render. No doubt such pecuniary aid would be very peculiar; but the recommendations would also be peculiar, for they would be made in New Zealand interests. It is unquestionably important to New

Zealand that a foreign Power should not own the Navigator Islands. But in this case, the Imperial Government has a large direct interest. The islands are excellent, both in resources and position; they are outside the hurricane track; and for maritime purposes are, it is believed, much more valuable than Fiji, with its dangerous approaches. It is, perhaps, inexpedient to urge annexation just now, but it may be desirable at some future time to do so; and, in the face of the despatch under consideration, it would be impossible to make the recommendation without knowing the views of the Assembly as to a money contribution. The Premier therefore thinks that when it is considered desirable to take further steps, the Government should submit to both Houses a Resolution to the effect that the Assembly recognizes that if the colony urges the Imperial Government to further annexation, because of the interests of New Zealand partly or wholly requiring the annexation, a statement should also be made of the amount the colony is prepared to contribute; and the Assembly is also of opinion that if the Government at any time deem it necessary to recommend the annexation of the Navigator group, such recommendation should be accompanied by an undertaking to submit to the Legislature a stated contribution.

Lord Carnarvon intimates that he would prefer that the colony should come to a conclusion in concert with the other colonies. On behalf of New Zealand, the Premier would be glad to aid this result, but he does not see much prospect of it. New South Wales and New Zealand frequently act in concert, and their interests are identical with regard to some of the islands. The other colonies have less direct interests at stake. With His Excellency's permission, copies of this Memorandum might be sent to all the Australian colonies, though it is doubtful if any results would follow. Probably each colony has already forwarded an expression of its views.

Wellington, 5th April, 1876.

JULIUS VOGEL.

No. 3.

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Right Hon. the Earl of CARNARVON to Governor
the Most Hon. the Marquis of NORMANBY.

(Circular.)

SIR,—

Downing Street, 13th January, 1876.

I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of a despatch which I addressed last month to the Governor of New South Wales, being of opinion, as I stated in the first paragraph of that despatch, that I might most conveniently address to that colony which had made the most extensive proposals with regard to further annexation (whether in New Guinea or elsewhere in the Pacific), those observations which had been called for by despatches which I had received from other colonies on portions of the same subject.

I need not, of course, add that, whilst embodying my general reply in a despatch addressed to one single colony, I have given the fullest and most careful consideration to all the communications which have reached me on this matter from other Australasian colonies; and I trust that the course which I have taken will not be thought inconvenient. I regret, however, that through an accidental delay, this despatch has not been sooner addressed to you.

I have, &c.,

The Officer Administering the Government
of New Zealand.

CARNARVON.

Enclosure.

The Earl of CARNARVON to Governor Sir H. ROBINSON.

SIR,—

Downing Street, 8th December, 1875.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 52, of the 3rd June, in which you transmitted a minute, signed by Mr. Robertson, on behalf of your Ministers, recommending that Her Majesty should be advised, with as little delay as possible, to take possession not only of New Guinea, but of the Islands of New Britain, New Ireland, and a large number of other islands extending to a long distance in the Pacific Ocean east and north-east of New Guinea. I have also received addresses in favour of the annexation of New Guinea from the Legislatures of South Australia and Queensland, and I am informed that a similar representation will be addressed to me from Victoria; but as the minute of your Ministers comprises a much more extensive proposal than has otherwise come before me, it may be convenient that I should address to you that general statement of the present views of Her Majesty's Government which it is convenient no longer to delay.

2. The principal reasons which have been advanced for the extension of British sovereignty over New Guinea and other islands of the Pacific may be fairly summed up as follows:—

- (1.) That their possession would be of value to the Empire generally, and conduce specially to the peace and safety of Australia, the development of Australian trade, and the prevention of crime throughout the Pacific.
- (2.) That the establishment of a Foreign Power in the neighbourhood of Australia would be injurious to British, and more particularly to Australian, interests.

3. But it is urged that, although primarily of importance to Australia, it is as an Imperial question that this annexation should be considered; and I am further led to understand that those colonies which would derive most advantage, whether in a political or in a commercial point of view, from this step, are of opinion that no part of its cost should be defrayed from colonial funds.

4. I could wish that some facts had been stated, or some arguments adduced, to substantiate a view which will naturally be thought here to need proof. There is, I am satisfied, not only no disinclination, but a hearty willingness on the part of the people and Parliament of this country, to accept, whether in expense or in political responsibilities, the common burdens of that Empire of which they are justly proud; but it is simply impossible either for me to admit or, if even I were to make the admission, to persuade the English people that the Australian colonies have no special interest in the annexation of New Guinea, and that the responsibility of the measure rests exclusively with the Imperial Government. While, therefore, I am ready to give the fullest consideration to any advantage, if such can be shown, which would accrue to the Empire at large from the acquisition of the very great area of country now under consideration, I cannot at present perceive any ground other than that of its interest to Australia on which such a proposal could be seriously entertained. The proposal is made, it must be remembered, in the absence of any English settlements, I might almost say of any individuals of European race, on this unexplored continent, and in face of the fact that the information which we at present possess respecting it is extremely discouraging. Such trade, however, as would be developed in New Guinea and the adjacent islands, would principally benefit the Australian colonies, and it would not be easy to show that for such a purpose this country ought to incur a heavy expenditure unshared by any Australian colony.

