

1881.

NEW ZEALAND.

INTERCOLONIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT SYDNEY,

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE, WITH SUBSEQUENT MEMORANDA.

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

THURSDAY, 13TH JANUARY, 1881.

FIRST DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P., Colonial Secretary. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P., Colonial Treasurer.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P., Chief Secretary. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P., Attorney-General.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C., Chief Secretary. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P., Treasurer.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P., Colonial Secretary. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C., Postmaster-General.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P., Colonial Treasurer. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C., Colonial Secretary.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY, Member of Executive Council.

On the motion of Mr. BERRY, seconded by Mr. MORGAN, Sir Henry Parkes was called to the Chair.

The Conference concurred in the resolution passed in Melbourne that Mr. Webb should continue to act as Secretary to the Conference.

The representatives of the several colonies laid on the table their Commissions of appointment.

Letters were read—

- (1.) From Baron von Mueller, on the subject of a further search for Leichardt's remains :
- (2.) From Dr. G. A. Tucker, Sydney, in the matter of his visits to Kew and Sunbury Lunatic Asylums :
- (3.) From the Colonial Secretary, Queensland, in the matter of examinations for Imperial military commissions being held at Sydney :
- (4.) From the Chief Inspector of Stock of Victoria, recommending that regulations for dealing with sheep coming from other colonies by sea be not altered.

Ordered that these letters be dealt with when the respective subjects they refer to are brought under the consideration of the Conference.

Sir HENRY PARKES mentioned that a memorial had been addressed to himself and Mr. Watson from a large number of fruit-growers, desiring them to bring under the notice of the Conference the hardship they sustained from the imposition of Customs duties on fruit in its natural state.

Mr. VALE mentioned that a memorial had been addressed to him by members of the Bar of Victoria, asking him to bring before the Conference the question of reciprocity between the Bars of New South Wales and Victoria ; but before taking action in the matter he would consult Mr. Wisdom, the Attorney-General for New South Wales, and mention the matter at a further meeting of the Conference.

The Conference deliberated as to the business to be entered upon and the course of future proceedings.

The Conference then adjourned until Friday, 14th January, at half-past 10 o'clock a.m.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

FRIDAY, 14TH JANUARY, 1881.

SECOND DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.

The minutes of Thursday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

Mr. BERRY stated that he had this morning received the following letter:—

“Colonial Secretary's Office,
“Perth, Western Australia, 27th December, 1880.

“SIR,—
In reply to your letter, No. 7571, of the 8th instant, notifying that the proceedings of the Intercolonial Conference recently held in Melbourne by representatives of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia have been postponed until the 13th January next, then to be resumed at Sydney, I am directed by His Excellency Sir William Robinson, K.C.M.G., to express to you his thanks for the invitation to send a representative of this Government to the Conference.

“2. The Constitution of Western Australia would render it inconvenient to send a representative with full powers to pledge either Her Majesty's Government, which exercises a control over the policy of this colony, or the local Legislature, to abide by the decision of the Conference; but His Excellency, feeling the deepest interest in the important subjects proposed for discussion, will appoint a representative to watch the proceedings on behalf of this colony, and to express an opinion on such points as are proper for consideration by this Government, subject, of course, to the approval of the Home and Colonial Governments.

“Should this proposal meet with the views of the Conference, His Excellency will appoint His Honor Chief Justice Wrenfordsley, who is now on a visit to Melbourne, to join in its further deliberations on all subjects applicable to this colony other than the Chinese question, which is one that the representative of this Government would not be in a position to discuss.

“I have, &c.,
“GIFFORD,
“Colonial Secretary.”

“The Hon. the Chief Secretary, Melbourne, Victoria.”

The letter was considered, and the Conference, having in view the exceptional position in which Mr. Chief Justice Wrenfordsley was placed, determined to leave it to his own discretion as to the course he would pursue in any vote arrived at by the Conference.

INTERCOLONIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. VALE brought under consideration the Bill which, at a meeting of the Conference held in Melbourne, he had undertaken to have drawn in reference to the establishment of an Australian Court of Final Appeal.

Mr. MORGAN moved (seconded by Mr. WATSON), That a despatch from Lord Kimberley, dated 8th August, 1871, in relation to a “proposed High Court of Appeals,” be read.—Agreed to.

The despatch was read accordingly.

Mr. GIBLIN moved (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That this Conference, having had under consideration the resolutions moved by Mr. Vale on the 29th November in favour of the establishment of an Australian Court of Final Appeal, and also the draft of a Bill submitted for that purpose, concurs in the said resolutions, and agrees to consider a Bill to give effect to the same.—Agreed to.

Mr. MANN moved (seconded by Mr. BERRY), That such Bill be framed so as to carry out the following modification: Any party dissatisfied with the decision of any Supreme Court, where the amount exceeds £500, may appeal therefrom to the Privy Council or the Australian Court of Appeal: Provided that, if the party so dissatisfied desires to appeal to the Australian Court of Appeal, the other party may, on application to the Court whose decision is appealed against, at the discretion of such Court, obtain leave to have such appeal determined by the Privy Council, and not by the Australian Court of Appeal.—Agreed to.

Mr. MOORE moved (seconded by Mr. MOREHEAD), That this Conference concurs in the resolution moved by Mr. Vale on 29th November: “That this Conference is of opinion that warrants for the arrest of offenders issued in one colony should have effect in all, and that provision should be made for anticipating by telegram the effect of such warrants.”—Agreed to.

Mr. GIBLIN moved (seconded by Mr. WATSON), That this Conference—having had under its consideration the following resolution, also moved by Mr. Vale, on the 29th November: “That this Conference concurs in the opinion that all process for the recovery of debts or damages originating in any one colony should have full effect in all the colonies,”—concurs in the object sought to be obtained by that resolution, and agrees to consider a Bill to give effect thereto.—Agreed to.

Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. MOORE):—That this Conference agrees with the following resolution moved by Mr. Vale on the 29th of November: “That this Conference concurs in the opinion that warrants for the apprehension of men who have deserted wife or child, or both, should have force and effect in all the colonies.”—Agreed to.

Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. WATSON), That the consideration of the following resolution, also moved by Mr. Vale on the 29th November (on the Notice Paper No. 4), relative to patents, be postponed until the 18th instant.—Agreed to.

RAILWAYS AND INTERCOLONIAL FREE-TRADE.

Mr. MORGAN moved (seconded by Mr. WATSON), That the consideration of the resolutions standing in the name of Mr. Mann, in respect to railways and intercolonial free-trade, be postponed until the 20th instant.—Agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned until Monday, the 17th instant, at half-past 10 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

MONDAY, 17TH JANUARY, 1881,

THIRD DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.

The minutes of proceedings of Friday last were read and confirmed.

DRAFT BILLS.

Mr. VALE submitted to the Conference draft Bills to provide—

1. For the Validity of Letters Patent for Inventions granted and Trade-Marks registered.
2. For the Execution of Warrants of Apprehension.
3. To increase the Remedies of Creditors against Persons in the Australian Colonies.

AUSTRALIAN COURT OF FINAL APPEAL.

Moved by Mr. WATSON (seconded by Mr. MORGAN), That Messrs. Vale, Mann, and Giblin, and Mr. Chief Justice Wrenfordsley be appointed a Committee to revise draft Bill to establish an Australian Court of Final Appeal.—Agreed to.

The Bills submitted by Mr. Vale were also referred for the consideration of the Committee.

Sir HENRY PARKES undertook to place the services of the Parliamentary Draftsman of New South Wales at the disposal of the Committee.

RAILWAYS AND INTERCOLONIAL FREE-TRADE.

Moved by Mr. MORGAN (seconded by Mr. WATSON), That the resolutions arrived at on the 14th instant, postponing Mr. Mann's resolutions with respect to railways and intercolonial free-trade, be rescinded, and that the said resolutions be now proceeded with.—Agreed to.

After some discussion on this motion, Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY), That in future the Conference meet at 10 o'clock a.m.—Agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

TUESDAY, 18TH JANUARY, 1881.

FOURTH DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

CHINESE.

Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY stated that he had received a communication from the Governor of Western Australia, who had called his attention to the position of Western Australia as a Crown Colony; and also to the impossibility of his being a party to a vote which might be opposed to Imperial policy.

NAVAL AND MILITARY DEFENCES.

Mr. MORGAN moved, seconded by Mr. PALMER (who stated that he only did so for the purpose of raising discussion),—

That, in the opinion of this Conference, the time has arrived when joint action should be taken for the more efficient naval defence of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, and for the protection of the large number of valuable vessels now engaged in the Australian carrying trade.

With this view, united representations should be made to the Imperial Government requesting that a sufficient naval force should be maintained in Australian waters, to be used exclusively for the defence and protection of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand.

Subject as in the last paragraph mentioned, the naval force, as so employed, to be under the exclusive control of the Admiralty.

Any scheme of naval defence should also include the naval defence of the harbours of the capitals of the different colonies, and the fortifications of King George's Sound or some other port in Western Australia, and the maintenance of a sufficient force for holding the same.

In view of the present and daily increasing wealth and importance of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, and the magnitude of the interests involved, this Conference is of opinion that it would be unreasonable to expect the Imperial Government to bear the whole expense of the largely increased force which it will become necessary to maintain if the above scheme is carried out; but as Imperial interests are also largely involved, the Imperial Government should contribute to the extent of one moiety.

The representatives assembled at this Conference undertake to recommend to their respective Governors to make representation to the Imperial Government on the basis of the foregoing resolution, and to request the concurrence of the Imperial authorities therein.

They (with the exception of Western Australia) agree to the payment of one moiety of the expense of carrying out such a scheme as is here suggested, including the building and maintenance of the fortifications at King George's Sound. Such moiety to be contributed ratably by all the colonies and New Zealand (except Western Australia) on the basis of population.

The adoption of these resolutions does not in any way affect the question of the land fortification and defence of particular ports, which will be left as now to the discretion of the colonies interested.

After considerable discussion Mr. GIBLIN moved, as an amendment (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That all the words after the word "Conference" in the first line be omitted, with a view to inserting the following words:—

Considering the large Imperial interests involved, the naval defence of these colonies should continue to be the exclusive charge of the Imperial Government, and that the strength of the Australian squadron should be increased.

That the members of this Conference pledge themselves to use all legitimate endeavours to procure the efficient fortification and land defence of the several ports of the Australian Colonies, at the cost of the several colonies interested.

Motion put, That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question.

Aye.
South Australia.

Noes.
New South Wales,
Queensland,
Victoria,
Tasmania.

Western Australia declined to vote.

Further motion put, That the words proposed to be inserted be inserted.—Carried unanimously.

The amended resolution was then put as follows: That, in the opinion of this Conference, considering the large Imperial interests involved, the naval defence of these colonies should continue to be the exclusive charge of the Imperial Government, and that the strength of the Australian squadron should be increased. That the members of this Conference pledge themselves to use all legitimate endeavours to procure the efficient fortification and land defence of the several ports of the Australian Colonies, at the cost of the several colonies interested.—Agreed to unanimously.

MEMO.—The representatives of South Australia wished it to be understood that, although not voting against the amended motion, they were of opinion that, in order more effectually to secure the employment of an Australian squadron for the exclusive defence of Australian ports, the colonies ought to contribute to the cost of maintaining such squadron.

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS.

The CHAIRMAN called the attention of the Conference to a copy of the *Government Gazette* Extraordinary for Western Australia, dated 28th December, 1880, in which there was a notice headed "Chinese Immigrants."

The same was read.

Mr. BERRY moved (seconded by Mr. MORGAN), That the *Gazette* notice, as read by the Secretary, be entered on the minutes.—Agreed to.

"Chinese Immigrants.

"Colonial Secretary's Office,
Perth, 28th December, 1880.

"The Legislature having sanctioned the introduction of Chinese immigrants into the colony at the public expense, the Government is prepared to receive applications from settlers who may be desirous of employing such immigrants as farm labourers, shepherds, gardeners, mechanics, or domestic servants; application to be made in writing on the following form, copies of which may be obtained at the offices of the Colonial Secretary and the various Resident Magistrates. Fifty immigrants must be applied for before action can be taken by Government. The immigrants to be taken over from the Government Immigration Agent immediately on arrival free of expense to the Government.

"By His Excellency's command.

"GIFFORD, Colonial Secretary.

Name, Occupation, and Address of Persons requiring Immigrants.	Number of Persons required of each description of Trade, &c.	Where to be employed.	Period for which Employment is guaranteed, if Immigrant is qualified.	Wages per month offered, in addition to Food and Lodgings to the satisfaction of Government.	Remarks.
John Smith, Farmer, Albany.	1 rough carpenter. 2 shepherds. 1 house servant.	Kojonup. Do. Albany.	One year, certain.	£2 5 0* £2 0 0 £1 15 0	

* These rates are imaginary.

Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY stated that up to the present time he had been unaware of any such Government notice.

UNIFORM TARIFF.

Mr. MORGAN moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That this Conference is prepared to consider an uniform tariff for the whole of the Australian Colonies, based on the present tariff of New South Wales.

After discussion, Mr. BERRY moved (seconded by Mr. MOORE), That the further consideration of this matter be postponed until after the conclusion of all other business.—Agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH JANUARY, 1881.

FIFTH DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P.
	The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P.
	The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C.
	The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P.
	The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P.
	The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN laid before the Conference a letter which had been addressed to him by the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. VALE moved (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That this letter be entered upon the minutes of the Conference.—Agreed to.

“To the Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G.

“SIR,—

“Sydney, 18th January, 1881.

“The Chamber of Commerce desire to bring under your notice, with a view to its being considered by the members of the Intercolonial Conference, the expediency of the Australasian Colonies adopting the cental of 100 lb. as the standard in sale of grain and other agricultural produce, instead of the present complicated system of weights and measures.

“The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce have brought the matter under the notice of the Chief Secretary of Victoria; and it is hoped, if the representatives of these two colonies view the proposed change favourably, that the representatives of the other colonies (in some of which the matter has already been favourably entertained) will concur in its adoption.

“The several Governments might easily pave the way to the general introduction of the cental, by using it as the standard in Government contracts, railway carriage, and Customhouse returns.

“The proposed change is not a new idea: it has repeatedly been discussed by the several Chambers of Commerce; and I forward copy of Sydney Chamber Report of 1869, where at page 4 you will find a resolution on the subject arrived at by delegates from the Chambers of Commerce of Melbourne, Adelaide, and Sydney, at a conference held in Sydney in June, 1869; and the matter was referred to in a report of last year, page 6 of copy enclosed.

“The Board of Trade in London has a cental standard of 100 lb. to test private weights. The cental as a grain standard is now in use in England, in the cities of Liverpool, York, and Crewe, in Belfast, in some parts of Scotland, and in the County of Cornwall, and in Victoria, in levying duties on corn and flour. I need hardly say it is in use in America—North and South, and the metric system generally is now solely in use in France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and in the British Colony of Mauritius.

“The Chamber of Commerce take this opportunity of suggesting that the decimal system of coinage should, with the cental standard, be taught in the State schools, as well as the present more complicated systems of money, weights and measures, and so familiarize the rising generation with these systems, and enable them to judge of the relative merits of the proposed change as compared with those of the present systems; and, in bringing this within the range of practical legislation, they hope to have the sympathy and aid of the Minister of Education and the Ministry generally as well as your own.

“I have, &c.,

“JOHN B. WATT,

“Chairman, Chamber of Commerce.”

Extract from Chambers's Encyclopædia, last edition.

“The French plan of decimal gradation in weights and measures is the only rational one, because it is in accordance with the universally-adopted decimal notation. If thoroughly carried out, the facilities it would afford in every department of life are scarcely calculable.

“For one thing, it is not too much to say that one-half the time now spent in Great Britain in learning arithmetic might be saved.

“That study might in addition be made an effective means of intellectual discipline, whereas at present the time must be spent in acquiring something like a ready but blind application of complicated rules.”

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS TO THE BAR.

Mr. VALE moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable that there should be complete reciprocity between the several Australian Colonies and New Zealand as to the admission of members to the Bar in such colonies.—Agreed to.

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. MOREHEAD), That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable that a representation be made to Her Majesty the Queen, calling her attention to the lamentable state of affairs existing between the natives of many of the islands in the Pacific and the subjects of Her Majesty trading in those seas, more particularly since the appointment of a High Commissioner for the Pacific; and praying that Her Majesty will cause such action to be taken as will prevent the recurrence of such outrages against life and property as have lately prevailed.

After discussion, Mr. Palmer's motion was postponed, and Mr. WATSON moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That a Committee be appointed, consisting of Messrs. Palmer, Dick, Berry, and Moore, to consider the matters involved in Mr. Palmer's resolution, and to examine the papers relating to the appointment of the High Commissioner, and to report to this Conference.—Agreed to.

RAILWAY EXTENSION.

Mr. MORGAN moved (seconded by Mr. MANN), That this Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the capitals of the four Colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland should be connected by railway; and with this view the representatives of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland agree to endeavour to have the railways in those colonies extended as follows:—New South Wales: Sydney to Wentworth, and thence to the boundary between New South Wales and South Australia; Sydney to Queensland border. Victoria: Melbourne to Wentworth. South Australia: Adelaide to Morgan, thence to eastern boundary, meeting New South Wales. Queensland: Brisbane to border, meeting New South Wales.

After discussion, Mr. WATSON moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That the further consideration of Mr. Morgan's resolution on railway extension be postponed until to-morrow.—Agreed to.

CHINESE.

Mr. BERRY moved (seconded by Mr. WATSON), That this Conference resolves that the introduction of Chinese into any of the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania is highly undesirable, and further resolves to consider a joint representation to the Imperial Government, and recommends uniform legislation on the part of all the colonies to restrict the influx of Chinese into these colonies.

After considerable discussion, Mr. PALMER moved, as an amendment (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That this Conference resolves that the introduction of Chinese in large numbers into any of the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, and Tasmania is highly undesirable, and recommends uniform legislation on the part of all the colonies to discourage any large influx of Chinese into these colonies.

Question put, That Mr. Berry's resolution be amended, by introducing after the word "Chinese," in the second line, the words "in large numbers."

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania.	Victoria, New South Wales.

Western Australia declined to vote.

Question put, That the words, "and further resolves to consider a joint representation to the Imperial Government," be omitted.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania.	Victoria, New South Wales.

Question put, That the words "joint and," after the word "recommends," be omitted.
Agreed to unanimously.

Question put, That this Conference resolves that the introduction of Chinese in large numbers into any of the Colonies of Australia is highly undesirable, and recommends uniform legislation on the part of all the colonies to restrict the influx of Chinese into these colonies.—Agreed to.

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

It was arranged that Mr. A. C. Budge, Clerk to the Executive Council, act as Secretary to the Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon certain matters in relation to the Pacific Islands. The Conference then adjourned until to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

THURSDAY, 20TH JANUARY, 1881.

SIXTH DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P.
	The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P.
	The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C.
	The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P.
	The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P.
	The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.
<i>New Zealand :</i>	The Hon. THOMAS DICK, M.H.R., Colonial Secretary.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

The Commission issued by Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of New Zealand, to the Hon. Thomas Dick, appointing him to be the representative for the Colony of New Zealand, to appear and act at this Conference for and on behalf of the said colony, was laid before the Conference.

CHINESE.

Mr. BERRY moved, pursuant to notice (seconded by Mr. WATSON), That this Conference learns with surprise and regret that the Legislature of Western Australia has sanctioned the introduction of Chinese into that part of Australia at the public expense.

After a lengthened discussion, Mr. BERRY (consented to by Mr. Watson), by leave of the Conference, withdrew the foregoing resolution, and substituted the following in lieu of it: That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is highly prejudicial to the best interests of the Australian Colonies that Chinese should be introduced into any of the colonies at the public expense, as is the case in Western Australia. And this Conference unanimously agree to a joint representation to the Imperial Government on the subject, with a view to procuring a reversal of the action of that colony.—Agreed to.

Mr. Chief Justice Wrenfordsley declined to vote.

Moved by Mr. BERRY (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That a Committee be appointed to prepare the form of representation to the Imperial Government on Chinese immigration, and submit the same for the consideration of the Conference. Such Committee to consist of Mr. Morgan, Sir Henry Parkes, and Mr. Berry.—Agreed to.

Mr. Chief Justice Wrenfordsley declined to vote.

TARIFF.

Mr. WATSON moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That, in the opinion of this Conference, a joint Commission of all the Australasian Colonies (excepting Western Australia) should be appointed to consider and construct a common tariff for the group, and that in the constitution of such Commission

Victoria should appoint	... 3 Members.	South Australia	... .. 2 Members.
New South Wales	... 2 Members.	Queensland	... .. 2 Members.
New Zealand	... 2 Members.	Tasmania	... .. 1 Member.

After some discussion this motion was postponed, to be considered with other motions on the tariff question.

INTERCOLONIAL FREE-TRADE.

Mr. MANN moved (seconded by Mr. MORGAN), That, with a view of practically testing to some extent the feasibility of intercolonial free-trade, this Conference agrees that all wines, the product of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, shall be admitted into each of those colonies free of duty. This arrangement to be subject to determination on three months' notice by any of the colonies interested.

After discussion it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. GIBLIN, seconded by Mr. DICK, that the further consideration of this motion be postponed until to-morrow.

The Conference then adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

FRIDAY, 21ST JANUARY, 1881.

SEVENTH DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P.
	The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P.
	The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C.
	The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P.
	The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P.
	The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.
<i>New Zealand :</i>	The Hon. THOMAS DICK, M.H.R.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

A letter from Mr. Julian Thomas on the subject of "South Sea Massacres" was read and handed to the Chairman of the Committee appointed to consider the matters involved in Mr. Palmer's resolution, and to examine papers on the subject.

A letter was read from Hugh McColl, Esq., M.L.A. (Victoria), on the subject of "Canalization for Irrigation," &c.—Noted.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIA BILL.

The CHAIRMAN read a memorandum on the subject of "A Bill to establish a Federal Council of Australia."

It was moved by Mr. BERRY (seconded by Mr. Chief Justice WRENFOLDSLEY), That the memorandum now read be inserted in the minutes of proceedings of the Conference.—Agreed to.