5. Your Ministers refer at some length to the facilities which would be given for repressing abuses and maintaining order by the establishment of British sovereignty throughout the islands. On this, again, I am bound to remark that it is only to a limited extent that this country can be deemed to lie under the obligation of controlling, single-handed and unassisted, those places in which British subjects, in common with the subjects of many other Powers, carry on their trading business in the South Pacific; and on the other hand, it will, I think, be admitted that England has shown no unwillingness to accept her full share of the expense, labour, and responsibility attendant upon the discharge of such a duty. She has, within the last twelve months, undertaken and carried out, in no grudging spirit, the duties involved in the annexation of Fiji; and she has created by Imperial legislation an adequate machinery for establishing and maintaining the authority of a High Commissioner over such places in the Pacific as it may from time to time seem expedient to bring under his jurisdiction. Your Advisers will, in fact, find that the 6th section of the Pacific Islanders Protection Act of 1875 (passed since their minute was written) answers in effect most of the latter part of their suggestions. It will, under this Act, be in the power of Her Majesty's Government, should they think fit, to bring within the control of the High Commissioner the places referred to by your Ministers as desirable for annexation; and it will thus be possible to punish crime, to supervise the local trade, and, it may perhaps be added, to learn by experience how far there are other places which it may be expedient or necessary to bring absolutely under British rule.

6. As, therefore, provision has been made, in the manner which I have explained, for the exercise of some authority over British subjects in the places under consideration, the principal if not the only ground on which Her Majesty's Government could be pressed to come to so hasty a decision as is now urged in favour of further extending the Queen's sovereignty in the Pacific, would be the imminent probability of the annexation of New Guinea by some Foreign State. I should regret any such intention on the part of any Foreign Power, but I fail to perceive any present indication of it. The United States have continued to adhere to their traditional policy of not acquiring dependencies remote from the Continent of America; the German Government has, I am informed, very lately intimated that it has no intention of acquiring colonies, and this intimation had special reference to New Guinea; and if, contrary to all present expectation, any other European Power should contemplate the acquisition of any of the Pacific Islands, it may be confidently supposed that it would not, without previous communication with this Government, assume jurisdiction over a place the expediency of annexing which to the British Empire is well known to have been formally recommended, and to be under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. To assume any other line of action would be to assume a course of conduct very little consistent with those friendly professions which Her Majesty's Government constantly receive from other Governments and States.

7. I request you, therefore, to inform your Ministers that while Her Majesty's Government will continue to examine, by the light of such information as they may be able to procure, the arguments for and against the extension of British Sovereignty over New Guinea or any other of the Pacific Islands, they are at present far from being satisfied that such a course is expedient, and see no reason for hastening a discussion on so important a question. In the meantime, with a view to avert, as far as possible, the disasters, bloodshed, and mortality which are likely to arise out of the speculations of trading companies or *quasi*-military expeditions, and also with a view to reserve to the Crown that power which cannot properly be surrendered, and the abdication of which in former times, and in similar circumstances, has led to very great trouble, loss, and expense, it is, I think, convenient that the warning contained in the enclosed letter, addressed to the promoters of a projected Company in London, should be made public in the colonies where similar schemes are, as I understand, already being proposed.

I have, &c.,

CARNARVON.

Sub-Enclosure.

The COLONIAL OFFICE to EDWARD SCHUBERT, Esq.

SIR,—

Downing Street, 30th October, 1875.

I am directed by the Earl of Carnarvon to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, transmitting the prospectus of a proposed Association, to be styled "The New Guinea Colonizing Association," with a draft of proposed rules and regulations for the guidance of an expeditionary force, and requesting that this project may receive the moral support of Her Majesty's Government,

and such legal recognition as the promoters conceive could be given to it by the enrolment of the expeditionary force under the Volunteer Act, and the appointment of certain members of it as Justices of the Peace for the Island of New Guinea.

2. His Lordship has attentively examined the scheme laid before him by you, and regrets that he is obliged to consider it one to which he can in no way give the approval which you seek. Even if the information at present possessed by any persons in this country were such as to afford any assurance, or even any confident expectation, that an expedition such as is projected would not result in commercial failure, in loss of health and life to its members, and in serious disturbances among the Native tribes of the island (the probability of any of which consequences would impose a heavy responsibility on a Government which should lend it the weight of an official recommendation), it would be Lord Carnarvon's imperative duty to object very strongly to the leading features of the proposal, on public and constitutional grounds.

3. Even if New Guinea were a part of the Queen's dominions, it would be impossible to entertain the suggestion that a number of persons, brought together by the love of adventure or the desire of profit, should indiscriminately, and without a searching scrutiny into the personal fitness of each, be enrolled or commissioned as members of a military or *quasi*-military force, whose services within this island could be accepted by, and whose proceedings would be invested with the high sanction of, Her Majesty. For service in an unknown country abounding, as far as has been ascertained, in the gravest physical difficulties, and inhabited by a numerous, powerful, and warlike population, a force would need to be very differently constituted.

4. So, also, with regard to the appointment of Magistrates, Her Majesty's Government could on no account accept as suitable persons to discharge the duties of Magistrate in any part of the Queen's dominions, the unknown conditions of which demand tried experience and special attainments, such persons as a Company might select as its leaders, chaplains, or medical officers.

5. His Lordship directs me to add that he would be glad if, consistently with his duty, he could conclude with this expression of his inability to give to the Association that support and recognition which are desired, and leave the members of it to undertake, on their own responsibility, the risks of an enterprise which they appear to think likely to prove remunerative. The position, however, in which Her Majesty's Government now stands with regard to New Guinea is not such as to leave them free to sanction, even tacitly, the acquisition of land within the island by British subjects.

6. As you are no doubt aware, the Governments of the Australian colonies have addressed to Her Majesty's Government strong and formal representations in favour of the annexation of New Guinea by this country. Those representations are now being carefully considered, and, pending such consideration, it is not open to any independent and unauthorized association of Englishmen to take possession of, or to purport to acquire from the savages of the island, that land with respect to the acquisition of which on behalf of her subjects generally the Queen is now being advised.

7. In the prospectus, it is suggested that the Association should "purchase land from the natives," but in the rules and regulations there is no mention of purchase, the not unreasonable inference from which seems to be that it is now proposed to take by force the very large tracts of land required in order to make a grant of four (or in some cases five) square miles to each person joining the expedition. There is no evidence whatever respecting the power of the natives to enter into contracts which would be intelligible to them or binding upon them, or of their willingness to allow private settlers to occupy their country. But if there were no objections from the native point of view to so extensive an appropriation of territory, it would be impossible that any such acquisitions, or ostensible acquisitions, of land could be sanctioned and confirmed in the event of the territory hereafter becoming British. It is clear that, without the funds arising from the sale and lease of lands, it would be impossible to provide for the government of the country; and any persons who may now settle in the country, knowing that Her Majesty's Government is considering the question of annexing it, must distinctly understand that no acquisitions of land, made previous to a decision on this subject, can be recognized to the prejudice of the Crown.

8. With reference to the concluding paragraph of your letter, I am desired by Lord Carnarvon to point out to you that although, as has already been observed, Her Majesty's Government could not permit the exercise of magisterial functions by persons connected with the expedition, there exists, under the provisions of "The Pacific Islanders Protection Act, 1875," a sufficient means of preventing and punishing abuses or outrages committed by British subjects upon the natives of New Guinea.

I am, &c.,

W. R. MALCOLM.

No. 4.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor the Most Hon. the Marquis of
NORMANBY to the Right Hon. the Earl of CARNARVON.

MY LORD,—

Auckland, 26th May, 1876.

In reference to your Lordship's circular of the 13th of January, 1876, enclosing the copy of a despatch to Sir Hercules Robinson on the subject of certain proposals for the annexation of New Guinea and other islands in the Pacific, I have now the honor to enclose a copy of a memorandum upon the subject, which has been presented to me by my Government, and which I have been requested to forward to your Lordship.

I have, &c.,

NORMANBY.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon, &c.

Enclosure.

MEMORANDUM for HIS EXCELLENCY.

THE Premier, with the approval of the Cabinet, has the honor to submit to His Excellency the following remarks upon the despatch of the Earl of Carnarvon to Sir Hercules Robinson (New South Wales, No. 86), relative to the annexation of New Guinea, a copy of which his Lordship has forwarded to His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand.

2. Upon the general question of a colony urging upon the Imperial Government further annexation of islands in the Pacific, Ministers have already sufficiently expressed their views in a memorandum by the Premier, dated April 5th. Sub-Enclosure
No. 2.

3. The information which Lord Carnarvon affords of there being no present indication of the intention of any Foreign Power to acquire dependencies in the Pacific, is very important. The Premier ventures, however, to observe that it has recently been stated that France has shown such a disposition; and the close relations established between the United States and Hawaii, place the latter in a position differing but little from that of a dependency. There have not been wanting indications of a desire on the part of the United States to assume very close relations with the Navigator Islands.

4. New Zealand has no special interest in the annexation of New Guinea, excepting to the extent such annexation might form part of a general plan of dealing with the islands of the South Pacific. The Premier is of opinion that the statements as to the value of New Guinea rest on a very insufficient footing. If the portion of the island which is open to annexation is as valuable as is supposed, it is singular that the Dutch, who have spared no expense in connection with islands not very far distant, and who own part of New Guinea, have shown no disposition, as far as the Premier is aware, to acquire possession of the remainder of the island.

Wellington, May 16th, 1876.

JULIUS VOGEL.

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