MEMORANDUM.

"In respect to the Federal Council Bill now submitted, the following positions are assumed as hardly open to debate:—

"1. That the time is not come for the construction of a federal Constitution with an Australian Federal Parliament.

"2. That the time is come when a number of matters of much concern to all the colonies might be dealt with more effectively by some federal authority than by the colonies separately.

"3. That an organization which would lead men to think in the direction of federation, and accustom the public mind to federal ideas, would be the best preparation for the foundation of federal government.

"The Bill has been prepared to carry out the idea of a mixed body, partly legislative and partly administrative, as the forerunner of a more matured system of federal government. Care has been taken throughout to give effective power to the proposed Federal Council within prescribed limits without impairing the authority of the colonies represented in that body.

"No attempt has been made to constitute the proposed Council on any historical model, but the object has been to meet the circumstances of the present Australian situation, and to pave the way to a complete federal organization hereafter.

"HENRY PARKES.

"21st January, 1881."

The CHAIRMAN handed to each member of the Conference draft "Bill to establish a Federal Council of Australia," and explained its several objects.

The Bill having been read to the Conference by the Secretary, a conversational discussion ensued on its general scope and principles; after which Mr. BERRY moved (seconded by Mr. DICK), That the further consideration of the Federal Council Bill be postponed until Monday next.—Agreed to.

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

The CHAIRMAN stated that he had received a letter from Lord Augustus Loftus, enclosing various telegrams in relation to the inquiry instituted by the Conference into the powers of the High Commissioner for the Pacific.

The same were read by the CHAIRMAN.

It was moved by Mr. BERRY (seconded by Mr. MORGAN), That the letter of Lord Augustus Loftus, covering telegrams which had passed between His Excellency and Sir Arthur Gordon, as read by the Chairman, be entered upon the minutes.—Agreed to.

"DEAR SIR HENRY,—

"Government House, Sydney, N.S.W., 21/1/81.

"I send you herewith copies of two telegrams which I have received from Sir A. Gordon, which he wishes should be communicated to the Conference.

"I also enclose copy of the reply I sent yesterday to his first telegram.

"Yours truly,

"The Hon. Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G."

"AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

TELEGRAM from Sir A. GORDON to Lord AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

"20/1/81.

"I have been informed by telegram that the Conference proposes to investigate my powers. They can hardly do this courteously without communicating with me, or to much purpose without information from me, which I will furnish if asked for through you."

TELEGRAM from Lord AUGUSTUS LOFTUS to Sir A. GORDON.

"20/1/81.

"Shall I communicate substance of your telegram to New Zealand representative? Resolution moved was, that a representation should be made to the Queen, calling attention to late massacres in South Seas since appointment of High Commissioner, and praying action against their recurrence. Resolution postponed, and Committee appointed to consider action to be taken in regard to it."

TELEGRAM from Sir A. GORDON to Lord AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

"21/1/81.

"Should wish substance of telegram communicated to Conference, but have, as High Commissioner, no more special relations with delegate from New Zealand than with those from other colonies."

It was moved by Mr. BERRY (seconded by Mr. MOREHEAD), That the enclosed extract from the minutes of the Conference be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales, with a respectful request that the said extract be forwarded by telegraph to Sir A. Gordon, with an intimation that the Conference will willingly receive any information Sir A. Gordon may desire to communicate by telegraph.—Agreed to.

RAILWAY EXTENSION.

Mr. MORGAN moved (seconded by Mr. MANN), That this Conference is of opinion that it is desirable that the capitals of the four colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland should be connected by railway; and with this view the representatives of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland agree to endeavour to have the railways in those colonies extended as follows:—New South Wales: Sydney to Wentworth, and thence to the boundary between New South Wales and South Australia; Sydney to Queensland border. Victoria: Melbourne to Wentworth. South Australia: Adelaide to Morgan, thence to eastern boundary, meeting New South Wales. Queensland: Brisbane to border, meeting New South Wales.

After discussion, Mr. WATSON moved, seconded by Mr. BERRY, That, in the absence of the necessary detailed surveys and other information, it is undesirable to adopt the proposal of Mr. Morgan at the present time; but the Government of New South Wales will be prepared to consider it when the necessary information is obtained.

The Conference then adjourned until Monday next at ten o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

MONDAY, 24TH JANUARY, 1881.

EIGHTH DAY.

Present:

<i>New South Wales:</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria:</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia:</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland:</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania:</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia:</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.
<i>New Zealand:</i>	The Hon. THOMAS DICK, M.H.R.

The minutes of Friday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC.

The CHAIRMAN stated that he had addressed a letter as instructed to Lord Augustus Loftus, enclosing Mr. Palmer's resolution respecting the High Commissioner for the Pacific and the extracts therein referred to, and requesting His Excellency to transmit them by wire to Sir A. Gordon, and that he had received a letter from His Excellency in reply thereto, and a second letter enclosing copy of telegram from Sir A. Gordon.

Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. MOREHEAD), That the correspondence handed in by the Chairman be read and entered upon the minutes of the Conference.—Agreed to.

"MY LORD,—

"Council Room, Public Offices, Sydney, 21st January, 1881.

"I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of this date, enclosing copies of telegrams which have passed between His Excellency Sir Arthur Gordon and your Lordship, in respect to the proceedings of this Conference.

"I am desired by the Conference to transmit to you a copy of a resolution passed by the Conference in respect to your Lordship's communication, with extracts from the printed proceedings, and to request that you will be good enough to communicate the same to Sir Arthur Gordon.

"I have, &c.,

"HENRY PARKES,
"Chairman of Conference.

"To His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord Augustus Loftus, G.C.B."

RESOLUTION OF CONFERENCE.

Moved by Mr. BERRY (seconded by Mr. MOREHEAD), That the enclosed extract from the minutes of the Conference be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales, with a respectful request that the said extract be forwarded by telegraph to Sir A. Gordon, with an intimation that the Conference will willingly receive any information Sir Arthur Gordon may desire to communicate by telegraph.

Extracts referred to.

"ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

"Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. MOREHEAD), That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is desirable that a representation be made to Her Majesty the Queen, calling her attention to the lamentable state of affairs existing between the natives of many of the Islands in the Pacific and the subjects of Her Majesty trading in those seas, more particularly since the appointment of a High Commissioner for the Pacific; and praying that Her Majesty will cause such action to be taken as will prevent the recurrence of such outrages against life and property as have lately prevailed.

"After discussion, Mr. Palmer's motion was postponed; and Mr. WATSON moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That a Committee be appointed, consisting of Messrs. Palmer, Dick, Berry, and Moore, to consider the matters involved in Mr. Palmer's resolution, and to examine the papers relating to the appointment of the High Commissioner, and to report to this Conference.—Agreed to."

“SIR,— “Government House, Sydney, 22nd January, 1881.
 “I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday’s date, transmitting to me, by desire of the Conference, a copy of a resolution passed by the Conference, with extracts from the printed proceedings relative to the High Commission. These resolutions and proceedings I have telegraphed to Sir Arthur Gordon as requested. “I have, &c.,
 “The Hon. Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G., &c.” “AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

“SIR,— “Government House, Sydney, 22nd January, 1881.
 “I have the honor to enclose a copy of a telegram from Sir A. Gordon, which I have to request you will be good enough to lay before the Conference. “I have, &c.,
 “The Hon. Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G., &c.” “AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

“Government House, Sydney, 22nd January, 1881.

“COPY of TELEGRAM from Sir A. GORDON to Lord AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

“Please thank the Conference for the communication of the extract from the minutes, and inform them that I shall be happy to afford them any assistance and information they may desire in the prosecution of this inquiry.

“Dated from Cambridge, N.Z., 22nd January, 1881.”

“Chairman of the Intercolonial Conference.—A.L. 22/1/81.”

Mr. PALMER brought up the following report from the Committee appointed “to consider the matters involved in Mr. Palmer’s resolution, and to examine the papers relating to the appointment of the High Commissioner, and to report to this Conference” :—

“REPORT of the Committee appointed by the Intercolonial Conference ‘to consider the matters involved in Mr. Palmer’s resolution, and to examine the papers relating to the appointment of the High Commissioner, and to report to this Conference.’

“The Committee have to report to the Conference that, after careful consideration of the Imperial Acts on the subject of the protection of natives in the Pacific Islands, and having before them the Commission to Sir Arthur Gordon, the High Commissioner and Consul-General of the said islands, they are impressed with the opinion that the powers conferred under the said Acts and Commission are ineffectual for the protection of the lives and property of the whites as against the natives, mainly owing to the absence of sufficient authority for the punishment of the latter for outrages committed by them.

“The Committee are further of opinion that the numerous massacres and outrages in the Pacific Islands of late years have arisen from the lax measures taken to punish the natives, and the absence of Her Majesty’s ships of war for long periods.

“The Committee, having fully deliberated on the subject, have arrived at the following conclusions, which they earnestly recommend for adoption by the Conference :—

“(1.) That it is not desirable the office of High Commissioner of the Pacific Islands should be vested in the Governor of any of the Australasian Colonies.

“(2.) That the High Commissioner should reside in Fiji, or one of the Islands of Polynesia.

“(3.) That extended powers should be conferred upon the High Commissioner for the punishment of natives of the said islands for any crimes or offences committed by them against British subjects.

“(4.) That in the case of convictions for felony, by the High Commissioner, appeal should be allowed to the Supreme Court of some one of the Australasian Colonies, selected at the discretion of the High Commissioner.

“(5.) That the powers now exercised by the High Commissioner should be transferred, at an early date, to some Federal Court to be established in Australasia.

“(6.) That the more frequent visits of Her Majesty’s ships among the islands would have a beneficial effect upon the natives, and tend to lessen, in a great degree, the crimes now so prevalent.”

Mr. DICK, Colonial Secretary of New Zealand, dissented from resolutions Nos. 1 and 2.

The Committee submitted certain papers bearing upon the subject of outrages in the Islands of the Pacific, which were ordered to be inserted in the Appendix.

Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. BERRY), That the report of the Committee now read be adopted.

Moved by Mr. GIBLIN (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That the further discussion of this matter be postponed until to-morrow.

Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY stated that, this being an Imperial question, he declined to vote upon it.

CHINESE.

Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY stated that, with respect to the Chinese question, he had received from His Excellency the Governor of Western Australia permission to inform the Conference, unofficially, that the action *re* Chinese immigration is not new, a batch having been introduced in 1878, on the recommendation of the Legislature, approved by the Secretary of State.

FEDERAL COUNCIL BILL.

After further discussion,—

Mr. MANN moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That this Conference agrees generally with the provisions of the Bill submitted by Sir Henry Parkes, subject to the following modifications :—

1. The Council should consist of a number, not more than three Ministers of the Crown, appointed by the Governor of each represented colony, who, on ceasing to be Ministers, should also vacate their seats in the Council, whereupon other three or less number of Ministers should be appointed in their place.

2. The allowance (if any) to members should be left to the discretion of each colony.

3. Provision should be made that, in case any represented colony withdraws, by repealing the Act authorizing the appointment of members to the Council, such colony should, notwithstanding such repeal, be bound by all engagements of the Federal Council entered into anterior to the date of the repealing Act; also, that all Acts passed by the Federal Council shall continue to have the force of law within the colony so withdrawing until the same shall be repealed or amended by the Parliament of such colony.

Subject to the above and some few minor alterations which can be effected by the draftsman, the Conference agrees to the Bill submitted, and requests that same may, as soon as convenient, be introduced into the Parliament of New South Wales, the representatives of the colonies present (except Western Australia) undertaking to introduce a similar Bill as early as possible into their respective Parliaments.

Further discussion ensued, after which Mr. Mann's resolution (as seconded by Mr. Giblin) was put.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania.	Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand.

Western Australia declined to vote.

Mr. BERRY moved (seconded by Mr. MANN for the sake of taking the vote of the Conference), That, inasmuch as a Federal Council should be endowed with some certain source of revenue, this Conference affirms the desirability of transferring all revenues from the sale and occupation of public lands situate in each and all the colonies to such Federal Council.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Victoria.	New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, New Zealand.

Western Australia declined to vote.

PATENTS AND TRADE-MARKS.

Mr. VALE moved (seconded by Mr. MORGAN), That this Conference is of opinion that patents granted, or trade-marks registered, in one colony should be valid in all.

Motion put.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand.	New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia, Queensland.

TARIFF.

Mr. MORGAN, after some discussion, withdrew his resolution in favour of an uniform tariff on the basis of the tariff of New South Wales, in order to allow Mr. Watson's motion to be considered.

The consideration of the resolution moved by Mr. Watson was then resumed, viz., That, in the opinion of this Conference, a joint Commission of all the Australasian Colonies (excepting Western Australia) should be appointed to consider and construct a common tariff for the group, and that in the constitution of such Commission—

Victoria should appoint	...	...	...	...	...	3 Members.
New South Wales	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
New Zealand	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
South Australia	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
Queensland	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
Tasmania	...	...	...	...	...	1 Member.

Mr. VALE moved, That Mr. Watson's resolution be amended by inserting in the first line, after the word "Conference," the words, "that any proposed intercolonial tariff, to command the sanction of all the colonies, must recognize fairly the interests and special circumstances of each."

Motion put, That the resolution be amended by the insertion of these words.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Victoria, Western Australia.	New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, New Zealand.

The Hon. Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY moved (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That the words "excepting Western Australia," in the second line, be omitted.—Agreed to.

The Hon. Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY moved (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That after the words "Tasmania, 1 Member," there be added the words "Western Australia, 1 Member."—Agreed to.

The motion, as amended, was put as follows: That, in the opinion of this Conference, a joint Commission of all the Australian Colonies should be appointed to consider and construct a common tariff for the group, and that in the constitution of such Commission—

Victoria should appoint	...	...	...	...	...	3 Members.
New South Wales	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
New Zealand	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
South Australia	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
Queensland	...	...	...	...	...	2 "
Tasmania	...	...	...	...	...	1 Member.
Western Australia	...	...	...	...	...	1 "

Ayes.

New South Wales,
South Australia,
New Zealand,
Queensland,
Tasmania,
Western Australia.

No.

Victoria.

Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. MANN), That it be an express instruction to such Commission that any common tariff must recognize fairly the interests and special circumstances of each colony.

Ayes.

New South Wales,
South Australia,
New Zealand,
Queensland,
Tasmania,
Western Australia.

No.

Victoria.

The Conference then adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

TUESDAY, 25TH JANUARY, 1881.

NINTH DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.
<i>New Zealand :</i>	The Hon. THOMAS DICK, M.H.R.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

Mr. Dick handed in the following memorandum : " Having been asked by the Chairman whether I agree to the decisions of the Conference, as recorded in the minutes prior to my arrival, I have to state that I see no reason for non-agreement, except with the concluding clause of the resolution come to on January 18th, as to defences, respecting which I think it is desirable that New Zealand should be left unfettered.—THOMAS DICK. Sydney, 25th January, 1881."

ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC.

The report of the Committee appointed to consider the matters involved in Mr. Palmer's resolution, and to examine the papers relating to the appointment of the High Commissioner, and to report to the Conference, was further considered. The following amendments were made in the same :—

In line 3 of the preamble the word " said " was omitted, and the words " Western Pacific " inserted instead.

The remainder of the preamble from the word " said " was omitted, and the words " report as follows " inserted instead.

In clause 1 before the word " Pacific " the word " Western " inserted.

Clause 2 struck out.

In clause 3 the words " extended powers should be conferred upon the High Commissioner " omitted with a view to the insertion of the words " more effectual means should be devised."

In clause 4, line 1, before the word " convictions " the word " capital " inserted. In same line the words " for felony " omitted. In same line the words " By the High Commissioner " altered by inserting in their place the words " High Commissioner's Court." In the second line, after the word " colonies " the words " to be " inserted, the words " at the discretion of " omitted, and the word " by " inserted.

Clause 5 omitted.

In clause 6, lines 1 and 2, the words " have a beneficial effect upon the natives and " omitted.

The report as amended, as follows, was adopted by the Conference :—

“REPORT of the Committee appointed by the Intercolonial Conference ‘to consider the matters involved in Mr. Palmer’s resolution, and to examine the papers relating to the appointment of the High Commissioner, and to report to this Conference.’

“The Committee have to report to the Conference that, after careful consideration of the Imperial Acts on the subject of the protection of natives in the Pacific Islands, and having had before them the Commission to Sir Arthur Gordon, the High Commissioner and Consul-General of the Western Pacific Islands, they have agreed to the following resolutions :—

- “(1.) That it is not desirable that the office of High Commissioner of the Western Pacific Islands should be vested in the Governor of any of the Australasian Colonies.
“(2.) That more effectual means should be devised for the punishment of natives of the said islands for any crimes or offences committed by them against British subjects.
“(3.) That, in the case of capital convictions by the High Commissioner’s Court, appeal should be allowed to the Supreme Court of some one of the Australasian Colonies, to be selected by the High Commissioner.
“(4.) That the more frequent visits of Her Majesty’s ships among the islands would tend to lessen in a great degree the crimes now so prevalent.”

Mr. DICK, Colonial Secretary of New Zealand, dissented from the first resolution.

Mr. PALMER moved (seconded by Mr. MOORE), That Her Majesty’s Government be moved to take the necessary measures to give effect to the foregoing resolutions.

Western Australia declined to vote, except on No. 2, which the representative of that colony voted for.

At the request of the Conference, the CHAIRMAN undertook to move His Excellency the Governor to communicate with Her Majesty’s Government on the subject, and to forward the resolutions as agreed upon.

INTERCOLONIAL FREE-TRADE.

Mr. MANN moved (seconded by Mr. MORGAN), That, with a view of practically testing to some extent the feasibility of intercolonial free-trade, this Conference agrees that all wines, the product of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, shall be admitted into each of those colonies free of duty. This arrangement to be subject to determination on three months’ notice by any of the colonies interested.

Before this motion was put, Mr. WATSON moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That it is undesirable to deal with the question involved in Mr. Mann’s resolution until all the products of all the colonies are included.

Mr. BERRY then moved, as an amendment, That after the word “products” there be inserted “and manufactures.”

Question put, That the words proposed be inserted.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Victoria, Queensland.	New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand.

Western Australia declined to vote.

Mr. Watson’s motion was then put and negatived.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
New South Wales, Tasmania.	Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, New Zealand.

Western Australia declined to vote.

Original question put, That, with a view of practically testing to some extent the feasibility of intercolonial free-trade, this Conference agrees that all wines, the product of Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, shall be admitted into each of those colonies free of duty. This arrangement to be subject to determination on three months’ notice by any of the colonies interested.

<i>Aye.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
South Australia.	Victoria, New South Wales.

The other representatives declined to vote.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

The CHAIRMAN brought up a draft Bill which he had undertaken to have prepared to restrict the influx of Chinese.

Mr. PALMER also submitted a copy of the Queensland Act, “To regulate the Immigration of Chinese, and to make provision against their becoming a charge upon the Colony.”

After consideration it was agreed that South Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand would confer with the representatives of Queensland in order to adopt the legislation of that colony; and that Victoria would confer with the representatives of New South Wales in order to adopt uniform legislation on the basis of the Bill submitted by Sir Henry Parkes; Western Australia not assenting to either course.

The report of the Committee appointed to prepare a form of representation to the Imperial Government on the subject of Chinese immigration into Western Australia was read to the Conference by the Secretary, as follows :—

“To the Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, &c., &c.

“The undersigned, members of a Conference of all the Australasian Governments, now sitting in Sydney, and the duly accredited representatives of the colonies named after our respective signatures,

have the honor to respectfully approach your Lordship as Her Most Gracious Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to represent to your Lordship certain transactions now taking place in Western Australia, which we consider highly prejudicial to the best interests of Her Majesty's free and loyal subjects in this part of the world.

"As a preliminary explanation, we desire to point out that the computed population of the six colonies we represent is over 2,500,000, while the population of the Crown Colony of Western Australia is under 30,000 souls. In all the six colonies a strong feeling prevails in opposition to the unrestricted introduction of Chinese, this opposition arising principally from a desire to preserve and perpetuate the British type in the various populations. In several of the colonies stringent measures have been passed at different times to restrict the influx of Chinese immigrants even at their own expense. In Queensland a law of this restrictive character exists at the present time. In New South Wales a similar Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly not two years ago, though it was subsequently lost in the Legislative Council; and in South Australia a similar measure was twice passed by the House of Assembly last year. The present Conference has been convened to consider, amongst other things, the subject of Chinese immigration, and a resolution has been agreed to 'recommending uniform legislation on the part of all the colonies to restrict the influx of Chinese into these colonies.'

"It is while sitting in conference that we learn for the first time that the small and remote Colony of Western Australia is introducing Chinese at the public expense. In the Government *Gazette* of that colony of 28th December last the following notice was published:—

"Chinese Immigrants.

"Colonial Secretary's Office,
"Perth, 28th December, 1880.

"The Legislature having sanctioned the introduction of Chinese immigrants into the colony at the public expense, the Government is prepared to receive applications from settlers who may be desirous of employing such immigrants as farm labourers, shepherds, gardeners, mechanics, or domestic servants. Application to be made in writing on the following form, copies of which may be obtained at the offices of the Colonial Secretary and the various Resident Magistrates. Fifty immigrants must be applied for before action can be taken by Government. The immigrants to be taken over from the Government Immigration Agent immediately on arrival, free of expense to the Government.

"By His Excellency's command.

"GIFFORD, Colonial Secretary.'

Name, Occupation, and Address of Persons requiring Immigrants.	Number of Persons required of each description of Trade, &c.	Where to be employed.	Period for which Employment is guaranteed if Immigrant is qualified.	Wages per month offered, in addition to Food and Lodgings, to the satisfaction of Government.	Remarks.
John Smith, Farmer, Albany.	1 rough carpenter. 2 shepherds. 1 house servant.	Kojonup. Do. Albany.	One year, certain.	£2 5 0 £2 0 0 £1 15 0	

"We are satisfied that the publication of the fact that the Government of Western Australia is employing the public revenue for the introduction of natives of China to occupy the various avenues of labour—a course never at any time adopted by any of the colonies under parliamentary government—will create throughout the rest of Australasia a strong feeling of public disapprobation. The objection to the Chinese is not altogether one of prejudice of colour or race, but is founded in a rational view of the dangers to these British communities which might in the course of time flow from a people numbering more than 400,000,000, whose language, laws, religion, and habits of life are alien to those of Her Majesty's subjects in Australasia, and whose geographical position makes the danger more imminent.

"If Western Australia persists in her policy it cannot fail to engender among the people of the other colonies a sense of public injury and of resentment, and it is almost certain to lead to the enactment of laws imposing restrictions on communication between her ports and the other Australasian ports. It cannot be expected that the people who object to receiving Chinese immigrants direct from China will submit to their arrival by way of Western Australia. At a time when a disposition is growing up in the colonies to draw more closely together the ties of political relationship, it is a matter for deep regret that the smallest colony of the group should take a course so calculated to cut her off from popular sympathy, and to isolate her in her colonizing progress.

"We desire to urge upon your Lordship that the action of the Government of Western Australia cannot be regarded as other than opposed to the common interest in the social advancement of these colonies, and that, if it be continued, it must be attended by consequences which it is highly desirable to avoid; and we join in an earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government will take such steps as may be deemed expedient to procure its reversal.

"We have the honor to remain,

"Your Lordship's faithful and obedient servants."

It was agreed upon that Sir Henry Parkes should sign this document as Chairman of the Conference, and that the representatives present should afterwards sign according to the population of their respective colonies.

INTERCOLONIAL LEGISLATION.

Mr. VALE brought up the following reports of the Legal Committee appointed to revise certain draft Bills which had been laid before the Conference, viz. :—

Court of Appeal.

Report.—The Legal Committee, having had under consideration a Bill intituled “An Act to provide for the Establishment of an Australasian Court of Appeal,” have revised the same, and recommend the revised draft for adoption by the Conference.

Mr. VALE moved (seconded by Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY), That the report be adopted. —Postponed for further consideration, in order to have the Bill printed and circulated.—Agreed to.

Execution of Warrants Bill.

Mr. VALE brought up the following report on this Bill, and (seconded by Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY) moved its adoption: The Legal Committee, having had under consideration a Bill intituled “A Bill to provide for the Execution (in Victoria) of Warrants of Apprehension issued in other Colonies,” have revised the same, and recommend the revised draft for adoption by the Conference.—Agreed to.

Recovery of Debts Bill.

Mr. VALE brought up the following report: The Legal Committee, having had this Bill under consideration, recommend that it be not further proceeded with.

Future Circulation of Acts and Bills.

Mr. VALE moved (seconded by Mr. Berry), That, in the opinion of this Conference, the several Governments should forward three copies of each public Act, and three copies of each public Bill, to the Law Officers and Colonial Secretaries of each colony.—Agreed to.

Petition of Fruit-growers.

The CHAIRMAN called attention to the memorial from fruit-growers of New South Wales, as to the injurious effects of certain import duties in some of the colonies. After some discussion the matter was dropped as one which could not be entertained by the Conference.

The Conference then adjourned until to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

WEDNESDAY, 26TH JANUARY, 1881.

TENTH DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.
<i>New Zealand :</i>	The Hon. THOMAS DICK, M.H.R.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings were read and confirmed.

AUSTRALASIAN COURT OF APPEAL BILL.

Mr. VALE moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That this Conference approves of the provisions of the draft Bill for the establishment of an Australasian Court of Appeal, as revised by the Legal Committee, and recommends that the several Australasian Parliaments do memorialize the Crown to procure the passing of such a Bill by the Imperial Parliament.—Agreed to.

EXECUTION OF WARRANTS BILL.

Mr. VALE moved (seconded by Mr. DICK), That the members of Conference undertake to endeavour to pass into law in their several colonies the Execution of Warrants Bill.—Agreed to.

The Conference then adjourned until to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

THURSDAY, 27TH JANUARY, 1881.

ELEVENTH DAY.

Present :

<i>New South Wales :</i>	The Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., M.P. The Hon. JAMES WATSON, M.P.
<i>Victoria :</i>	The Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM M. K. VALE, M.P.
<i>South Australia :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM MORGAN, M.L.C. The Hon. CHARLES MANN, Q.C., M.P.
<i>Queensland :</i>	The Hon. ARTHUR HUNTER PALMER, M.P. The Hon. BOYD DUNLOP MOREHEAD, M.L.C.
<i>Tasmania :</i>	The Hon. WILLIAM ROBERT GIBLIN, M.P. The Hon. WILLIAM MOORE, M.L.C.
<i>Western Australia :</i>	The Hon. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY.
<i>New Zealand :</i>	The Hon. THOMAS DICK, M.H.R.

The minutes of yesterday's proceeding were read and confirmed.

PACIFIC ISLANDS.

The CHAIRMAN read the following draft letter to Lord Augustus Loftus:—

‘ MY LORD,—

“As Chairman of the Intercolonial Conference now sitting in Sydney, I have the honor to inform you that a Committee of the Conference was appointed, on the 19th instant, to examine the Acts and papers relating to the appointment of High Commissioner for the Western Pacific Islands, and to consider generally the state of increasing insecurity to life and property in the islands. The enclosed report from the Committee, after consideration and amendment, has been adopted by the Conference.

“The Conference respectfully requests that your Lordship will be good enough to transmit the enclosed copy of this report to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

“I have the honor to be,

“Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

“HENRY PARKES.”

Western Australia declined to concur.

Chairman instructed to forward letter as above, with enclosure.

Mr. MOORE moved (seconded by Mr. GIBLIN), That, in the opinion of this Conference, the present restrictions on sheep introduced by sea into any of the Australasian Colonies and New Zealand should be modified so far as to uniformly extend the period of detention in quarantine before dipping to twenty-one days.

After discussion the motion was withdrawn.

UNIFORMITY OF WEIGHT IN SALE OF MERCHANDISE.

Mr. WATSON moved (seconded by Mr. MOORE), That, in the opinion of this Conference, a great improvement in the mode of conducting business would be effected and transactions simplified if all descriptions of merchandise to which the resolution can apply were sold at one uniform weight, and that this desirable reform could conveniently be accomplished by the introduction of the system of selling per cental of 100 pounds.—Agreed to.

DUPLICATION OF TELEGRAPH CABLE.

Mr. MORGAN moved (seconded by Mr. BERRY), That, the duplication of the telegraph cable being a matter of great importance to all the colonies, the large subsidy of £32,400 now paid by Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia, to the Cable Company, as a guarantee fund for the construction of such cable, should be borne by all the colonies interested, on the basis of population.

After discussion, question put.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>Noes.</i>
Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia.	Queensland, Tasmania, New Zealand.

LIGHTHOUSE AT CAPE LEEUWIN.

Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY moved, That, in the opinion of this Conference, a lighthouse is urgently required at Cape Leeuwin, in Western Australia; and, having regard to the general interests of navigation and the increasing carrying trade of all the Australian Colonies, the several representatives are prepared to recommend that the expense of building and maintaining such an establishment should be jointly undertaken and provided for by their respective Governments.

After discussion, motion withdrawn; Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY undertaking to give further information on the subject to the different colonies.

POSTAL SERVICE.

Mr. BERRY, having given notice that he would call attention to certain matters connected with the postal service, read a memorandum he had received on this subject from Mr. Jackson, the Deputy-Postmaster-General of Victoria.—Ordered, That this memorandum be inserted in the Appendix.

Mr. MANN moved (seconded by Mr. Chief Justice WRENFORDSLEY), That this Conference agrees that executions on final process for debt or damage issued in any colony shall be of force in all, and Victoria is requested to prepare a Bill to be introduced into the Parliament of each colony to carry out this resolution, such Bill to be first submitted to the Law Officers of each colony.

PLEURO-PNEUMONIA.

Moved by Mr. MORGAN (seconded by Mr. DICK), That, in the opinion of this Conference, joint action should be taken by all the colonies for the more effectual eradication and future prevention of the cattle disease known as pleuro-pneumonia.

<i>Ayes.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Victoria, New Zealand, Tasmania, New South Wales, South Australia, Western Australia.	Queensland.

VOTE OF THANKS.

Moved by Mr. MORGAN (seconded by Mr. PALMER), That the thanks of the Conference be given to the Hon. Sir Henry Parkes for the services rendered by him as President of the Conference.—Agreed to unanimously.

The Conference then adjourned *sine die*.

HENRY PARKES, Chairman.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

[BILLS agreed to by the Conference.]

APPENDIX B.

[BILLS considered but not agreed to by the Conference.]

APPENDIX C.

REMONSTRANCE addressed to the Secretary of State against the Introduction of Chinese by the Government of Western Australia at the Public Expense, as executed by Members of Conference.

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, P.C., &c., &c., &c.

THE undersigned, members of a Conference of all the Australasian Governments, now sitting in Sydney, and the duly-accredited representatives of the colonies named after our respective signatures, have the honor to respectfully approach your Lordship as Her Most Gracious Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to represent to your Lordship certain transactions now taking place in Western Australia, which we consider highly prejudicial to the best interests of Her Majesty's free and loyal subjects in this part of the world.

As a preliminary explanation, we desire to point out that the computed population of the six colonies we represent is over 2,500,000, while the population of the Crown Colony of Western Australia is under 30,000 souls. In all the six colonies a strong feeling prevails in opposition to the unrestricted introduction of Chinese, this opposition arising principally from a desire to preserve and perpetuate the British type in the various populations. In several of the colonies stringent measures have been passed at different times to restrict the influx of Chinese immigrants even at their own expense. In Queensland a law of this restrictive character exists at the present time, in New South Wales a similar Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly not two years ago, though it was subsequently lost in the Legislative Council, and in South Australia a similar measure was twice passed by the House of Assembly last year. The present Conference has been convened to consider, amongst other things, the subject of Chinese immigration, and a resolution has been agreed to "recommending uniform legislation on the part of all the colonies to restrict the influx of Chinese into these colonies."

It is while sitting in Conference that we learn for the first time that the small and remote Colony of Western Australia is introducing Chinese at the public expense. In the Government *Gazette* of that colony of the 28th December last the following notice was published:—

"Chinese Immigrants.

"Colonial Secretary's Office,

"Perth, 28th December, 1880.

"The Legislature having sanctioned the introduction of Chinese immigrants into the colony at the public expense, the Government is prepared to receive applications from settlers who may be desirous of employing such immigrants as farm labourers, shepherds, gardeners, mechanics, or domestic servants; application to be made in writing on the following form, copies of which may be obtained at the Offices of the Colonial Secretary and the various Resident Magistrates. Fifty immigrants must be applied for before action can be taken by Government. The immigrants to be taken over from the Government Immigration Agent immediately on arrival, free of expense to the Government.

"By His Excellency's Command.

"GIFFORD, Colonial Secretary."

Name, Occupation, and Address of Person requiring Immigrants.	Number of Persons required of each description of Trade, &c.	Where to be employed.	Period for which Employment is guaranteed if Immigrant is qualified.	Wages per Month offered, in addition to Food and Lodgings, to the satisfaction of Government.	Remarks.
John Smith, Farmer, Albany.	1 rough carpenter. 2 shepherds. 1 house servant.	Kojonup. Do. Albany.	One year, certain.	£2 5 0 2 0 0 1 15 0	

We are satisfied that the publication of the fact that the Government of Western Australia is employing the public revenue for the introduction of natives of China to occupy the various avenues of labour—a course never at any time adopted by any of the colonies under parliamentary government—will create throughout the rest of Australasia a strong feeling of public disapprobation. The objection to the Chinese is not altogether one of prejudice of colour or race, but is founded on a rational view of the dangers to these British communities which might in the course of time flow from a people numbering more than 400,000,000, whose language, laws, religion, and habits of life are alien to those of Her Majesty's subjects in Australasia, and whose geographical position makes the danger more imminent.

If Western Australia persists in her policy it cannot fail to engender among the people of the other colonies a sense of public injury and of resentment, and it is almost certain to lead to the enactment of laws imposing restrictions on communication between her ports and the other Australasian ports. It cannot be expected that the people who object to receiving Chinese immigrants direct from China will submit to their arrival by way of Western Australia. At a time when a disposition is growing up in the colonies to draw more closely together the ties of political relationship, it is a matter for deep regret that the smallest colony of the group should take a course so calculated to cut her off from popular sympathy and to isolate her in her colonizing progress.

We desire to urge upon your Lordship that the action of the Government of Western Australia cannot be regarded as other than opposed to the common interest in the social advancement of these colonies, and that, if it be continued, it must be attended by consequences which it is highly desirable to avoid; and we join in an earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government will take such steps as may be deemed expedient to procure its reversal.

We have, &c.,

HENRY PARKES,

Colonial Secretary of New South Wales,
Chairman of Conference.

GRAHAM BERRY,

Chief Secretary,

WILLIAM M. K. VALE,

Attorney-General,

JAMES WATSON,

Colonial Treasurer,

THOMAS DICK,

Colonial Secretary,

WILLIAM MORGAN,

Chief Secretary,

C. MANN,

Treasurer,

A. H. PALMER,

Colonial Secretary,

BOYD D. MOREHEAD,

Postmaster-General,

W. R. GIBLIN,

Colonial Treasurer,

W. MOORE,

Colonial Secretary,

} Victoria.

} New South Wales.

} New Zealand.

} South Australia.

} Queensland.

} Tasmania.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, 25th January, 1881.

PETITION OF FRUIT-GROWERS.

To the Hon. Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, and the Hon. JAMES WATSON, Esq., Colonial Treasurer, the Representatives in the Intercolonial Conference for the Colony of New South Wales.

THE petition of the undersigned persons interested in the growing of and dealing in fruit—
Showeth,—

That your petitioners desire to bring under your notice the following facts connected with the intercolonial fruit trade, and respectfully request that you will place the same before the Conference.

The trade in fruit between the Colonies of New South Wales and Victoria is a very large and increasing one, and, owing to the difference in the latitude of the two central markets, Sydney and Melbourne, there is but little actual competition between the local growers for the respective markets, the summer fruit being ready for use in the vicinity of Sydney quite a month earlier than it is in Melbourne.

The fruit itself being very perishable, it is desirable that every facility should be given for its rapid delivery.

The rapidly changing value of fruit from a very high price in the commencement to a very low one in the height, and back to a high price at the end of the season, together with the fluctuation of price dependent upon weather, render it particularly unsuitable as a commodity from which to obtain revenue.

The duty charged upon fruit going to Victoria from Sydney is a very serious interference with the intercolonial trade, while the amount raised is really but small; being fixed at one shilling per case it frequently amounts to 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. upon the fruit consumed by the poorer classes, while at other times, when it is not so plentiful, and, owing to the price, it can only be used by the wealthier classes, the duty is only 5 or 10 per cent.

Your petitioners submit that fruit is an article the consumption of which should be encouraged as much as possible, and that its supply at the cheapest possible price should be assisted to the utmost extent, as it is not merely a luxury but possesses many health-giving properties; and your petitioners therefore respectfully urge that, whatever may be the result of the deliberations of the Conference, efforts should be made to induce the representatives of the Colony of Victoria to recommend their Government to abolish the duties upon fruit, at all events in its natural state.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

CHARLES CARROLL, Grower, Hunter's Hill.

J. LYONS, Shipper, Elizabeth Street.

CRAWFORD AND JESSEP, Shippers, 9, Market Street.

SAMUEL SMALL, Grower, Ryde.

[Here follow 168 other signatures.]

MEMORANDUM.

THE new arrangement entered into with the United Kingdom from the 1st March, 1880, for division of postage on correspondence transmitted *via Brindisi* was as follows:—

Postage to be—

Letters	...	...	...	...	6d.
Newspapers	...	...	...	...	1d.
Packets	...	...	...	...	1d. per 1 oz.

Upon outward correspondence United Kingdom to account to Victoria for 2½d. per letter, retaining 3½d.* per letter, as well as the whole of the packet and newspaper postage.

Upon homeward correspondence Victoria to retain postage collected on letters, and account for half the postage on packets and newspapers.

Continental transit of packets and newspapers as well as letters, *both ways*, to be paid by United Kingdom.

To remove objections raised by New South Wales and New Zealand it was agreed that United Kingdom should continue to account to other colonies 4d. out of 6d. on each letter and half newspaper and packet postage, the difference (1½d. per letter and ½d. per newspaper) being *debited against Victoria*. This was upon the understanding that the homeward as well as the outward letter postage would in all cases be reduced to 6d.

However, New South Wales, New Zealand, South Australia, and Tasmania still continue to charge 8d. on letters *via Brindisi*, and a large portion of the homeward correspondence previously sent *via Southampton* was now forwarded at the 6d. rate *via Southampton* or by Orient steamers, and was thus diverted from the Galle contract steamers.

In July, 1880, the above colonies were addressed upon the subject,† and strongly urged to reduce homeward letter rates to a uniform charge of 6d. by all routes, in order that a due proportion of their mails may be sent *via Brindisi*, and a larger contribution paid by them to the Galle contract, for which Victoria is responsible to the extent of £85,000 per annum.

They have, however, declined to make the change.

It is a matter of great importance to Victoria that, as anticipated when the contract was entered into, the bulk of the mails from the neighbouring colonies should be forwarded *via Galle and Brindisi*, the most regular and expeditious postal route; but this can only be secured by a general reduction of the homeward postage to 6d. as proposed.

The average loss to Victoria on previous contract was £13,500.

The loss under the present contract is estimated to be about £24,000, the increase being due to the causes previously stated.

F. W. JACKSON,

G. P. O., 11/1/81.

* 2d. of this being to cover continental transit charges *both ways*, viz., 1d. each way. † Copy of communication at Chief Secretary's Office.

NEW EXPEDITION FOR DR. LEICHHARDT'S PARTY.

BARON VON MUELLER asks that proposal for new expedition for Dr. Leichhardt's party be brought before Intercolonial Conference.

To the Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.L.A., Chief Secretary of Victoria.

SIR,—

Melbourne, 12th December, 1880.

The Intercolonial Conference affording an opportunity to discuss questions and to devise measures in which all the Australian Colonies unitedly are concerned, I venture to beg of you, as Premier of this colony, that you will be pleased to submit for the consideration of the Conference whether a new effort ought to be made to clear up the fate of Dr. Leichhardt's party. The comparatively recent intelligence obtained of a supposed member of the Leichhardt Expedition having died only three years ago on the Mulligan River, and, furthermore, traditions among the aborigines of North-western Australia that a survivor of that ill-starred party was still living among the tribes of an eastern branch of the Victoria River, hold out some hope that by a methodical search along these water-courses, and by frequent interrogations of the native tribes of the vicinity, at last the actual fate of the lost small band of geographic pioneers could be ascertained, that possibly even some one of them might be rescued, and perhaps documents of the expedition be discovered, while most certainly a vast extent of new country would become mapped.

It is far from me to ask for large means to accomplish this nationally Australian object; a few hundred pounds from each of the four most populated colonies, with a small subsidy from the two others, would suffice to send out an efficient party for following up the new traces of the lost explorers, especially as the tried services of Mr. Ernest Giles as leader of a search party could be rendered available at the present time, and as the Hon. Sir Thomas Elder would be almost sure to lend for so noble a purpose a limited number of dromedaries (otherwise purchasable). Leichhardt has high claims on the universal gratitude of Australia; he traversed through the territory of Queensland on exploring lines of fully 1,500 miles, the whole of this extent of country taken up from his maps, and now all along occupied by flourishing settlements, from which annually large revenues are derived. He advanced through South Australian dominions already in his first expedition to the extent of 750 miles length, and is supposed to have perished in the northern portion of the South Australian territory; the greater part of the country explored by him there is now also occupied along his track by pastoral settlers, near convenient harbours (as on his Queensland lines) for commerce, and throughout well-watered and fertile regions. He was sent out by New South Wales, of which Victoria was then an integral portion. The modest expenditure now solicited in the cause of humanity, and simultaneously also for the further advancement of geography, would be sure to bear results of practical importance to rural pursuits and trade, and therewith also to the further enrichment of these colonies. I need not remind you, honored Sir, that Mr. Giles had, as gold medallist of the Royal Geographic Society of London, this year for his only colleague the distinguished commander of the "Vega," who, with Baron Nordenskiöld, accomplished the eastern arctic passage, for which was striven several hundred years in vain. It is also unnecessary to call to your recollection that the efforts of obtaining tidings of Sir John Franklin's party have culminated this year in an heroic search in the polar regions, not merely through the summer season, but incessantly through a whole arctic winter, an event of bravery also unparalleled and unexampled in the world's history before. Ships like the "Erebus" and "Terror" may founder and leave no vestiges, but no land party, such as Leichhardt's, can go out of existence without leaving remnants behind for a very long series of years; thus to clear up the fate of Leichhardt's party is merely a matter of skill, perseverance, and monetary means, and, through the chance of now using dromedaries, the search will neither be impeded by deserts nor seasons of drought.

I therefore humbly trust that the distinguished statesmen who represent in the present Melbourne Conference all the Australian Colonies will grant the funds sufficient to keep a small party for one year in the field on this high-minded errand, especially as now the eyes of the whole world are more particularly directed to Australia through the International Exhibition. Besides, while fulfilling our duties to a martyr of Australian geography, justice would be done to a leading living explorer, in utilizing his talents and experiences, while still available, by which means unfailingly new additions will be made to the geography of our continent, in which all the Australian Colonies are interested, and from which they will all derive in time large, substantial, and continuous benefit.

I have, &c.,

FERD. VON MUELLER.

To the Hon. GRAHAM BERRY, M.L.A., Premier of Victoria, &c.

Melbourne, 11th January, 1881.

I DEEM it but right, honored Sir, to mention, after the enlightened interest which you evince in the question of Leichhardt's fate, that the telegraphic intelligence just received concerning the identification of Classen's remains does only account, as yet, for the end of one of a party of eight, while rumours are afloat that another survivor still exists at the source of the River Victoria (much nearer to Western Australia). I hope, therefore, that your kind intention to bring this subject before the Intercolonial Conference, in Sydney, will not be hindered by the telegram just published, especially as the new search will have an important geographic bearing also. Allow me yet to remark that, in the event of the other colonies responding to your call of taking joint action in this new enterprise, it would simplify and expedite the arrangements very much if the funds were made available in one place; and, as I have followed up since fully thirty years all investigations regarding Leichhardt's party, the several Australian Governments might have sufficient faith and confidence in me for intrusting to me the final agreement with Mr. Giles, and for effecting the disbursements under such arrangements as the Conference may deem fit.

I have this day received a letter from Mr. Giles, expressing his eagerness to conduct this new search expedition, and I am sure he is not led in this by monetary considerations.

An early organization of the party is desirable, for the full benefit of the approaching cool season.

Respectfully yours,

FERD. VON MUELLER.

THE following is the text of the Anti-Chinese Bill lately passed in California :—

“ Any officer, director, manager, member, stockholder, clerk, agent, servant, attorney, employé, assignee, or contractor of any corporation now existing or hereafter formed under the laws of this State, who shall employ in any manner or capacity upon any work or business of such corporation any Chinese or Mongolian, is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is punishable by a fine of not less than one hundred nor more than one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment in the county gaol of not less than fifty nor more than five hundred days, or by such fine or imprisonment: Provided that no director of a corporation shall be deemed guilty under this section who refuses to assent to such employment and has such dissent recorded in the minutes of the board of directors.

“(1.) Every person who has been convicted for violating the provisions of this section, committing any subsequent violation thereof after such conviction, is punishable as follows :—

“(2.) For each subsequent conviction such person shall be fined not less than five hundred dollars nor more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not less than two hundred and fifty days nor more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment. Any corporation now existing or hereafter formed under the laws of the State, that shall employ directly or indirectly in any capacity any Chinese or Mongolian, shall be guilty of misdemeanour, and, upon conviction therefor, shall for the first offence be fined not less than five hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars, and upon the second conviction shall, in addition to said penalty, forfeit its charter and franchise and all its corporate rights, and it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General to take the necessary steps to enforce such forfeiture.”

SECRETARY, Chamber of Commerce, asks that desirability of adopting Decimal System of Weights &c., for selling Grain and Produce be considered by Conference.

SIR,—

Melbourne, Chamber of Commerce, 10th January, 1881.

I have the honor, by desire of the Committee of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, to ask that you will be good enough, if you find it practicable, to bring under the notice of the Intercolonial Conference at Sydney the desirableness of a general adoption by the several colonies of the cental system of selling grain and produce.

You are probably aware, Sir, that, when last a movement was made in this and some of the other colonies to initiate a less complicated system of weights and measures, the then Victorian Government regarded the attempt very favourably, and the cental was adopted at the Customhouse in levying the duties on grain and flour, and has continued to be so used to the present time.

Some untoward circumstances prevented, at that time, the general adoption of the cental system on the part of auctioneers and grain and flour merchants, but it is thought that the present is a favourable time for making another effort in the direction indicated.

During the discussion of the general question of a decimal system of weights and measures at the late Social Science Congress, it was suggested that the Legislatures of the several colonies should be appealed to, not only to sanction the adoption of the decimal system (by such denominations as might be approved), but to make the same compulsory after a lapse of two years. That in the meantime the several Governments should be asked to levy duties by these denominations, and to use them in Government contracts and railway freights; also, that the metric system should be taught in the State schools, and should form one of the subjects in the competitive examinations of the Civil Service.

I am therefore respectfully to express the hope that the assistance of yourself and your honorable colleague will be given to this further effort to effect so desirable a reform as the simplification of our present complicated denominations of weights and measures.

I have, &c.,

B. COWDEROY,
Secretary.

The Hon. the Chief Secretary.

SIR,—

Melbourne, 17th January, 1881.

As the Conference for the consideration of intercolonial matters of national importance is now sitting, we respectfully take the opportunity of bringing before the honorable members the great and pressing importance of canalization for irrigation, &c., as the only sure means of securing for the plains of these colonies agricultural certainty of remuneration.

Australia presents to the world a most anomalous appearance: that with a regular and plenteous rainfall, a splendid soil and climate, her farmers and graziers should suffer so severely from the periodical droughts which occur.

The necessity for the establishment of a special bureau in each colony to specially supervise the conservation and distribution of rainfall, the canalization, irrigation, and drainage of the country, and regulation of rivers, so that no water should be allowed to enter the ocean until every reasonable means had been used to turn it to account for the benefit of the State. In carrying out national canalization in the respective colonies, provision should be made to harmonize the several systems, so that the main arteries of distribution should be constructed with a view to the great continental features of the several States, so that the surplus waters of one colony may be made available, if necessary, to supplement the deficiencies of another. But we need not go into particulars; the necessities of the case are patent to all the colonies, and it is a subject in which all are equally interested, and if possible should receive the special notice of the Conference.

We have before us the whole of the facts relating to irrigation and drainage in California, whose climate, soil, and plains are nearly all-ours with our own, and whose wheat crops alone have increased since 1871, chiefly from irrigation, from one and a-half million bushels to forty-one and a-half million bushels in 1878.

All the facts we have from Colorado and California fully justify us in earnestly calling your attention to this momentous subject.

We have, &c.,

H. BENJAMIN H. DODS, C.E.,
and self,

HUGH McCOLL, M.L.A.

To the Secretary of the Intercolonial Conference, Sydney.

OUTRAGES IN THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC.

APPENDIX TO REPORT OF COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO EXAMINE THE ACTS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF HIGH COMMISSIONER.

SCHEDULE.

NO.	PAGE
1. Telegram to the Honorable A. H. Palmer, Colonial Secretary, Queensland	22
2. Letter from Mr. Julian Thomas	22
3. Papers communicated by "The Vagabond," Julian Thomas, to the Sydney <i>Daily Telegraph</i> , dated 11th December, 1880, and 17th January, 1881	23
4. Extract from <i>S. M. Herald</i> of 21st August, 1880, respecting the massacre of the "Esperanza" crew	25
5. Extract from <i>S. M. Herald</i> of 30th September, 1880, respecting massacre of crew of the trading steamer "Ripple"	26
6. Extract from <i>S. M. Herald</i> of 2nd December, 1880, respecting the massacre of the crew of the "Annie Brooks"	27
7. Leader in <i>S. M. Herald</i> of 30th November, 1880, respecting the massacre of Lieutenant Bower and five seamen of H.M.S. "Sandfly"	27
8. Leaders in <i>S. M. Herald</i> of 29th September, 1880, relating to the murder of Captain Ferguson	28
9. Extracts from Sydney <i>Daily Telegraph</i> of 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, and 15th December, 1880, on the subject of massacres in the South Seas	29

No. 1.

TELEGRAM to HOR. A. H. PALMER.

CREW of schooner "Prosperity," owned by myself, murdered and vessel and cargo burnt at Leonadie Island, near South Cape, New Guinea, October or November last; captain alone supposed has escaped; value property destroyed, thirteen hundred; eight men murdered, making during last six months thirty-one men murdered from Cooktown alone, and five thousand property destroyed; no action appears contemplated by Imperial Government protect the trade; our men dare not effect reprisals, or attack beforehand, which is often the only way of preventing massacres. What can be done? As Mr. Palmer is in Sydney, please get him use influence to have murderers of "Annie Brooks" and "Prosperity's" crew properly punished; no provocation this time alleged for either massacre.—
WILLIAM J. HARTLEY.

No. 2.

MR. JULIAN THOMAS to the SECRETARY, Intercolonial Conference.

SIR,—

169, Victoria Street, 19th January.

As *amicus curiæ*, I have the honor to submit the following to the Sub-committee appointed to inquire into the South Sea massacres. I do so as, having lately returned from Fiji, I have seen the pernicious results of the "Exeter Hall" policy of Sir Arthur Gordon and Judge Gorrie, the High and Judicial Commissioners of Polynesia; and also as the only journalist who has persistently advocated the necessity of the colonies interfering in this matter for the better protection of the lives and properties of their citizens.

I would respectfully suggest that any resolution to the Imperial Government will be incomplete if it does not draw special attention to the powers possessed by Judge Gorrie. I draw attention to two articles written under my *nom de plume* in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* of 11th December and 17th January, and to the fact that Judge Gorrie has decided in the case of the native, Aratuga, one of the murderers of the boat's crew of the Queensland ship "Mystery," that he has "*no jurisdiction*;" whereas any white man charged with any offence against the natives may be tried *without a jury* before Judge Gorrie, and convicted on native evidence alone. Such things are on record in the judicial annals of the High Commissioner's Court at Fiji.

I was myself a witness in Fiji of the supineness and indifference of the High Commissioner at the outrages committed. I saw both the "Dauntless" and "Borealis" when they returned after their white officers being massacred. In the latter case, still fresh in the public mind, the savages held possession of the ship for two days and thoroughly looted it; yet no instructions were issued by Sir Arthur Gordon to the Commodore to take any steps to demand reparation for this outrage. To this day it remains unavenged, for the man-of-war sent to the Solomons by the Commodore was to avenge the massacre of naval seamen only. One could multiply instances of this kind, which, with the fact that in the Fijian Islands *native* policemen have power to, and *do*, arrest *white men* on most frivolous charges, and the insolence of the whole aboriginal race of the South Seas, proves Sir Arthur Gordon's public statement that these are not the countries for white men.

I have, &c.,

JULIAN THOMAS.

No. 3.

Papers communicated by "The Vagabond," Julian Thomas, to the Sydney "Daily Telegraph."

[Extract from the Sydney Daily Telegraph, 11th December, 1880.]

SOUTH SEA MASSACRES.

BY "THE VAGABOND."

Is the Caucasian played out in the South Seas? As far as British subjects are concerned it would seem so. During the last few months outrage upon outrage, massacre upon massacre, have been committed by the natives. Englishmen have died slow and lingering deaths; English vessels have been captured and pillaged. The savages of the Solomon Islands have been enjoying a saturnalia of bloodshed and robbery. With impunity they have followed up their misdeeds. Sir Arthur Gordon, High Commissioner of Polynesia, at Levuka, has prated about the "colour-blindness" of the white race. Judge Gorrie, Judicial Commissioner, has from the bench enunciated most startling theories as to the inhumanity displayed towards "the poor natives." Both these officials have for years been playing to the gallery of Exeter Hall, and no doubt have acquired in Great Britain a great reputation for philanthropy—earned, as results show, at the cost of the blood of their countrymen. Now the savages have culminated their outrages by the murder of a naval officer and four seamen. Vengeance is loudly called for, and no doubt the call will be answered; but the public mind is largely exercised as to the reason of these continued massacres. Various theories have been started. One, that they are in retaliation for "atrocities" generally committed by white men; another, that they are acts of revenge for the kidnapping which takes place in the labour trade; a third, with more reason, because British men-of-war have not meted out retribution for past offences. In this last argument, however, an injustice, as I shall show, is done to the naval commanders on this station.

In giving my contribution to this discussion, I speak as one having some slight authority. I know many of the Pacific Islands; I have seen the working of the "labour trade" in Queensland, New Caledonia, and Fiji. During a late three months' sojourn in the latter colony I saw the survivors of many of the massacres of which we have lately heard. I acquired extensive information on this subject, and had evidence of the administration of justice in the High Commissioner's Court. We must discuss this subject on present issues. It is needless to go to the records of the past when white men were guilty of rapine and bloodshed in the South Seas. Little use to rake up the records of the "Carl" affair, nor even Bishop Patteson's opinions on the labour traffic. Kidnapping, no doubt, there was in the old days; deeds done which, to think of, makes our blood boil with indignation. What we want to know is the reason of these things *now*, when missionary influence has spread; when trade and commerce has penetrated to every island in the Pacific; when the natives are protected by a High Commissioner and many Deputy Commissioners, costing Great Britain some £20,000 annually. To put it down to the labour traffic is absurd. Both Fijian and Queensland "recruiting" vessels carry responsible Government agents, whose presence is sufficient now to prevent any of the abuses which have been alleged. There is no doubt that the chief of a tribe may, on consideration of a present which he values, make a number of his followers "enlist," but as far as the colonial officers are concerned these come away willingly. I have seen in Queensland, Noumea, and Levuka many labour vessels arrive. The "recruits" all seemed happy; there would be sure to be one amongst them who had been in the port before who would explain the many strange objects they saw, and at which they would all be amazed and amused. During their term of labour these islanders are well fed, supplied with tobacco and clothes; not too hardy worked; and, except in isolated cases, generally well used. When their three years of service is over they invest the money then paid to them in beads, hatchets, and firearms, and return to their island homes rich as one who in the old days had shook the pagoda tree. The custom, I believe, is that there is a free fight and scramble amongst the tribe for this plunder, and that the returned emigrant is generally left with nothing but the satisfaction that he has been a public benefactor. But many of the island tribes live in communities, as in Australia. "What's yours is mine" is the doctrine, and, if the result of the Kanaka's labour is not much to himself, at least he has done more good to the world working on a plantation than idling away his time in a state of semi-starvation on his native island. I defend the labour trade therefore. The French vessels are, I believe, a little less particular in "recruiting," and their mode of apportioning "hands" to the highest bidder is more like slavery. But we seldom hear of a Frenchman being killed. Why? Because France protects her citizens. If anything should happen to one of them in the South Seas a man-of-war will visit the spot, and the chief of the offending tribe will be hung. How differently has England's representative in the Pacific acted!

I charge Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of New Zealand and High Commissioner of the Pacific, and John Gorrie, Chief Justice of Fiji and Judicial Commissioner, with being morally responsible for the bloodshed which has occurred during the last twelve months. I will give facts to support this charge! It must be remembered that Sir Arthur Gordon is the pet, not only of the Court, but of that powerful party known in England as "Exeter Hall." Judge Gorrie is more, he is the *protégé* of the Aborigines Protection Society. In all their public acts and words they follow out the theory that the natives of the Pacific are mild, innocent savages, and all white traders and sailors in the seas murdering wretches. The poor natives must be protected. By various Acts of Council and Orders in Council Sir Arthur Gordon has absolute and arbitrary power in the Western Pacific, his jurisdiction extending over the eastern half of New Guinea. Any British subject can be "deported" from one island to another; may, without any cause but the will of the High Commissioner, be ordered to leave his business or occupation in any native island; if he refuses to comply may be taken to Fiji and imprisoned for contempt. Any colonial or British vessel may be seized and taken to Fiji. Any British subject, for any alleged offences against the natives, may be tried before the Judicial Commissioner at Fiji—and tried, be it remembered, without a jury. All the powers of the High Commissioner have been exerted against the white and in favour of the native race, and, the men-of-war in this portion of the Pacific being under his orders and instructions, the officers are not to blame for the apathy shown with regard to the loss of valuable lives.

Truly the natives have been protected well! Rehearse the events of the past two years. Early in 1879 the boat's crew of the Queensland recruiting vessel "Mystery" were murdered at Aoba, in the New Hebrides. Commodore Wilson went down to get satisfaction, and on the 24th May he levied a fine of pigs, yams, and taro, with which he fed his ship's company. I wonder if any of the gallant tars felt any repugnance at feasting on the price of blood! Some few months after this the same natives murdered an American named Johnston, and they sent word that they had got the pigs ready as soon as the man-of-war wanted them. It is for this murder that we learn by cablegram the United States are determined to have satisfaction. On the next voyage of the "Mystery," on April 21st, 1879, Captain Kilgour recovered his boat, which was stolen by the natives when they murdered the crew. The natives endeavoured to retain it, and shots were fired, and for this Captain Kilgour was tried at Levuka and fined £100! For recovering his own property! On the 13th July, 1879, the mate of the "Agnes McDonald" was murdered at Pentecost, New Hebrides, but the murderer was not punished. In April, 1879, Charley Halget was murdered in the Solomon Islands, also one Robert Provost. The "Danaë" burnt villages in revenge. This year the mate and Government agent of the "Dauntless" were murdered in the New Hebrides. The "Wolverene" burnt some grass huts in exchange. Then followed the massacre of the crew of the "Esperanza," and the capture of the "Borealis." Nothing has been done to avenge these outrages. Sir Arthur Gordon had a man-of-war to take him about the islands and convey him to Auckland, but he would not send it to capture the murderers. And the Commodore can take no steps in the Western Pacific without authority from the High Commissioner. From the murder of Captain Ferguson, of the "Ripple," to that of the boat's crew of the "Sandfly," every week has brought us intelligence of a fresh outrage. And it is only now that the "Emerald" is ordered to the scenes of all these massacres. Who can doubt that this long list of victims is the result of Sir Arthur Gordon's Exeter Hall policy, in ordering the lives of white men to be assessed in pork? And not this only, but through Governor Gordon and Judge Gorrie the status of the Anglo-Saxon race in the Pacific has been lowered. The former has publicly said that Fiji itself is "not a white man's country," and the latter tries to make it unbearable for them. An Englishman scarcely dares to protect his life and property in the Pacific. Besides the case of Captain Kilgour, who, being a Queensland-lander, got off lightly, there is that of Captain Waite, of the "Marion Renny," who, in the end of 1878, received *nine months' imprisonment* in Levuka for having fired over the heads of some presumed hostile natives. He was convicted on native evidence only. In 1879, Captain Daly, owner of the brig "Heather Bell," was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of £150 for detaining a native on board without his consent, a judgment which every one says was most arbitrary. On the other hand, when Commodore Wilson took a prisoner named Aratuga, one of the murderers of the boat's crew of the "Mystery," to Fiji for trial, Judge Gorrie said he had no jurisdiction—that the man was but acting as a soldier under the commands of his chief. In his own words, as reported in the *Fiji Times* of 14th April, 1880—"I can, therefore, find no grounds upon which to found jurisdiction against this man in his individual capacity, or to hold him responsible for any offence committed against British law." So, according to this decision, the murdering native commits no offence against British law, but the merchant captain who endeavours to recover his lost property must be fined £100.

In Fiji itself the white race is perpetually degraded. To keep up a reputation at Exeter Hall, charges of cruelty, manslaughter, and murder are continually being brought against the planters, whom it is the fiction of philanthropists to endow with all the inhumanity before attributed to Legree and Co., of the Southern States. Now, the imported labourers, natives of a hundred different isles, know all these things. They all learn Fijian, which is now the *lingua franca* of the Western Pacific. They know that no retribution has been exacted for outrages committed on whites. They know that a native, if brought to Levuka on any charge, will be acquitted. They know that the law is administered by Judge Gorrie entirely in their favour and against the white race. So, when they return to their homes with the news that the white man's power of hurting them is gone, all the family or tribe take an early opportunity of having a little safe sport. Thus suddenly from many different quarters in the Pacific we hear news of massacres. I remember well, when in September last the "Borealis" with her blood-stained decks came into Levuka, how in half an hour there was a knot of Solomon Islanders, New Hebrideans, and others, imported labourers, who were excitedly canvassing the affair in the street. I thought then that the news that, unavenged, six men had been massacred and the vessel looted, would not increase their own feelings of respect for their masters. The memory of a savage is short: justice must strike him quickly and speedily; *lex talionis* is the only law he knows. To try cases in Fiji before Judge Gorrie is a mockery. The colonies should join together to protest that the property and lives of their citizens should no longer be at the mercy of the High Commissioner or his judicial assistant. If they were abolished altogether it would be a public benefit. Till this is done, will not one of our new and shining lights move in Parliament, "That an address be sent to Her Majesty, praying that the powers of the High Commissioner in the Pacific shall not extend over Australian vessels nor citizens, but that the latter shall be tried for alleged offences in the South Seas in the Colonial Courts; also that the men-of-war on the Sydney station shall receive instructions to obtain atonement for the murder of Australian sailors, other than by payment of pigs from the native chiefs, or the burning of a few huts"? It becomes now a necessity for the colonies to make a firm stand, if the supremacy of the white race is to be sustained in the South Seas.

[Extract from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 17th January, 1881.]

SOUTH SEA MASSACRES.

BY "THE VAGABOND."

IN reply to Mr. Combes' question, Sir Henry Parkes said that he did not see what the Government could do in the matter of the South Sea massacres, but that the strongest representations would be made to the Home authorities on the subject. I am sure that the Premier recognizes the gravity of the position—of the fact that the properties and lives of Australian citizens have been sacrificed during the last twelve months without redress or compensation, and that a reign of terror for the white race exists in the Pacific. All the colonies are concerned in this, but especially New South Wales. Here

in Sydney now there are widowed wives and fatherless children appealing to our sympathy and our pockets. But, however strong the representation from our Government, would it have the same weight as a resolution of the Intercolonial Conference now sitting? And no resolution, no representation respecting the need of increased protection to Australian citizens in the South Seas, will have any effect unless it goes to the root of the matter, the powers delegated to the High Commissioner and Judicial Commissioner of Polynesia. If the colonies could fully realize the extent to which these control their commerce in the Pacific, the arbitrary style of the judicial proceedings, and the hopelessness of redress, they would make common cause for a modification or abolition of their powers. It is greatly to be feared that at present any representation from any single colony would either be put into a pigeon-hole, or sent to Sir Arthur Gordon to report upon. He, no doubt, would consider any interference with, or criticism of, his prerogative, a great impertinence, and in due course our Colonial Secretary would receive a snubbing letter from Downing Street, intimating that Sir Arthur Gordon was doing all in his power to stop the outrages in question. We may look in vain for any redress from the High Commissioner. He will never depart from his theory that all the poor natives of the Pacific are innocent and peaceful, and require protection from the white planters and traders.

But a resolution of the Intercolonial Conference, I think, would do good. The Imperial authorities could not disregard the joint appeal of the colonies. And it should be fully set forth what glaring disadvantages before the law an English subject suffers in Polynesia. He is liable to be "deported" at the will of the High Commissioner, and he may have his property confiscated, and his life attempted by the natives. If he endeavours to defend these, he will very possibly be tried, without a jury, by Judge Gorrie. If a native is charged with an offence against a European, the Judge holds that he has no jurisdiction. These things are on record, and, if forcibly brought before the attention of the Imperial authorities by action of the Conference, must have effect. It requires powerful action to counteract the evil results of Sir Arthur Gordon's rule in the Pacific. He possesses considerable influence in England, and has sworn admirers, who loudly assert that he is a wise and brilliant statesman. None but those who have lived in Fiji, or have had evidence of Imperial misrule there, as I have, would, until these recent massacres, have believed that Sir Arthur Gordon was anything but a Christian Governor. His Christianity has all been displayed on one side however. Even the missionaries have given him up. The Rev. William Moore, an ex-Wesleyan missionary in Fiji and a large landed proprietor there, writing in a contemporary, says, "You will see that we have no confidence in the office of 'High Commissioner' ever meeting this case." The pampering of the natives has caused them everywhere to assume a most insolent tone. Even within the last two months, since I left Fiji, this has increased. There have been many cases of assaults by natives on white men. The imported labourers care so little for their masters or the laws that they are resorting to their own customs and amusements. One of my correspondents writes, "The Santo and Solomon boys had a pitched battle two Sundays since at Vagadace, right by the judicial residence. Judge Gorrie happened to be out, however, teaching a Sunday class of coolies. There were several severely injured, and one man died a few days afterwards in the hospital. There is no mistaking the marked change in the demeanour of the foreign labourers, and the insolent tone they are assuming."

The Church and the London and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies are planted in nearly every island in the Pacific. Ordinary commerce and the "labour trade" have for some years brought the majority of islanders within the influence of civilization—at least they have a knowledge of other countries and other conditions of life but their own. Is it that familiarity has bred contempt, or the knowledge that they can commit outrages unscathed, which makes the islanders so insolent now? The massacres which have taken place during the last six months must be avenged, and the causes investigated. I, and every white man who knows the Pacific, believe that the reason is to be found in the action of professional philanthropists, who have before now trailed the honor of England in the gutter. Sir Arthur Gordon and Judge Gorrie represent these. A strong resolution of the Intercolonial Conference, or a demand for a Royal Commission to inquire into the causes and circumstances of these massacres, will alone meet the merits of the case.

No. 4.

[Extract from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21st August, 1880.]

MURDEROUS OUTRAGE BY SOLOMON ISLANDERS.

ANOTHER barbarous outrage by Solomon Island natives on a peaceable trading schooner has to be recorded. It was supposed that after the castigation given to the natives near Marau, and other places, by H.M.S. "Danaë," that for some time to come we should hear little or nothing of native outrages. This, unhappily, is not to be the case, for we already learn that the schooner "Esperanza," of Sydney, has been taken, the crew murdered, and the vessel plundered and destroyed by fire. Captain Haddock, of the "Queen," which arrived yesterday, spoke the "Esperanza" some time before the affair at Cimbo, or Eddystone Island, and had an interview with the master, James McIntosh; also with the mate, Peter Gaffney. They had just come from Rubiana, where they had discharged a cargo of copra, that being the head-quarters of the fleet of Messrs. Cowlshaw, Brothers, and Captain Ferguson, to whom the "Esperanza" belonged. The "Queen" again called at Cimbo early in June, when the chief of that place and other natives came off, and reported that the "Esperanza" had put into a place known by the native name of Collolanghanga, where a dispute, it is alleged, arose between the chief of that place and Captain McIntosh. It was stated that the natives, who were allowed on the vessel for trading purposes, came on board in swarms. One of them seized Captain McIntosh round the neck, whilst another struck him with a tomahawk, and he died almost at once. The mate, Peter Gaffney, who was related to the master, was butchered in a similar manner, and the rest of the crew, four hands, made up of natives from various islands, were also killed in the native fashion. The schooner's trade, and everything the natives could relieve her of, were stolen, and the vessel was fired as she lay in the harbour, and was quickly consumed, with the object, it is said, of destroying all traces of the affair. The

chief who reported the outrage to Captain Haddock came from the locality of the massacre. Other natives had heard of it, and the news had been received at Rubiana. The victims of this massacre—James McIntosh and Peter Gaffney—were well known and much respected in shipping circles in Sydney. The former was once fourth mate on board the mail steamship "Australia," and leaves a widow and child in this city. Mr. Gaffney was a single man, aged 22, and he has several relatives in Sydney.

No. 5.

[Extract from *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30th September, 1880.]

MASSACRE IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

THE Rev. George Brown, of Port Hunter, Duke of York Island, furnishes the following particulars of an attack on the trading steamer "Ripple," in which Captain A. M. Ferguson and five of his native crew were murdered by the natives of Bougainville Island, in the Solomon Group, on the 9th September:—

"Captain Ferguson left Port Wesley (Mesko) in this group, at midnight, 18th July, for his regular cruise in the Solomons. As he intended to call at Metlik (Likiliki) on his way down channel, I availed myself of his kind offer to tow my whaleboat as far as the settlement at Metlik (Likiliki); so that I was able to visit the colonists, and also our mission stations on New Ireland, with comparative ease. We arrived at Metlik on the 9th, and found the colonists still in great distress, and very anxious to be removed. Captain McLaughlin and Captain Ferguson, I believe, made some arrangements for their removal, and as Captain McLaughlin and I said good-bye to our old friend, as the 'Ripple' was steaming out, we received again his assurance to tell the poor fellows on shore that in three weeks' time he would be back again and would take them all to Sydney. It was in hastening back to fulfil his promise that he was killed. The 'Ripple' arrived off Port Hunter at 1 p.m. on Thursday last, 12th instant, and we were at once in joyous expectation of seeing again our old friend, and of receiving our letters from home. As she steamed into port we saw her flag at half-mast, but we thought that she was probably bringing up some of the colonists who had died, as we left one or two very unwell. I sent a note down, but the chief soon came running back crying bitterly, 'O, Mr. Brown, Alick! Alick!' the name by which he is known here. He would say no more, but just sat and cried. I got the mate's note, and at once hurried on board. I shall never forget that day. The mate and men could not speak, but just led me into the cabin and pointed to the blood-stained sides and roof, and to the cuts made by the tomahawks, and then we all wept together. Then, by degrees, we heard the story. The 'Ripple' called at a place near Cape de Gros, on the east side of Bougainville Island, on her way up here. Captain Ferguson had never been in that place before. On the 8th they bought several bags of *bêche-de-mer* and shells, and found the natives all friendly and apparently quiet. On the 9th they commenced trading again early in the morning. At 8.30 a.m. a large fleet of canoes came off with *bêche-de-mer* and shells, and the mate computes that altogether there were about 300 natives in and around the ship. At about 8.45 a.m. the attack commenced. It is supposed that Captain Ferguson was in his cabin looking out on the deck when he was struck down by a blow across the side of the head. The man who struck him must have been hiding by the side of the door, as the blow was a left-handed one, and the tomahawk in descending cut a deep mark on the upper side of the doorway. The steward was down the after hold, engaged in handing up some stores by the captain's orders. He heard the captain call out, 'I'm killed!' and immediately received himself a dreadful wound in the neck from a tomahawk. He fell back, but recovered, and, with his revolver, shot the two men who were standing over the hatchway, one of whom, it is pretty certain, was the man who struck down the captain. The mate, who was on the main hatch, was struck by a tomahawk, fell, and received several severe cuts when down, but his assailant was engaged by one of the native crew, and he soon recovered consciousness and helped in the fight. The engineer, Barnard Watt (Barney), first fell; the blood and brains of a poor native lad, who was at the wheel, spattered in his face, and then was fired the first shot. He was protected by the boat, and so was able to fire until his ammunition was out. He then went to the cabin for more, and there found Captain Ferguson quite dead on the floor, and a native woman, who was a passenger, also dead. The natives fought hard, and when driven off the ship's deck still kept up the fight from their canoes, discharging arrows from a comparatively short distance. This fight, however, was too unequal to last long, and, as the bullets from the rifles began to tell, they gave up the attack and pulled away for the shore. It was then found that four were killed, viz., Captain Ferguson, a native woman, and two natives, one of whom was taken away by the natives. The mate (Mr. Davis), the engineer, Mr. W. Pense (a passenger), and five of the crew were wounded, some of them very severely. Steam was got up, and at half-past 10 a.m. the vessel was steamed through the passage, and stood away for Duke of York. All seem to have done their best to save their lives and the ship. The steward (a Japanese) is praised by all for his bravery; though wounded in the most dreadful manner in several places, he fought until the ship was clear and the natives driven away, when he fainted from loss of blood; and now the poor fellow wins the respect and love of us all by his care of the poor men who are fellow-sufferers with him. As soon as I got the account of the affair we got the wounded men on shore, and I then sent away my boat to New Britain to inform Mr. Stevens, one of Messrs. Cowlshaw Brothers' agents, of the affair. I also sent a note to Captain Izar, H.M.S. 'Conflict,' and he at once came on board with Captain Hemsheim, and kindly offered us all the help he could give us in attending to the wounded men, or in any other way. All the poor men who were landed were dreadfully mutilated, and from the length of time which had elapsed the work of sewing up and dressing the wide-gaping wounds was made both very difficult and unpleasant. One poor fellow, who has no less than eight deep gashes, lingered until to-day (17th), when he died. Another one cannot possibly recover, I think, unless the leg is amputated, as his left leg is almost cut through at the knee. The white man, William Pense, has both arms broken, and received also some very severe wounds on the neck. The Japanese steward has, in addition to some smaller ones, a dreadful gash in the neck, which has laid open the whole of his neck from near the ear

to the collar-bone. I hope he will recover. The excitement amongst the natives here was very great indeed, and I am very certain that very few mourned more sincerely for Captain Ferguson's death than did Torogood, a chief of this island. I never saw a native express such deep feeling. On entering the cabin he burst into tears, threw himself down on the floor, knocked his head against the side, and fairly howled in his sorrow and anger. He was very anxious then to know how far the place was, and if he and his people could be taken there to fight. Next day he destroyed his plantations, and burnt and destroyed all the clothing and other presents which had been given him, blackened his face, divided out native money, and observed every form of mourning according to native custom for a very near relative. All the natives here feel that they have lost a good friend by this sad calamity."

No. 6.

[Extract from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2nd December, 1880.]

ANOTHER MASSACRE IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

CAPTAIN VRIER, late of the schooner "Vibilia," of Sydney, arrived at Cooktown on 22nd November, and reports the loss of his vessel on 2nd September, at the Louisiade Archipelago. All hands were saved. The vessel was beached at Kolumna Island. The captain and five men proceeded in an open boat, and arrived on 18th October at Teste Island, where the native missionary informed him that Captain Foreman and the crew of the "Annie Brooks," schooner, from Cooktown, were murdered by Brooke Islanders at Newstone Island, early in September. The vessel and a valuable cargo of *bêche-de-mer*, the proceeds of five months' fishing, were entirely destroyed. He also reports that a party of French naturalists, all residents of Cooktown, had been murdered at Jannes Bay, Moresby Island, early in October. Their boat and collection were destroyed without any provocation. Captain Vrier proceeded to Kerepuna mission station, and bought the wreck of a Chinese junk taken by the Aroma natives in July last. The Rev. Mr. Chalmers supplied the necessaries for repairing the vessel, which started for Kolumna; but, making too much leeway, she bore away for Cooktown. The names of the "Annie Brooks" party were: Captain Foreman, Purdie, McRae, Campbell, Hastings, Jeffries, two other Europeans, and three Chinese. The French party consisted of Auguste Naudan, John Chambord, and three other Europeans. Captain Foreman's family reside in Sydney.

No. 7.

[Leader in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30th November, 1880.]

THE disaster which has befallen the commander and five seamen of H.M.S. "Sandfly" is the saddest that has reached us since the massacre of Commodore Goodenough. There seems to be too much reason to believe that this catastrophe has also been the outcome, if not of a want of forethought, of an excess of confidence in a treacherous and savage race. We know that it is always easy to be wise after the event. The fact must not be overlooked that those who would hold intercourse with native races must, to a certain extent, put their trust in them. It cannot be forgotten, however, that the Solomon Islanders have acquired for themselves a savage pre-eminence. Even if that were not the case, the stories of massacre which have reached us from the Islands of late ought to be sufficient to teach Europeans the folly of placing themselves at the mercy of the natives. The account of the "Sandfly" disaster is a short one, and circumstances besides those which are reported may be necessary to a complete knowledge of the case. But if the statement made by the sole survivor be correct—and of that there can be little doubt—the unfortunate commander of the "Sandfly" seems to have acted with less prudence than might have been expected from an officer in his situation. It is stated, for example, that on reaching Nogu Island the company from the "Sandfly" hauled the boat up and had tea there. This being done, two of the men went to bathe, two others with the captain went along the beach, the sixth man being left to look after the boat, the firearms which the party had brought with them being left in the boat. The result was pretty much what might have been expected. The party were surprised. A crowd of about fifty natives surrounded the boat, a second set of savages attacked the men on the beach, and a third the two men who had gone into the water. The commander fled to the branches of a tree, and there found a refuge for the night, but was shot down in the morning by means of his own firearms. The lesson from all this is a sufficiently simple one, and it is to be hoped that it will not be lost upon those who may find it necessary to visit the group where the unfortunate captain and men of the "Sandfly" met their fate. The case supplies us with another illustration of the fact that the policy of venturing upon an island of bloodthirsty savages without arms, and even without suspicion, may be carried too far.

But it is evident that, if commercial intercourse is to be carried on between these colonies and the South Sea Islands, something besides prudential measures will have to be adopted. There has hardly been a month or a fortnight of late without its story of a South Sea Island massacre. The natives are discovering that they can murder white men with impunity, and, thus encouraged, it is not surprising that they murder them whenever an opportunity is offered. The evil is becoming a little too common and too serious. There is no evidence that it has given much concern to the authorities at Home, but it is possible that the attack which has been made upon the British flag will produce the conviction that it is one which calls for both a prompt inquiry and for an effectual remedy. There is a growing feeling to the effect that sufficient protection is not afforded to ordinary traders in the South Sea Islands, and atrocities like the one we report to-day will serve to show that there is insufficient protection for the officers of justice themselves. It ought not to be too much to expect that in a well-ordered nation like ours there should be ample means either for preventing these massacres or for punishing the perpetrators of them; but in reply to this the naval authorities in England would say that they have a great deal else to think about just now, and that the South Sea Islands are a long way off. It must be confessed that it is much easier to complain of these South Sea Island atrocities than it is to divine the cause of them, or to put a stop to them. There are those who tell us that there

is a common law of retaliation in the South Seas, and that, if the facts were known, all the misdeeds of the islanders might be traced to misdeeds on the part of the traders. Others, however, who claim to understand the South Sea islanders, tell us that there are sections of them who perpetrate atrocities for no other reason than that they delight in blood, and those who read such reports as the one which we publish this morning will have no difficulty in coming to this conclusion. The effectual cure for these atrocities is of course to be found in civilization or in Christianity. But civilization is a slow process everywhere, and it is especially slow among savages like those of the South Seas. We have been trying to civilize these races for half a century past, but the area of our operations is still comparatively small. Civilization in regions like these is more easily talked about than accomplished. The same, to some extent at least, may be said of punishment. It is easy enough to throw a few shells into such a group as the one which has been the scene of this outrage; but if the shells do any execution at all they are as likely to reach the wrong parties as the right ones. They may do mischief to the savages who inhabit the coast, but this is no lesson to those who fly to the interior. The whole subject is surrounded by difficulties; but for that reason it is worthy of more attention than it generally receives in England. The philanthropists of the mother country are generally ready with a protest when the blacks receive injuries from the whites, but, as a rule, they do not show any great concern when the injuries are in the other direction. There is a good deal that is defective in this one-sided philanthropy. It is not desirable that we should have one law for civilized races and another for savages. If we punish the whites for the wrongs they do, we are bound to see that the blacks are punished likewise. But this is not what we are doing. Savages like those who people the Solomon Group have for some time past been showing the world that they can kill and eat white men, and go unpunished.

No. 8.

[Extract from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29th September, 1880.]

FOR the sake of natives, as well as of traders, the Solomon Islanders who so savagely murdered Captain Ferguson and three or four brave men who perished with him, ought to be promptly and severely punished. It will be a serious calamity if atrocities like this are allowed to be perpetrated with impunity. Savages have but one way of regarding immunity from punishment: they look upon it as an indication of weakness on the part of the whites whom they delight to ill-treat, and from it they naturally draw encouragement to continue their sanguinary courses. That the natives of some of the islands of the South Seas are taking this view of the license which they enjoy may be inferred from the increasing prevalence of massacres in Polynesia. In the Solomon Islands especially, murders by the natives have been painfully numerous of late, and there seems to be too much reason to fear that, unless a wholesome lesson is administered to these cannibals, a reign of terror will be established before very long.

The massacre of Captain Ferguson and his comrades is one of the saddest that we have had to record for some years. It is difficult to account for an outrage which, so far as we are able to learn, was wholly unprovoked. The theory has been that such acts of hostility to white men have a cause of some kind or other. It has been said that they cannot be accounted for merely by an inborn love of cruelty, or by a natural hostility to strangers, but are inflicted in return for wrongs that have been inflicted upon the natives. The law of retaliation we are told is common law among the natives of the South Seas; by virtue of it one man is punished for the crimes of another, and a whole people are held responsible for the misdeeds of an individual. It was said, as our readers will remember, that the inflicting of five wounds and no more on the body of Bishop Patteson made it certain that he had been murdered in revenge for the death of five islanders. Another notion has been that the atrocities in the South Seas are usually originated by some two or three ringleaders, who stir up the islanders for the purposes of their own profit or revenge. It is now becoming clear that these explanations of Polynesian massacres will have to be modified or given up. The "Ripple" was attacked by no less than three hundred natives, and the only conclusion to be drawn from the sad story which has reached us is that this murderous horde was moved only by a savage thirst for blood. In former times, when abuses by traders were doubtless too frequent, there was some reason for the belief that massacres were committed in revenge for wrongs received.

These abuses, however, have now for the most part ceased to exist. The great majority of the traders in the South Seas are men of character and respectability, and the trade itself has for some years past been under strict Government control. Captain Ferguson especially was known throughout the islands not only as an honest trader but as a philanthropic man. On many occasions he distinguished himself by his courage and self-denial, and was the means of saving a large number of lives. From the Solomon Group he was to sail on a mission of benevolence to the unhappy island where the remnant of the colonists of the Marquis De Ray were in a state of destitution, and, from the evidence which has reached us, it would seem that he was detained at Bougainville Island as much in the interest and desire of the natives as for purposes of his own. Under these circumstances his murder was marked by peculiar features of atrocity, and it will be an ill omen for the future if such an outrage as the one in question is allowed to go unpunished.

It is easy to see how a massacre like that of Captain Ferguson might have been avoided. It is said that the captain ought to have been on his guard; that traders should on all occasions treat South Sea Island natives as potential murderers; and that it was a fatal mistake to allow so large a number of islanders to board the vessel at all. This may all be true. The policy of trusting a set of blood-thirsty savages may be most ill-advised; but after the event it is generally easy to see what ought to have been avoided. Successful traders find it necessary to trust the natives up to a certain point, as well as to watch them. It is also said that those who trust their lives among savages must take the consequences. As long, however, as British subjects are engaged in legitimate trade, they are working for the benefit, and are entitled to the protection, of their country. These colonies reap no small advantage from the South Sea Island trade, and they expect to reap larger advantages hereafter. In a remoter way the trade of the islands is as necessary to the mother-country as to the colonies. Where

we push our trade we should have some legal machinery for protecting our interests. In the South Seas this machinery is at present a most imperfect one. In some parts of the islands, indeed, it does not exist. We may go farther and say that the protection to life and property is smaller in some parts of the South Seas than it used to be. In a general way it is the business of the High Commissioner to protect the natives against outrages from the whites, and also to see that the whites are protected from outrages by the natives. But events have shown that even the first of these functions has been very imperfectly carried out, and in too many instances the second has been found to be inconvenient or impossible. A year or two since we had to report the cases of several whites who were in custody on the charge of having perpetrated crimes in the islands, but who had to be liberated because the Court before which they were brought had no jurisdiction. British subjects have in too many instances had to take the law in their own hands or to place themselves at the mercy of lawless savages. Formerly it was understood that it was the business of Her Majesty's ships of war to be travelling police stations, and it may be that they are still looked upon in this light; but by the authorities at Home any such action on the part of Her Majesty's ships is regarded with grave suspicion. Last year the First Lord of the Admiralty, although declining to censure a lieutenant who tried and hanged a native for murdering a British subject, expressed his regret that such a procedure had been resorted to. An English journal, commenting on this matter at the time, remarked that there could be no greater error in policy than to convert Her Majesty's ships into travelling police stations, with power by a drum-head Court-Martial to condemn the natives of the Pacific Islands to death.

It will thus be seen that not only is there no machinery of justice for British subjects in many parts of the islands, but that there is extreme unwillingness to sanction the only machinery that can be sent there. What, then, is to be done? We all remember the outcry that was made a year or two since when a missionary at New Britain, in the absence of the protection of the law, became his own protector; and the outcry was not an unnatural one. The authorities have found that the action of the missionary concerned was not unjustifiable under the circumstances; but we should none of us like to see a sort of Lynch law set up in the islands either by missionaries or by traders. It is evident, however, that unless British subjects who trade with, or reside at, some parts of the islands, protect themselves, they must remain without protection. This is not a satisfactory state of things. Such British subjects as Captain Ferguson are not invaders, for the stations at which they trade are usually formed with the consent of the natives. They have, therefore, a right to judicial protection against the excesses of the islanders, as the islanders have against their excesses. As matters stand at present there is insufficient protection on either side, and neither the Home authorities nor the authorities of the colonies are greatly concerned about increasing it. In a recent debate in the House of Commons strong words were spoken against supposed severities inflicted by British subjects on the natives of barbarous countries, but nothing was said as to the necessity of the Imperial Government doing something to take this responsibility out of their hands. In England politicians have too much to do to allow of their concerning themselves very greatly about what may become of British subjects in the South Seas. This is one of the matters on which the English Press maintains a studied indifference. Colonial Governments have not begun to consider it a part of their duty to protect the traders of the South Seas; but the subject is one which they might conveniently consider, and which they might press upon the attention of the authorities in Downing-street.

No. 9.

[Extract from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 3rd December, 1880.]

It is gratifying to learn that the naval authorities have awakened to the demand for retribution against the Solomon Island savages who committed the atrocious outrage on the commander of the "Sandfly" and his boat's crew. It appears that H.M.S. "Emerald" is to be despatched immediately for the scene of the outrage, with orders to make an example of the guilty islanders. We must confess to a sentiment of hope that the captain of the "Emerald" will not neglect to fulfil his instructions to the letter. There are many people who regard these Polynesians much as mere children, and who are ever ready to produce excuses for the most cunning and cruel murders committed by the islanders. The point is, however, as to how the Pacific islands are to be made available for civilized man if crimes such as the last one committed by the Solomon Islanders are allowed to go unpunished. Gentle means have been tried, and have signally failed. The only course now open is to bring the teaching of fire and sword to bear upon the minds of the barbarians. Moral suasion and rosewater arguments have clearly no application here, and the sooner the Imperial Government come to appreciate this feature of the situation the better for the advancement of civilization in the Pacific. Adventurous Englishmen are bound to find their way to the various archipelagos that besprinkle this ocean. If they are not efficiently protected against the savagery of the aborigines, in the end it will be the old story of innumerable cruel murders and the staving-off of utilization of these oceanic patches of fertile soil to some remote date.

[Extract from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 4th December, 1880.]

It is assuredly not too soon for the "Emerald" to be moving towards the Solomon Islands. The cruiser "Beagle" has brought intelligence of another massacre by the inhuman inhabitants of this archipelago. Captain Murray, of the schooner "Lœlia," two white men, and a native, on this occasion, were the victims. The necessity for inflicting severe chastisement on these savages is now too obviously imperative to need further enforcement. The only question to be considered is as to what punishment would be condign in the circumstances. Clearly the old programme of shelling a few forsaken villages must be discarded. The savages must be hunted down somewhat, and made to feel that British reprisals do not always consist in quasi-pyrotechnic displays. The shelling of villages customarily involves merely the destruction of a few miserable habitations that can be rebuilt in a day, and the excitement of some evanescent emotions of terror in the minds of the savages who witness the process from afar off. This method of dealing out sharp justice to the Solomon Islanders must on this occasion be abandoned; else

there will be no end to the horrors of which we are constantly hearing. The course that the captain of the "Emerald" is called upon to pursue certainly does not form part of a civilized programme, and no doubt that gallant officer would fain be relieved of the unpleasant duty that is thrust upon him, for it is nothing less than the execution of the *lex talionis* to the very letter. Our people have been cruelly and relentlessly massacred, and the Solomon Islanders must be dealt with in like fashion. All ideas founded on Exeter-Hallism must be thrown to the winds. If they are not, the "Emerald" might as well remain at Farm Cove. The crew of the "Sandfly" will for the time being join the "Emerald," and they will be in a position to recognize and point out the offending tribes. In this way the uncomfortable impression will be removed that the innocent are being punished for the guilty. Those who are responsible for the massacre will be made to pay the penalty, and their punishment, it is to be hoped, will be such as to deter other savages from similar acts.

[Extract from the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, 6th December, 1880.]

WE wonder what the authorities in England will think of the conduct of the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, and of the Commodore of the naval squadron in these seas, when they hear of the savage atrocities that have been committed by the natives of several of the islands in the South Seas during the past few months, without any attempt having been made to interfere for the protection of the lives of her Majesty's subjects. If the Imperial Government is not thoroughly demoralized by the cant of Exeter Hall, these officials with high-sounding titles, whose neglect of duty is so painfully apparent, should hear something, if not to their advantage, at all events to the advantage of those whose lives are at the mercy of their interesting *protégés*. There have been some seven or eight massacres within the last three or four months, and we have not heard that the slightest effort has been made to check the series of slaughters. No remonstrance has been made with any of the chiefs of the cannibal islands, and not even a missionary has been sent to convert these people from the error of their ways. The High Commissioner might just as well have been in London with his friends at Court, or at Timbuctoo, as at Fiji or New Zealand. This gentleman, who has been recently appointed Governor of New Zealand, has taken the natives of the South Sea Islands under his special protection, so that the whites find their colour to be a disadvantage. The gravest complaints have been made in Fiji of the effect of the policy of the High Commissioner, who is virtually dictator in these islands. The results of that policy we have seen in the repeated murders that have taken place, without apparently any provocation having been given. The impunity with which the treacherous savages of the South Seas have committed atrocities has of course had the effect of increasing their audacity. They evidently think either that the British Government is careless of the lives of its subjects or is powerless to punish. A few weeks ago a message appeared in the Sydney papers, purporting to emanate from Hailey, the chief of the island Coolangbangara, describing in exulting terms the massacre of the crew of the "Esperanza." The shrewd savage laughed at the idea of his being punished for what he had done by a man-of-war, which only fired big guns, made a great noise, and smashed cocconut-trees. He recounted all the vessels that had been taken and their crews murdered, and yet no one punished; and why, he asks, should he be punished? Whitefellow was, in his opinion, only like a woman as far as fighting went, and he wished the man-of-war to come so that he could get more heads. This miscreant's boasting is the practical commentary upon the British policy in the South Seas as exhibited by Sir Arthur Gordon and the Commodore of the squadron. A man-of-war did go to one of the Solomon Islands—the unfortunate "Sandfly"—and the boast of Hailey was realized. More men were murdered, and more heads taken to hang up alongside of those that had already been obtained. The "Sandfly," forsooth, was among the islands surveying, as if among peaceable islanders, instead of among the murderers of so many white men.

The particulars of the horrible massacre of the crew of the "Esperanza" appeared in the Sydney papers two months ago; and what has been done to teach Hailey and those like him that white men are not to be murdered with impunity? Positively nothing. We would have thought that this massacre, and the insolent defiance of the chief who could be identified, would have induced some action on the part of the High Commissioner or Commodore Wilson, even if they thought the previous atrocities unworthy of their serious notice. Yet, so far as the public are aware, the news of this massacre, like that of those which preceded it, was received with perfect indifference. The "Wolverene" and three or four other vessels of the squadron of course put in an appearance in Hobson's Bay, and the crews took part in the formalities of the Exhibition opening on the 2nd of October. Their participation in these idle pageants, when they should have been doing their best to preserve the lives of their fellow-subjects at the islands, was bad enough; but what are we to think of their subsequent proceedings, after the news of the "Esperanza" tragedy had been received, and the taunting message of Chief Hailey had been made public? Why, the Commodore takes his vessel off to Adelaide! What did he mean by turning his ship's bow to the west, when he should have gone to the east? Recent telegrams have kept us informed of the gallant uses to which the officers and crew of the "Wolverene" have been put in Adelaide. The officers have been attending balls at Government House, and they and the crew have been playing in cricket matches! Here are nomad heroes with a vengeance, deliberately forsaking their plain duty and leaving their countrymen to be murdered at the Solomon Islands. That these last murders of the captain and several of the crew of the "Sandfly" would have been averted if the High Commissioner and Commodore Wilson had done their duty in the case of the "Esperanza" and the other vessels whose crews were massacred is plain enough. What that inflated gentleman who is dubbed High Commissioner was doing we do not know, but we know how the Commodore and his crew were employing their time. What the "Emerald" and the other vessels of the squadron have been doing we do not know. For some time recently the "Emerald" has been lying snugly in Farm Cove, and now the "Cormorant" has come in to follow suit. We do not grudge the officers and men of these vessels a well-earned leisure; but what on earth do they mean idling their time here when the blood of British subjects cries up from the ground at the Solomon Islands, and every new arrival brings us intelligence of fresh atrocities? The people of Great Britain pay a heavy bill for their navy, and this is how that portion of it in the South Seas earns its wages. When these matters come under the notice of the House of Commons, as of course they will in due course, strict account will be required of the conduct of those concerned.

The "Emerald" is to leave to-day, we understand, for the scene of the massacre of the "Sandfly's" captain and crew. If it is only to repeat the old farce she had much better remain where she is. To sail round an island and shell villages is a proceeding worthy of all the contempt with which "big fellow King Hailey" speaks of it. A great deal of nonsense has been written about the "difficulty" of dealing with these massacres. If they occurred on the coast of a continent or large island we could understand it, but on small islands the case is quite different. Of course it will be difficult so long as the captain of the man-of-war will not stay to do his work effectually, but is always so anxious to get back to the capitals of the colonies. The captain of the "Emerald" can do the work well enough if he is allowed and if he will take the trouble. He must have as many of the "Sandfly" men with him as possible, and especially Savage, the man who had such a marvellous escape. He can easily obtain sufficient evidence from the friendly chief who saved Savage's life to identify the tribe which took part in the massacre. He must at all cost and hazard get hold of the murderers, so that they may be dealt with as they deserve. The other murderers, Hailey included, must be looked after, and the natives taught that they can no longer indulge in these murderous outrages with impunity.

[Extract from the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, 7th December, 1880.]

IN another column appears a letter from the Rev. A. N. Murray, missionary, in reference to the recent massacres by the natives of the Solomon Islands. Mr. Murray's high character and his experience among the savage tribes of the South Sea Islands entitle his remarks to consideration and respect. He charges us with overlooking the other side of the question in our remarks, whilst dwelling on the necessity of inflicting such punishment upon the perpetrators of the recent outrages as will deter the natives of these islands from committing any such atrocities in future. We may with truth reply that the missionary is not the most impartial judge in these cases—that he is too prone to regard the natives as his *protégés*, and to find excuses for their conduct. The missionary's sacred character appeals to the superstitious reverence of the natives, and, except when the passions of the latter are aroused, or when among strange natives, they have very little to fear. With the traders and the crews of vessels the case is very different. They find that they must be constantly on the watch against attack, and that even when they have given no provocation the natives may be covetous of the goods they see and bent on plunder, or bloodthirsty, or they may be excited by the injustice and the violence of white men previously. Among savages, as amongst civilized people, there are numbers whose evil passions can only be restrained by a fear of the consequences. Among our own population unfortunately there are too many who, under similar circumstances, would act just as the savages of the Solomon Islands have acted, and it would be just as absurd in their case to raise the plea that they were provoked by wrongdoing into bloody retaliation.

We quite agree with Mr. Murray that many of the atrocities committed by the natives of the South Sea Islands are simply acts of retaliation, and that in the infliction of punishment we should bear this in mind. We did not refer to this fact, because it was not essential to the view we took. The object of our notice of these massacres was not to induce an indiscriminate slaughter of the natives in revenge for the cruel murders committed by them, but to rouse up the authorities to a sense of their duty. If crime was rampant in the colony, and allowed to go unpunished until impunity engendered greater audacity, we should call the police to account. There is a very expensive system of police provided for the Pacific, and yet the natives are constantly robbing and murdering the white men who go to the islands. We say, where are the police, and what are they about to allow this state of things? It may be that some of these atrocities have been perpetrated in retaliation for grievous wrongs inflicted by the white man. All the more reason say we why the police should be at their posts doing their duty. All the more disgraceful, we contend, that Her Majesty's men-of-war should be absent from the localities where they are wanted, and that the High Commissioner did not issue orders months ago for one or more of these cruisers to visit the islands and restore peace and order. When they should have been at the islands they were enjoying themselves at festivities in the capitals of the colonies—a modern illustration of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. We want the authorities to do their duty and to do it properly. We do not counsel an indiscriminate attack upon villages and men, women, and children, but a patient and intelligent hunting-out of the murderers, and a certain and speedy punishment. Speedy action may do some good for the wretched savages themselves, for we observe that these *protégés* of Mr. Murray's have taken to wholesale massacre among themselves.

[Extract from the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, 8th December, 1880.]

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS MASSACRES.

To the Editor of the Sydney "Daily Telegraph."

SIR,—

We have had scarcely time to recover our equanimity when our feelings are again shocked in hearing of a renewed atrocity in the islands of the Pacific. In giving vent to your feeling on the subject your indignation exclaimed—"What are H.M.S. 'Emerald' and others doing in Sydney Harbour while such outrages as these are being perpetrated on the British subject and against the British flag?" Was the subject so shocking in its surroundings that you did not care to dive into the moral filth that surrounds it? You exclaim—"Why is it that the British flag is thus reviled and singled out amongst the savages of the Solomon Islands?" I assert that the reason can be assigned to one cause only, and I look upon it as the foulest blot resting on the British flag. It is the abominable practice of slave-stealing carried on under the name of trade. These islands are the favourite recruiting grounds, and so pernicious has the trade become that it is not safe for a vessel flying the English flag to frequent the places. I have been an observer of events in those islands, so far as information can be obtained through the Press, and no observer of such can be at all surprised to hear of these massacres, the most unfortunate part of which is, that it is not the wretches who have decoyed their men and boys, kidnapped their women, violated all that is as dear to the savage—and in many cases more jealously guarded and prized—as to the highly boasted and civilised white men, that have suffered in these massacres. Sir, the subject is a moral cesspool; why should it be tolerated? Why

should valuable lives be endangered through the abuse of this infernal traffic in human flesh? Stay! I may be told such things are not possible, the thing generously guarded from abuse by Act of Parliament. Greater the reproach to us that an Act of Parliament is necessary to do so. I believe that none but those who are directly interested in this cursed traffic can for one moment conceive the terrible abuses that are perpetrated, and the subterfuges adopted to deceive and wrong these unfortunate islanders. I do not say that they are angels in all their transactions with others. I think the same may be safely said of those who have traded with them. They are no better than the class of white men they have had to deal with has made them; they have been treated and dealt with as savages, as beasts of the field, and they have been only true to nature. Nothing belonging to them has been held sacred; on every opportunity their wives have been violated and abused. The account of Savage, the hero of the day, goes to confirm the above, that their women were guarded with jealous care. From New Guinea we have a confirming report, that it is almost impossible to induce the natives of these isles to leave by fair means. At the present time the mate and charterer of a vessel just returned from a labour cruise are under charge for malpractice in connection with this revolting traffic in human flesh. I can hear some say they are only niggers, and are not fit to be at large, save as slaves. That idea is exploded. We need not leave the islands of the Pacific to find facts to rebut this. Since writing the above I learn that a man-of-war is to be despatched to these unfortunate islands to wreak vengeance on those benighted savages; and this is just what, in your wisdom, you desired should take place. I cannot agree with you that it will have the effect of accomplishing what you desire, while black-birding is made lawful by the British nation, and she allows vessels to carry slaves in the Pacific Ocean, flying the Union Jack, whilst on the coast of Africa and the Indian Ocean the same flag boasts of being a terror to slave-traders. This is why the British flag has lost its respect with the savages of the isles of the Pacific. It will scarcely be necessary to make out a case to go through the long list of massacres on both sides, from the atrocious brig "Carl" butchery. It makes one's blood curdle to think that men go there in the guise of bishops to enable them to accomplish their villainous purpose for the sake of lucre. I do not say that the foregoing will supply a full justification on behalf of the islanders for committing the late disastrous outrage, but I think it has furnished a means whereby they have been educated up to their present unenviable notoriety. Noble lives have already been sacrificed, and will continue to be so while things are *in statu quo*. I have no doubt but that retribution will be dealt out unsparingly by the shipmates of those unfortunate men; but I question whether it will make the natives any more friendly, once they have received their chastisement. This, Sir, is our boasted civilization in a land where men and women read and pray.

Illawarra, December 6th.

Yours, &c.,

J.G.K.

[Extract from the Sydney Daily Telegraph, 9th December, 1880.]

In our issue of yesterday appeared a letter signed "J.G.K.," in reference to the recent massacre at the Solomon Islands, the writer of which is evidently a strong sympathizer with those interesting savages who treacherously attack their victims, mutilate their bodies, and eat portions of them. He thinks that the "cursed labour traffic" is at the bottom of these massacres, which are committed in retaliation for the forcible abduction of the natives and interference with the women. He adduces no proof whatever of his statements, but is clearly under the impression that the abuses of several years ago are the causes of the atrocities committed by the Solomon Islanders now! An article in another column gives us the experience and the opinions of Captain Woodhouse, of the schooner "Ripple," on this subject. He states that since the Labour Act was passed six or seven years ago the unlawful trade that was then carried on has ceased. So far from the natives of the Solomon Islands having any distrust of the British flag, they show the utmost confidence in its protecting power for themselves, for they venture on board English vessels without any hesitation. The Rev. Mr. A. W. Murray states that the British flag is held in higher respect than that of any other nation, because of the confidence that is felt by the natives in British justice and fair consideration. It is very clear then that it cannot be true that the abuses of the labour traffic have so exasperated the natives that they commit these murders in retaliation, for they would naturally take care not to trust themselves on board British vessels, and they would hardly respect a flag associated with such disgraceful practices as are referred to by "J.G.K." The latter, misquoting some of our remarks, states that the abominable practice of slave-stealing is the cause of the British flag being "reviled" and hated by the natives. He quite misunderstands us. What we said was that the British flag had ceased to command the same respect as the flags of other nations, because the natives found that they could commit crimes with impunity upon British subjects. In fact, under the *régime* of Sir Arthur Gordon things are quite reversed. The white man is rigorously punished for any wrongdoing to the brown man, but the latter is never punished at all, no matter what he does. If the white man attempts to resent any action of the natives he knows he will be called to strict account, and even if he defends his life he is running a risk of putting his head into the halter. The British flag may be regarded with "respect" in the sense in which Mr. Murray uses the word, although "J.G.K." thinks differently, but it is not the respect with which any fear is mingled. It is now the flag which invites attack, because no punishment follows. The unfortunates who sail under it are practically in the position of men whose hands are tied behind them, because some of their countrymen have put their hands to a bad use. Our correspondent says we are "desirous of wreaking vengeance upon these benighted islanders." If he means by this that we wish to see the perpetrators of the murders brought to punishment, and hung up as a warning and terror to other savages, then he is right. But this is no more vengeance than hanging Scott or Ned Kelly was. The suggestion that these savages are so benighted that they are not murderers in the ordinary sense is ridiculous. They are perfectly well aware of the crimes they have committed, and of the penalty which white men exact for them, and any plea of ignorance is absurd. If they have had any provocation or were first attacked the case would be different. A judicious officer will take care not to act until he knows for certain that there is no mistake. Let the guilty be punished when their guilt is clearly established. We hope there is nobody prepared to waste any sympathy upon these murderers, though nothing should surprise us after the exhibition in Melbourne in favour of relieving Ned Kelly.

British subjects have a right to protection in the South Sea Islands just as much as in South Africa, or on the Gold Coast, or in Afghanistan. The outrages committed by King Coffee of Ashantee were very properly punished by a body of British troops under Sir Garnet Wolseley, in 1874, and Coomassie, his capital, was burned. These outrages were not more flagrant than the South Sea massacres. It will be a bad thing for the loyalty and devotion of the colonists if they are compelled to the conclusion that there is less consideration shown to them than there was to the traders on the Gold Coast of Africa. If the British connection means that the trade of New South Wales with the South Sea Islands is to be abandoned or only carried on at the risk of life, then we say the people of this colony will have to consider how best to protect their trade themselves. We do not know what action the Government are taking in this matter, or whether they are taking any action at all; but we do trust that they will properly represent the interest of New South Wales, and that the Governor will make such representations as will cause the High Commissioner to realize the necessity of his teaching his *protégés* to behave themselves. The statements of Captain Woodhouse in another column, to which we have already referred, show very clearly that there has been gross exaggeration as to the alleged provocation to the natives of the Solomon Islands. The slave trade of several years ago has ceased, and the islanders are thoroughly protected against any such abuses as were rife some years ago. The traders find it to their interest to keep on friendly terms with the natives who trade with them. No doubt there may be instances of white men on these trading vessels misconducting themselves, but as a rule care is taken not to give the natives any offence.

Whatever may be the real truth as regards these atrocities, it is very clear that one of Her Majesty's vessels should long ago have been sent to the scenes of the massacres that have so shocked the public, to ascertain the true state of the case, and punish the guilty. We hope it will not be forgotten or overlooked, when the news of these repeated atrocities reaches England, that three or four months ago several massacres had taken place of the captains and crews of peaceable traders, and that it has only been since the captain and a portion of the crew of the "Sandfly," a war schooner, were murdered that the High Commissioner and the Commodore have seen the necessity of sending a war ship to the scenes of the massacres. Of course they may have had very good reasons for this inaction; but we wish the British Press and the members of the House of Commons to know the facts, so that they may be prepared to discuss them properly. During the past two or three months, when massacre after massacre has taken place, the men-of-war on the station have for the most part been comfortably anchored in the harbours of the colonial capitals, and the men belonging to them have been taking part in the ceremonials attending the opening of the Melbourne Exhibition. Not a solitary man-of-war has been despatched to the islands until the "Emerald" received orders to go. She was to have gone on Monday, but she did not leave until yesterday. We trust that her visit may be more effective than that of the "Cormorant" was.

[Extract from the Sydney Daily Telegraph, 10th December, 1880.]

H.M.S. "EMERALD" left Sydney on Wednesday for the Solomon Islands, and last evening the "Wolverene," Commodore Wilson, arrived from Adelaide. It certainly does seem, when so very little extra time would have been wasted, that it would have been better had the "Emerald" remained until the arrival of the "Wolverene." A personal interview with the Commodore, and a consultation upon the best means to be employed in dealing with the natives of the Solomon Islands, would certainly have been advantageous to Captain Maxwell of the "Emerald." The question is one that should have been carefully considered and discussed, for it is surrounded with difficulties. As it is, we understand that the captain of the "Emerald" has been left by the Commodore very much to his own discretion in dealing with the natives of the Solomon Islands—the worst position in which he could possibly have been placed. Whatever he does will be found fault with. If he is prompt in finding out the murderers and executing summary punishment upon them, he is sure to be assailed with a chorus of groans by the friends and the apologists of the natives. On the other hand, if the visit of the "Emerald" be as little good as the visit of the "Cormorant," then Captain Maxwell will incur the censure of public opinion.

The fact that the Commodore and the captain did not meet before the departure of the latter would not be a matter of much moment if the "Wolverene" were to follow the "Emerald" speedily to the scene of the late massacre. We certainly understood that the Commodore in hurrying on to Sydney did so with the intention of proceeding to the Solomon Islands. We now learn with mingled astonishment and regret that the Commodore has no such intentions—unless his presence is urgently required. Well, we should have thought if ever there was a time for an imposing demonstration of the British vessels of war at these islands that time was the present. There have been seven or eight massacres at these islands, and obviously it will take the "Emerald" a very long time to inquire into all the circumstances, and find out and punish the guilty parties. In the meantime the "Wolverene" and the "Cormorant" will be really doing nothing but increasing the piles of bones under them at their anchorage at Farm Cove. What earthly useful purpose are they serving here? Can any one tell us? That the "Wolverene" at such a time should come to Sydney just late enough to miss meeting the "Emerald," and with no intention of going to the South Seas, is something we cannot understand. There is plenty of work for these three war vessels, and why are they not sent to do it? What enemy have they to watch in Sydney harbour? What can the public think of this inaction of the Commodore, which must bring a blush into the faces of his men? The idea is so outrageous that we refuse to believe it. The Commodore must have some good reason for remaining for a short time in Sydney harbour. Probably he is waiting for specific orders from Home, and expects to receive them in a day or two, when he will follow the "Emerald." It could never have been intended that only one man-of-war should go to the various islands where the massacres were committed. The advantages of going in force are so many and so palpable that common sense refuses to believe that British captains are so dull as not to see them. Why, in the cause of humanity itself, the force sent down to punish the perpetrators of the cruel outrages should be such a one as to overawe the turbulent natives and to strengthen the hands of those peaceably disposed. With the three men-of-war at

the Solomon Islands the great object of the expedition would be speedily attained. The friends of the whites would be strengthened, and their enemies would be overawed. The savages would not soon forget so memorable an occasion, and in future there would be less trouble with them.

In judging of the conduct of the Commodore and the captains of the men-of-war it should be borne in mind that according to recent regulations that have been issued they are precluded from taking the law into their own hands. They must send home to England for instructions. If this is so, one need not wonder that the British flag is regarded with indifference, if not with contempt, in the Western Pacific. But is this the case? Has Sir Arthur Gordon, the High Commissioner, no powers intrusted to him to instruct vessels of war to suppress outrages and punish the guilty, whether white or black? Have the captains of war vessels no discretion at all allowed them to take measures for the preservation of the lives of British subjects engaged in lawful trade? We refuse to believe any such absurdity. Mr. Gladstone's administration of affairs in Ireland has not been a success, and the policy of his Government in the South Seas has been disastrous. The coincidence is curious, and is suggestive of some radical defect. In the latter case a policy of kindness and consideration for the natives has, without vigour and firmness in repressing outrage, proved anything but a kind and considerate policy for the white traders.

[Extract from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, 13th December, 1880.]

THE subject of the late frequent massacres at the South Sea Islands has formed the subject of comment by the Melbourne *Argus*, and our contemporary cannot understand why these atrocities are tolerated, without any effort being made to punish the perpetrators. The interest of our Victorian neighbours in this subject is of course much less than our own, seeing that the massacres have almost all been of the crews of Sydney vessels. Melbourne does very little, if any, trade at all with the Solomon Islands, and the public there feel less keenly on the subject than do the public of Sydney; but they cannot avoid condemning the miserable policy which permits murders of white traders without any attempt to interfere even, far less to punish. The *Argus* quotes from a letter published in its columns, written by Mr. Walter Coote, who has recently visited the islands, "and is acquainted with the feelings prevailing amongst their inhabitants." Mr. Coote says that the natives of many of the islands consider white men "all same woman," and that the boasted men-of-war are "myths." After hearing a great deal about these formidable men-of-war, they view with contempt such an insignificant little vessel as the "Sandfly," and her class of vessels. Mr. Coote goes on to remark, "I admit that the so-called 'Exeter Hall' feeling is very strong with a certain section of the authorities in these matters, but I know that it is really a mistaken policy, for the only lesson these people will understand is the lesson that superior force can teach. Had our men-of-war been even moderately active in their island cruises, had they merely hovered about now and again in the neighbourhood of these places, their presence would have been known everywhere, and their power felt." Mr. Coote seems to have forgotten the visit of the "Cormorant," and the feats performed by her captain and crew in shelling some villages, and the terrible retribution exacted by Commodore Wilson, in the "Wolverene," for the massacre of the crew of the "Mystery," in the shape of pigs and yams. The natives have seen English men-of-war, and "big fellow King Hailey" expressed his contemptuous opinion of them by challenging them to come, so that more heads could be obtained. Men-of-war whose fighting men would not venture on shore, but which kept off at a safe distance, and fired big guns with little injury to anybody, were not likely to inspire respect. If the natives of the Solomon Islands have any burlesque poets, they have had a capital chance of amusing their brown brethren with the valorous deeds of the whites. The captain of the naval force will figure as a kind of General Boom, exclaiming "The enemy, the enemy, let me get at the enemy!" but expending all his valour in a harmless cannonade—all sound and fury, signifying nothing.

The remarks of Mr. Coote about the pernicious effects of the Exeter Hall policy bear us out in our strictures upon it. That policy has left the white man at the mercy of the natives of the South Sea Islands. He dares not resent any injustice or an attack upon him, for fear of the consequences. He carries his life in his hands when he goes to these islands. If he is not the victim of a massacre, he may be tried for his life because he defended himself against attack. There is no attempt made to punish the perpetrators of any atrocity upon him. Repeated massacres of traders have not caused any effort to be made to punish those concerned in them. It was only when the captain and some of the crew of one of Her Majesty's war schooners were treacherously murdered that the apathy and indifference of the High Commissioner and of the Commodore were dispelled. The interesting savages of the Solomon Islands might have gone on for an indefinite period in their career of atrocity had they not been so silly as to interfere with the crew of one of the lilliputian men-of-war. On the principle that, as Sydney Smith observed, it required the sacrifice of a bishop to get rid of a crying evil, so nothing less than the massacre of an officer and several men of Her Majesty's navy was sufficient to rouse up the authorities to action. But who are the authorities? It is difficult to find out. It has generally been understood that the High Commissioner, subject to the British Government, was the chief authority, and that the Commodore received instructions from him, or, in cases of emergency, acted on his own discretion. We have been under the impression, too, that His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales had some voice in the matter, when the persons massacred were citizens of New South Wales, and their vessels were Sydney traders. But we have no certainty who are the responsible authorities in this case, or if there are any at all. There certainly seems to be no system at all. We understand that the "Emerald" has been ordered to the Solomon Islands by the Commodore on his own responsibility. In this case, therefore, the High Commissioner has taken no action any more than he took in reference to the previous massacres. Is it his duty to preserve order at the islands, and has he neglected his duty, or is it nobody's duty? We understand that the Commodore must send to England for instructions in any given case; but we think there must be some mistake here. Once on a time authorities in England have attempted to carry out a campaign by orders from the Foreign Office. But surely that era of stupidity is past, and the policy is not repeated

at this time of day in reference to the South Sea Islands. The instructions from the authorities in England can surely never authorize the extraordinary apathy and indifference of the commanders of Her Majesty's vessels in these seas. They no doubt are expected to give a strict account of their conduct, and it is proper that this should be so. But because the British Government is strict in looking after the conduct of its officers, that is no reason why the latter should altogether neglect their duty. Do the instructions from Home authorize captains of Her Majesty's ships-of-war to keep aloof from the localities where their services are required? Do they warrant them in lending a deaf ear to the news of repeated murderous outrages, and in idling their time in the harbours of the capitals when their countrymen are being butchered at the South Sea Islands? It is impossible that this can be so. We cannot believe that the authorities in England are guilty of such insensate folly as to paralyze justice in the South Seas by any such policy. We may depend upon it that the British Government will demand a full explanation of the conduct of those national defenders who have neglected their duty; and if the Government is lax in doing so, there are men in the Imperial Parliament who will see that their conduct is inquired into, and justice done to the colonists.

[Extract from the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, 16th December, 1880.]

MASSACRES IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

To the Editor of the Sydney "Daily Telegraph."

SIR,—

Sydney, 15th December, 1880.

I have read with considerable interest, and not a little surprise, the letters of your correspondents, "J.G.K." and "A. N. Murray," on the above subject. That "J.G.K." knows very little of the subject of which he writes must be evident to any impartial observer of recent events in these islands. He makes a number of assertions which have not even a basis of truth. For instance, he asserts that the cause of the continued atrocities "is the abominable practice of slave-stealing, carried on under the name of trade;" and further, that "these islands are the favourite recruiting grounds." That natives were kidnapped in the Solomons years ago no one will deny; but that anything approaching kidnapping has taken place during the past seven years I do not believe. As a matter of fact, the Solomons are not, and never have been, the "favourite recruiting grounds." Natives are principally recruited from the Banks, Hebrides, and adjacent groups, and a recruiting vessel in the Solomons is somewhat of a rarity. Recruiting labour for Fiji and Queensland is carried out under such stringent regulations that it is well nigh impossible for natives to be taken away against their wills. Not only has the Government agent accompanying each vessel to be satisfied that the "recruit" comes voluntarily, but on arrival in the colony the immigration agent of the port of arrival examines him as to terms of his agreement, rate of wages, &c. "J.G.K." proceeds to say that the islanders guard their women "with jealous care," and that the traders have much to answer for in this respect. If "J.G.K." will ask any one who has been amongst them—traders or naval officers, I care not which—he will learn that for laxity of morals in this respect the South Sea Islander is without a rival. Both of your correspondents agree in insulting the men engaged in trading in the labour traffic in these islands. Speaking from personal knowledge of very many of them, I can say that on the whole they are as respectable and honorable a body of men as can be found in any trade. Does "J.G.K." mean to say that men like the late Captains Ferguson and Murray, and others whom I could name, and who have been ruthlessly butchered by these savages—men who throughout the islands bear honored and respected names—that these men are no better than the savages? At Mr. Murray's letter I am hardly surprised; in all new countries the missionary and the trader have ever been antagonistic. But if the labour trade is, as Mr. Murray would wish to make out, the principal cause of the continued atrocities, how comes it that we never hear of the crews of French vessels being attacked? Perhaps Mr. Murray can answer. Hundreds of natives are recruited yearly for New Caledonia, under much less stringent regulations than those of Queensland and Fiji; yet no Frenchmen are murdered. Since the rule of Commodore Goodenough commenced in the South Seas we have heard of nothing but atrocities; and so long as the policy initiated and carried out by him is continued we can expect to hear of nothing else. Years ago the very name "man-of-war" was dreaded by the islanders; now it is laughed at contemptuously. With them forbearance is weakness, and, until a man-of-war inflicts summary chastisement on some band of murderers, we may expect to hear of more valuable lives and property being sacrificed, and more skulls being taken to adorn the "big conoe" house. News travels amongst the natives as it does amongst white men, and if an example had been made of the murderers of Lieutenant Bower and his men at the time it would by this time have been known throughout the group, and would have done more to quell further outrages than the visits of a fleet of men-of-war and their paltry fines of pigs. In conclusion, I hope that, despite the wail of the missionary and the power of the Exeter-Hallites, the "poor nigger" will soon be taught that he cannot longer be allowed to plunder and murder as he pleases.

I am, &c.,

QUEENSLANDER.

MEMORANDUM by His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR.

Wellington, 2nd March, 1881.

THE Governor transmits herewith to the Premier, for the information of the Cabinet, a memorandum lately written by Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

The Governor would wish this memorandum to form part of any papers presented to Parliament with reference to the proceedings of the late Inter-colonial Conference.

ARTHUR H. GORDON.

MEMORANDUM by the HIGH COMMISSIONER for the WESTERN PACIFIC.

I HAVE received from the Governor of New South Wales a copy of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Intercolonial Conference lately held at Sydney. Among them will be found (p. 10, pp. 12-13) the Report of a Committee chosen to consider a Resolution calling attention to the state of affairs in Polynesia, proposed by the Hon. A. H. Palmer, and to examine the papers relating to the appointment of a High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

On hearing that the Conference was about to enter on such an inquiry, I conveyed to Lord Augustus Loftus the expression of my opinion that some communication should be addressed to me upon the subject, and stated my willingness to afford any information which the Conference might require, and without which it was, I thought, improbable that the members of the Committee could attain an accurate knowledge of the matters on which it was directed to report. My telegram was communicated to the Conference by Lord Augustus Loftus, who was, in reply, requested to inform me of the appointment of the Committee, and that the Conference would willingly receive any information which I might desire to communicate to it. Though very ready to furnish the Conference with papers or statements of fact asked for by it, it was of course impossible for me to submit, unsought for, anything like defence or explanation of my own proceedings or conduct, to a body to which I was in no way responsible, and with which I had no official relation. I therefore replied by asking Lord Augustus Loftus to thank the Conference for its communication, and inform it that I should be happy to afford any assistance or information which might be desired. Of this offer no advantage was taken by the Conference; and on the same day on which it was made the Committee presented their Report, in the preamble to which it is stated to have been prepared, "having before them the Commission to Sir A. Gordon, the High Commissioner and Consul-General for the Western Pacific" — a statement in which it appears to me that some error must be involved.* The Resolutions recommended by the Committee were, with some modifications, adopted by the Conference.

These Resolutions have been submitted to the consideration of the Imperial Government, from which they will no doubt receive that respectful attention which is due to any recommendation emanating from such a source. It would be out of place here to discuss them; but the Appendix to the Report of the Committee contains matter which may with advantage receive some immediate comment from me.

The contents of that Appendix are somewhat singular. No statistical table is given from which information could be drawn as to the comparative frequency of murders among Europeans in the Pacific at different times, or the proportions which such murders bore to the number of European residents in those seas now and formerly,—official or authentic accounts of massacres recently perpetrated are altogether wanting, and other evidence in support of the Resolutions of the Committee will be as vainly looked for. All the information given with regard to outrages recently committed is contained in a telegram without date, and addressed to some unnamed individual,† reporting the murder of the crew‡ of the "Prosperity," and four newspaper paragraphs containing details of other

* My commission as Consul General, and my full powers under the Great Seal, have never been published or communicated to any Colonial Government; nor am I aware that my commission as High Commissioner has been so, though such may be the case.

† This telegram is said, but evidently erroneously, to be addressed to the Hon. A. H. Palmer, who is referred to in it as a third party. "As Mr. Palmer is in Sydney, please get him to use influence." This is not the language of a telegram addressed to Mr. Palmer himself.

‡ Not British subjects.

murders. These paragraphs are undoubtedly written in good faith, and no doubt contain the best account obtainable by the editor of the transactions to which they refer; but it is often found on subsequent examination that such narratives are, owing to very obvious causes, not always to be relied on as strictly accurate.

The Appendix further contains two leading articles from the *Sydney Morning Herald* (pp. 27, 28), which, though based on erroneous assumptions, are fairly and temperately written; and no fewer than eleven extracts from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* (pp. 23 to 25, and 29 to 35), censuring in strong terms the High Commissioner, the Commodore commanding the Australian squadron, the Chief Judicial Commissioner, and the Government of the Colony of Fiji. There is also a letter in a similar strain addressed to the Secretary of the Conference by a person of the name of Thomas, the avowed author of two of the extracts taken from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, with which newspaper I am informed he is closely connected,—a statement which the internal evidence afforded by the remainder of the extracts from that journal would incline me to believe to be well founded.

It is not easy to understand the object of the Conference in reprinting and giving official circulation to these articles. It is certainly not to convey information as to facts, for they contain none. It cannot be to exhibit the state of popular opinion in Australia, for the extracts are almost exclusively taken from a single Sydney journal; and even in the choice of these extracts care has been taken to limit them to such as reflect but one opinion; the anonymous letter of "A Queenslander," (p. 35,) containing little but invective, being inserted, whilst that of a man so competent to speak on the subject as the Rev. Mr. Murray, referred to at page 31, is omitted. I am not well acquainted with Australian journals, but I know that some of them entertain different views from those advocated by the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*.

Yet it would be inconsistent with the respect due to a Conference consisting of the leading officials of the Australian Colonies to suppose that they intended to imply their own adoption of statements they have had no means of verifying, their concurrence in recommendations that the Solomon Islanders should be "cruelly and relentlessly massacred,"* or their participation in attacks on officers of the Imperial Government, on high judicial authorities, and on the Government of a colony unrepresented at the meeting of the Conference.

But, whatever the motive of the publication, the fact remains that grave charges against the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, the Commodore commanding on the Australian Station, the Chief Justice of Fiji, and the Government of that colony generally, have been reprinted at the public expense by order of the Conference, and have been presented by command of the Governor to the Parliament of New South Wales, and probably to the Legislatures of other colonies, thus giving to them a wide-spread official circulation. These facts, and the deduction which will inevitably, if erroneously, be in many quarters drawn from them, that the Conference adopts the charges made, render it, I think, desirable that their want of foundation should at once be made apparent.

The charge preferred against the High Commissioner is twofold. It is alleged that he has, on the one hand, shown undue leniency towards the misdeeds of natives, and, on the other, has shown equally undue harshness in the punishment of British subjects when charged before him with offences against natives.

The jurisdiction of the High Commissioner extends over all British subjects in the Western Pacific, but over British subjects exclusively. He has no authority whatever to deal, whether judicially or in his executive capacity, with the offences of natives of islands not under the dominion of the Crown.

The High Commissioner has on more than one occasion pointed out to the Imperial Government that, unless a jurisdiction were created competent to take cognizance of offences committed against British subjects in the Pacific beyond Her Majesty's possessions, the infliction of punishment on British subjects for outrages against natives in the same regions, when such cases came before the

* "The course that the captain of H.M.S. 'Emerald' is called upon to pursue certainly does not form part of a "civilized programme. . . . Our people have been *cruelly and relentlessly massacred*, and the *Solomon Islanders* "must be dealt with in like fashion. All ideas founded on Exeter-Hallism must be thrown to the winds. If they are 'not, the 'Emerald' might as well remain at Farm Cove" (p. 30).

High Commissioner's Court, was sure to excite on their part not unnatural irritation, and a sense of being treated with injustice, for it is hardly to be expected that men of the class to which most British subjects in the Pacific belong should understand that Great Britain has an interest in their good conduct and the maintenance of legal restraint over their actions, quite apart from any sympathy with natives or care for their protection. The reply returned to such representations has invariably been that in the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown insuperable obstacles exist to any assumption of jurisdiction by Her Majesty, over others than British subjects, beyond the limits of Her Majesty's dominions. Nevertheless, although Her Majesty's Government does not see its way to overcome the real as well as the formal and technical difficulties, with which any such exercise of authority is undoubtedly surrounded, the necessity for exceptional dealing with exceptional circumstances is not, I think, unrecognized. Meanwhile, however, the High Commissioner is absolutely powerless to take judicial cognizance of any offence committed by a Polynesian native not also a subject of Her Majesty.

Should the proceedings of any native community be such as can be deemed acts of war, they can be dealt with as such by Her Majesty's naval force on the station. Until a few months since, the Commodore acted in such matters entirely independently of the High Commissioner, and on his own responsibility alone. Lately, he has been instructed, wherever possible, to consult the High Commissioner before proceeding to active hostilities; but no proposal made by him has ever been objected to by the High Commissioner, between whom and the Commodore there exist the most entire confidence and agreement. Although, however, his concert is in certain cases required, the High Commissioner has no control whatever over the movements of the Australian Squadron, nor can he direct the course, or hasten or retard the sailing, of a single vessel.

It is therefore manifest that the High Commissioner has had no opportunity of showing either leniency or severity towards natives, and that it has been made a matter of reproach to him that he has not exercised a jurisdiction which he has been strictly forbidden to assume, and that he has abstained from issuing orders which he has no right to give, and to which he could neither enforce nor claim obedience.

The charge of undue harshness towards whites has next to be considered.

The whole of the cases referred to at pp. 23, 24 were tried during my absence in England, and, even assuming them to be accurately described, (which it will presently be shown they are not), they would not in any way affect the High Commissioner. Since my return to Fiji, in 1879, the cases brought to the cognizance of the Court* have been but four, in only one of which a white man was concerned. That white man was the Rev. George Brown, who has certainly no reason to complain of undue severity on the part of the High Commissioner's Court. Two of the other parties tried before the Chief Judicial Commissioner since September, 1879, were coloured subjects of Her Majesty: of these, one was convicted of murder, and sentenced to death; the other, charged with theft, was acquitted, the only evidence against him, (his own confession), being shown to have been extorted by threats and torture inflicted by Europeans. The fourth case was that of Aratuga, a Polynesian, concerned in the murder of the mate and labour-agent of the "Mystery," who was brought to Fiji as a prisoner by Her Majesty's ship "Conflict," and was put on his trial before the High Commissioner's Court, in the hope that some ground for claiming jurisdiction over him would be discovered. But no escape could be found from the conclusion that he was beyond the authority of the Court, a view the correctness of which has been emphatically confirmed by the highest legal authorities in England. Another case, that of a half-caste Tongan, charged with the murder of another half-caste, and of the captain of a German vessel, was never brought before the Court at all, it being clear that it was equally out of its jurisdiction, and the man was handed over to the Tongan authorities to be dealt with by them.

It hence appears that, whilst a harsh exercise of the judicial powers he undoubtedly does possess over British subjects is imputed to the High Commis-

* I do not take into account petty cases between British subjects themselves, heard before the Deputy-Commissioner's Courts at Apia and Nukualofa.

sioner, but one white man has been judicially before his Court since the return of the High Commissioner to the Pacific, and that he was treated with marked indulgence. This branch of the accusation, therefore, fails like the other, being as destitute of evidence to support it.

I should wish to believe these charges to proceed from the levity of ignorance rather than from conscious malice; and it may be well here to note that the objects of the Western Pacific Orders in Council, and of the institution of the High Commissioner's Court, appear to have been frequently much misunderstood. It was not by any means "to see that whites were protected from outrages by "natives" (p. 29), and but in a secondary sense "to protect natives from outrages "by whites" (p. 29), that that Court was formed. It was principally designed to provide means for the settlement of disputes between white men themselves, and to prevent Her Majesty's subjects from breaking Her Majesty's laws. It was found that in Samoa, in Tonga, in the New Hebrides, and in other places, small communities of British subjects were springing up, over which no Court had jurisdiction, and no law had force. Debts were incurred, and the debtor could at pleasure evade his creditor's claim. Contracts were entered into, the performance of which could not be enforced. Wills were made which could not be proved; disputes arose as to successions which could not be settled. Crimes were committed, which either escaped punishment altogether, or were dealt with by a lynch law demoralizing to those engaged in it. It was primarily to remedy this state of things that the Deputy-Commissioners' Courts under the High Commissioner were established at Apia and Nukualofa. It was no doubt also an object that the letter and spirit of the Western Pacific Acts should be carried out by Her Majesty's subjects, and that the Court should enforce their strict observance; but no one who looks carefully at the Orders in Council can fail to perceive what was their primary object—the establishment of a Court to which British subjects who had no *locus standi* before any other judicial tribunal might resort.

It may be said, and truly, that large executive and *quasi*-legislative powers have been lodged in the hands of the High Commissioner, distinct from his judicial authority. Their grant was prompted by the belief that the State would fail in its duty if it neglected to claim and to exercise control over British subjects who had escaped from the restraints of all constituted authority, and few will say that such action was uncalled for.

The same charges of over-leniency on the one hand and over-severity on the other that are brought against the High Commissioner are also preferred against Chief Justice Gorrie. Of these, the former may be met by the same simple and complete answer that, as regards other than British subjects, he has no jurisdiction. He has, in the case of Aratuga, endeavoured to establish such a jurisdiction, and has failed to do so. The charge of over-severity can only be properly appreciated after a careful examination of the various cases tried before the Court, an examination the want of which is certainly not supplied by the misleading paragraphs to be found on pages 23 and 24 of the Blue Book containing the Minutes of the Conference. Captain Kilgour was punished not for "recovering a boat which "the natives endeavoured to retain" (p. 24), but for destroying villages belonging to a tribe which, as it turned out, had committed no offence, and for levying war on his own account while one of Her Majesty's ships was in his immediate vicinity. Captain Waite's case is also gravely misstated. Captain Daly, whose treatment is termed "arbitrary," but against whom two previous sentences are recorded in the Supreme Court of New South Wales, was convicted of what is euphemistically styled "detaining a native on board without his consent" (p. 24), or, in other and plainer words, kidnapping him;—an offence which may not appear to unprejudiced persons one of so venial and trifling a character as it does to "every one" of the clique, to the passions and prejudices of which expression is given by the article in question.

It is not my intention to enter into an examination of Chief Justice Gorrie's proceedings, or to attempt to review, extrajudicially, the sentences deliberately pronounced after full and careful inquiry by a competent Court, presided over by a fearless and enlightened Judge; but I think it only right to record my own grateful appreciation of the services he has rendered as Chief Judicial Commis-

sioner, and my entire conviction of the correctness of the judgments he has pronounced. I am, moreover, confident that most men will concur with me in regretting the official circulation of anonymous attacks on the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of an Australasian Colony. Had reflections upon the conduct on the bench of a Chief Justice of any one of the older colonies, whether great or small,—New South Wales or Victoria,—Tasmania or Western Australia,—been published in a similar manner, the impropriety of the act would have met with universal reprobation, and that the more emphatic, if the colony, the chief judicial authority of which was thus assailed, had happened to be unrepresented at the meeting of the Conference.

The charge of culpable indifference to the lives of Englishmen, which is that brought against Commodore Wilson in the articles of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* selected for republication, is one which that distinguished officer may well afford to treat as lightly as that of cowardice preferred against him in the same journal, but which the Committee has not included in its collection of extracts. Notwithstanding the contempt with which he must regard such slanders, the gravity unfortunately given to them by their official publication may not impossibly induce him to take some public notice of the attack. I will not attempt to anticipate the observations he may think proper to make, should he do so, but will content myself with the remark that there appears to be nearly as much misapprehension as to the degree of protection which British subjects are entitled to anticipate in savage regions, as with regard to the functions of the High Commissioner. Strictly speaking, none but those who are employed on public duty are entitled to such protection. Where, as in the recent case of the "Sandfly," men, not of their own free will, but in the service of the State, and in obedience to the command of its constituted authorities, are placed in situations of peril, the Government they serve may be said to be bound to protect them, and to punish injury done them whilst employed in its service; but where men for their own personal objects, and in defiance of warning, withdraw themselves from the operation of the institutions of their own country, they take their lives in their hands, and have no right to expect to receive the forcible support of the State whose sheltering protection they have left. Private parties cannot be allowed thus at their own will to force the hand, (if such an expression may be used,) of their Government. This is clearly understood in other parts of the world, and I know not why different maxims should prevail in Polynesia. The doctrine that wherever a trader thrusts his way he is to be followed by a man-of-war for his protection, and that if he loses his life in the pursuit of his enterprise, the naval force of the country is to be employed to avenge his death on the countrymen of those who have killed him, is an altogether novel one.

When in Melbourne, in 1878, I explained this at some length to the promoters of an association for an expedition to New Guinea, then contemplated, and stated that it was "my duty formally and emphatically to declare that the British Government disclaim all obligation to protect or interfere on behalf of persons voluntarily placing themselves in positions of danger in a savage country, and that those who enter on such enterprises do so at their own risk and peril." I subsequently received official intimation that the language I then used was entirely approved by the Imperial Government, of which it correctly expressed the views.

Such also has most emphatically been the language of the United States Government, and of the jurists of that country, who have very clearly laid down that those engaged in such adventures forfeit all right to claim the protection of the State. But, though such protection cannot be claimed as a right, there are no doubt many cases in which it ought to be, and, practically, would be, given. Each case must, however, depend on its own merits, and those merits it is often no easy task to ascertain. It by no means follows that, in every instance where a white man's life has been taken, a *casus belli* has been established. It is often difficult to assign any immediate cause for the act, and there is too frequently an entire absence of reliable evidence as to the attendant circumstances.

In many cases I have no doubt that massacres are perpetrated to gratify a mere savage thirst of blood, or to satisfy the cupidity excited by a display of

tempting goods: but this is not always so. The murder may have taken place in some tribal broil; it may have been the result of previous quarrels; it may even be the just punishment of a grave offence, or the natural result of serious provocation. It may have resulted from a breach of customs having the force of law, of the consequences of breaking which the murdered man may have been himself well aware. The punishment of death is naturally and indeed necessarily often resorted to by barbarous nations, who have no means of carrying out long sentences of imprisonment or other secondary punishments. It is true that in England murder and treason are now the only capital offences, and that we are apt to regard the infliction of death for other crimes as unjustifiable; but it can hardly be a subject for wonder or complaint if among savage tribes punishments should be as sanguinary as among ourselves fifty or sixty years ago. Where a white man is put to death by savages for an offence which, if committed by one of themselves, would, with the general assent of the community, have entailed a similar penalty, it would generally, (though not always,) be difficult to say that an "act of war" had been committed.

The questions thus raised are numerous and intricate, nor is it my object now to follow them up in detail, but merely to point out that the apparently popular notion that, whenever an English trader or traveller is killed in Polynesia, (though not if he be killed in any other savage region of the world out of the Queen's dominions), it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to despatch an armed force to avenge his death, is not altogether a sound one, and that the expediency and propriety of such action entirely depend on the special circumstances of each particular case.

The graver charges of neglect of duty, and misuse of power, on the part of the High Commissioner, the Commodore, and the Chief Judicial Commissioner, being disposed of, the loose and inaccurate assertions on particular points scattered through this Appendix are in themselves little worthy of notice; but it may perhaps not be amiss to correct a statement so easily susceptible of correction as that on page 23, where we are told that "the natives are protected* by a High Commissioner and *many* Deputy-Commissioners, costing *Great Britain* some £20,000 *annually.*" Now, the fact is that there are but *two* Deputy-Commissioners, one of whom receives a salary of £450, and the other a salary of £100, in addition to his pay as Her Majesty's Consul at Samoa. The Chief Judicial Commissioner receives £300 a year in addition to his salary as Chief Justice. The High Commissioner and Assistant High Commissioner draw no salary; and the whole cost of the working of the High Commission, including the expenditure incurred in the employment of Her Majesty's ships in passages, &c., has not in any year since its establishment amounted to £3,000, the amount annually voted for the purpose by the House of Commons.

Though not very closely connected with the subject of these outrages, the extracts from the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, and acknowledged letters of Mr. Thomas, which the Conference has deemed worthy of reprinting, will be found to contain a good deal of severe censure on the Government of Fiji in respect of the policy it has pursued in the internal administration of that colony. It is a policy which in India, as well as in Fiji, is misunderstood and misrepresented by those who, arrogating on the score of their colour an unlimited deference and obedience from their darker fellow-subjects, condemn institutions and chafe under restraints which are fortunately maintained with unimpaired rigidity by those to whom the destinies of that empire are confided. India is a great continent containing many millions of inhabitants; Fiji, a small group of islands inhabited by less than 120,000 people: but the same principles of government apply to both. The circumstances of the acquisition of Fiji, like those which have attended the rise of English power in India, impose a moral obligation to govern in the interests of its people. Fiji, like India, is no mere colony of white men planted on an empty waste, or for the first time cultivating a land hitherto only roamed over by nomadic savages. It is the home of a large and industrious settled

* That the protection of natives is not the primary object of the High Commission I have already shown.

population, who own and till the soil, and possess a social and political organization, by means of which the country is easily, peaceably, and cheaply governed. In Fiji, as in India, policy teaches the same lesson as justice, and proclaims, in tones not to be mistaken, that, when a native population outnumbered by more than fifty to one the strangers dwelling among them, it is not safe, even if it be practicable, to take out of their hands large powers of local self-government, and that to do so would inevitably cause wide-spread discontent, and, in the end, armed collision.

Both in India and in Fiji, however, there are those who would grant to every white man, however irresponsible, the privileges belonging to the members of a ruling caste, who regard as "insolence" any independence of action on the part of the native landholders of the country, and as treason to white supremacy the retention in native hands of executive or judicial power,—who would rather see crime committed with impunity than permit the sacredness of the "dominant race" to be profaned by the touch of a native constable (p. 22).

It is not surprising that to such men the policy pursued with marked success in Fiji should be distasteful, or that they should express their disapproval loudly; but it is, I think, to be deplored that their reflections on the Government of a colony not represented at the Conference should be republished under the auspices of that body. What would be thought of the good taste or propriety of the conduct of this Government if it had reprinted and laid before the Legislature newspaper attacks on the internal administration of an Australian colony—the letters, for instance, which have lately appeared in the Sydney Press as to the alleged systematic and wholesale murder of natives in Queensland; or the attacks upon members of this or that Cabinet which might be gathered from the Victorian Press during the heat of an election contest? Yet what has been done in this instance is practically very similar; and Fiji, as an Australasian colony not less sensitive to her rights and dignity than those of larger area and some years' longer history, has a right to ask why, if her affairs were to be a topic of discussion, she was not herself invited to take part in the Conference; and is entitled to protest against a course calculated to excite popular prejudice against the highest officials of her Government, especially those occupying the Bench of justice.

I cannot conclude this memorandum without expressing my regret that the Conference should not have availed itself of my offer, at least so far as to make some inquiry of me into the nature of the powers possessed by the High Commissioner. Had this been done I do not think its members would have collected and thought worthy of republication allegations which they would then have known to be based on misapprehension. But I still more regret that, if it was originally intended that the subject of those powers should be discussed at the Conference, it should not have been mentioned in the circular sent to the different Governments, as a matter to which attention was to be invited, and that no intimation should have been given to the High Commissioner himself. The subject was certainly one of sufficient importance to warrant such mention if its introduction was contemplated. If, on the other hand, the question was raised without previous concert, it is, I think, still more unfortunate that the Conference should not have declined to enter into its consideration without previous communication with those from whom alone it could obtain accurate information, on, at all events, some of the points raised, and that it should have allowed itself to be made a medium for the dissemination of slanders on men holding high and responsible situations, who had received no intimation of the intentions of the Conference to investigate the nature of the functions committed to them by the Crown.

A. H. G.

Wellington, 26th February, 1881.

The Hon. the PREMIER, New South Wales, to the Hon. the COLONIAL
SECRETARY, New Zealand.

Colonial Secretary's Office,

SIR,—

Sydney, 14th March, 1881.

I have the honor to enclose two copies of correspondence, containing communications from * His Excellency Sir Arthur Gordon, G.C.M.G., and Commodore Wilson, with reference to certain portions of the Minutes of the Proceedings of the late Intercolonial Conference in Sydney.

2. I have to add that copies of both sets of correspondence have been laid before the Parliament of this colony.

I have, &c.,

HENRY PARKES.

The Hon. Colonial Secretary of New Zealand,
Wellington.

* See ante, p. 36.

His Excellency the GOVERNOR, New South Wales, to the Hon. the COLONIAL
SECRETARY, New South Wales.

SIR,—

Government House, Sydney, 8th March, 1881.

I have the honor to enclose to you copy of an official letter which Commodore Wilson has addressed to me referring to certain resolutions published in the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Intercolonial Conference lately held in this capital; as also to certain documents annexed thereto which reflect disparagingly on him as the Naval Officer in command of this station, and on the duty of the Navy generally in these seas.

I consider that it is due to the Commodore that the same publicity should be given to his letter as was given to the resolutions of the Intercolonial Conference, and to the documents to which I have referred.

I have, &c.,

AUGUSTUS LOFTUS.

[Enclosure.]

Commodore WILSON to His Excellency the GOVERNOR, New South Wales.

H.M.S. "Wolverene,"

MY LORD,—

at Hobart, 16th February, 1881.

At the termination of the sittings of the Intercolonial Conference you were good enough to send me the Blue Book containing the minutes of its proceedings and the resolutions which the Conference arrived at on the various subjects investigated by it. Amongst these resolutions was one which both touched my functions as the Naval Officer in command of this station and the duty of the Navy generally in these seas.

2. On the merits or demerits of this resolution I do not propose to comment, and only refer to it as leading up to the point to which I most decidedly take exception.

3. Appended at the end of the book are certain scurrilous documents, being either anonymous letters from an individual signing himself "The Vagabond," or taken from a second-class Sydney newspaper. These productions, which not only reflect on myself and the Royal Navy, also animadvert on an Imperial officer of the highest rank.

4. Without exception those documents, which I must suppose form the principal groundwork upon which the Conference founded its resolution touching the Navy, are scurrilous libels, devoid of truth either in tenor or in facts, and are quite unworthy of a place amongst State papers probably the most important these colonies have ever printed.

5. I was quite aware that these miserable productions were appearing in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* before I left there, in December last, but the opinions expressed therein were to me of no importance or interest. I cannot say I read

any of them before they were placed in the conspicuous position they now hold, and were forwarded to me by your Excellency as part of important official documents.

6. I feel certain that when the enlightened statesmen who now hold office under your Lordship realize that such unworthy matter has found its way into the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Intercolonial Conference they will be much annoyed, feeling as they must that the importance given to such incorrect and irresponsible effusions must detract from the value of other better-digested measures, and depreciate the entire Blue Book in proportion.

I have, &c.,

J. C. WILSON,
Commodore.

MEMORANDUM by His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR.

THE Governor transmits herewith to the Premier, for the information of the Cabinet, the copy of a letter recently addressed by Chief Justice Gorrie, Chief Judicial Commissioner under the Western Pacific Order in Council, 1877, to Her Majesty's High Commissioner, with a view to its communication through him to the different Governments which took part in the late Intercolonial Conference at Sydney, and copies of which have accordingly been forwarded by the High Commissioner to the Governors of those colonies, of which New Zealand is one.

The Governor would suggest that this letter should be included among any papers on the subject of the Conference which may be laid before the Legislature.

ARTHUR H. GORDON.

Wellington, 19th April, 1881.

THE CHIEF JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER, Western Pacific, to the HIGH COMMISSIONER
SIR,— Suva, Fiji, 18th March, 1881.

I have the honor to state that I have by chance seen a copy of a blue-book of New South Wales, containing a report of the minutes of proceedings of an Intercolonial Conference held at Sydney in January last.

2. This Conference dealt with certain matters relating to the High Commission, and agreed to certain resolutions.

3. With the second of these, "That more effectual means should be devised for the punishment of natives of the said islands for any crimes or offences committed by them against British subjects," I most cordially concur, as it is a matter which both your Excellency and myself have urged upon the attention of the Imperial Government almost since the initiation of the High Commissioner's Court.

4. The third resolution is to the effect, "That in the case of capital convictions by the High Commissioner's Court, appeal should be allowed to the Supreme Court of some one of the Australian Colonies, to be selected by the High Commissioner."

5. As this resolution necessarily affects most the Judicial Commissioners, I venture to offer the following observations upon it.

6. Any Judge who has to try a capital case would, I imagine, be only too glad to be relieved of some share of the dread responsibility of a sentence of death.

7. Especially must this feeling animate a Judge who is obliged, by the law he administers, and by the necessities of the case, to be the judge both of the facts and the law.

8. The Supreme Courts of the sister colonies have been, and are, presided over by singularly able men, of whose personal fitness to discharge any professional duties of however high or arduous a nature not a question can be raised. I have seldom read a better judgment than that given lately by the Chief Justice of New South Wales, in which he vindicated the right and duty of the Supreme Courts of Justice to keep themselves free and unfettered in the performance of their high functions, by punishing for contempt those who impugn the motives and malign the characters of the Judges.

9. But the peculiarity of the High Commissioner's Court, that the Judicial Commissioner in a capital case must necessarily be judge both of the facts and the law, with only the assistance of Assessors in regard to the former, would, I apprehend, be an insuperable barrier to any such appeal as is proposed.

10. The Supreme Courts of all the Australian Colonies administer the law of England without the modifications of law and procedure necessary in the region of the Western Pacific, which have been imposed by Order in Council. A trial for murder, without a jury, would be alien to their system of jurisprudence, and to enable them on appeal to find a murderer guilty without such trial, they must have additional powers. But to give such powers by Order in Council would not be palatable, or, probably, possible, in a constitutional colony. And the delegates know best whether there would be any chance of passing such a Bill through their respective Legislatures.

11. Moreover, unless we are to shut the door of justice on the whole native race of the Pacific, as against evil-doers amongst Her Majesty's subjects, and undo the good work which the High Commissioner's Court has already done, we must, and do, under the powers of the Orders in Council, receive evidence on affirmation of those who are either not Christians, or only nominally Christians, and do not understand the nature of an oath in the technical sense of the English law, weighing such evidence to the best of our ability in the equal scales of justice. But this also would be repugnant to the procedure of some, if not all, of the Supreme Courts of Australia.

12. An appeal accordingly from the High Commissioner's Court to such a tribunal would be from a Court which in these particulars administers justice from a higher standpoint, to one which does not, and cannot with its present or any powers which it is likely to obtain for the purpose, administer justice on the same principles.

13. Another difficulty I foresee relates to the execution of the judgment. The person accused of murder, if taken to Australia for judgment, ought, if the judgment be confirmed, to be executed there. I have noted how in one colony the fate of a notorious murderer and bushranger excited sympathy; in another, the keen and clamorous interest created by sentences of death. I can well imagine the public outcry if a colonist were condemned to death, without the intervention of a jury, for murdering a Polynesian in a far-off island, and how an attempt would be made to force the hand of the Governor and his Council, (who, as it was not a colonial crime, would have no constitutional right whatever to interfere,) to prevent the execution on their own soil.

14. The proposal of the delegates bristles with difficulties. It is by Imperial Courts, and Imperial Courts alone, that justice can be properly administered in the Western Pacific, and any appeal, where such is necessary, must be to Courts dealing with evidence on similar principles, and accustomed to trials with Assessors even in capital cases.

15. So much for the proposal itself; but I have something also to say upon the reason for such a proposal being made at this particular time.

16. Only one capital case has been tried in the High Commissioner's Court since its institution,—that of a half-caste Australian, tried and condemned at Rotumah for the murder of a native of Rotumah before its annexation to this colony. In this case the sentence of death was commuted by your Excellency to twenty-one years' penal servitude.

17. No white man has yet been tried for a capital offence in the Western Pacific; and, if the baser sort are not incited by the attacks of slanderers on the Court, and the encouragement given to them in quarters where we might have expected better things, I sincerely trust that the wholesome respect for law inspired by the existence of the High Commissioner's Court after only five or six important trials, (followed by no severe punishments,) will be sufficient to prevent any murder by British citizens in the Pacific.

18. As there seems to be no other cause for this particular resolution at this particular time, it has occurred to me as possible that the delegates have been influenced by the libels which they reprint, and have appended to their report.

If so, then the proposal would not merely be one to insure a better administration of justice, but is a little disguised impeachment of the High Commissioner's Court itself.

19. Your Excellency will recollect that "The Vagabond," who signs some of these productions, and appears to have inspired the remainder, is the person who was last year brought down to Fiji for a few weeks, and, without knowing anything of the colony or the affairs of its government, or the administration of justice in it, sought notoriety by assailing your Excellency and myself in a public lecture with abuse so foul and violent that even the local journals most hostile to the Government shrank from reproducing it in what purported to be a report of the proceedings.

20. The respectable part of the audience rose and left the hall, and he was thereafter shunned even by most of those who had taken him by the hand when he first came. He left the colony baffled and most bitter, and to that bitterness, born of his failure to stir up sedition here, he has given abundant vent through the Australian papers.

21. No doubt the writer saw many things in this colony which could not but shock a person of his views.

22. He saw that no means were taken to encourage or cajole the natives to strip themselves of the possessions solemnly guaranteed to them by the Queen, and that the maxim that, (as he puts it,) "the land is for the white man," was not one accepted by the Government of the colony. He saw Her Majesty's Fijian subjects a well-ordered society; he saw their rights and property respected; he saw them contented and peaceful and industrious, with a fair prospect of rising with that rising prosperity of the colony,—a prosperity which the contentment of the natives insures, and which their discontent would imperil or destroy. He saw an absence of all those costly precautions which elsewhere mutual distrust has rendered needful, and of that sullen ill-will which a sense of injustice has too often elsewhere engendered.

23. For offences such as these we are not likely to be forgiven by this man, or others of his sort. But I think we are entitled to ask why the delegates should have received, and, without inquiry as to their truth, reprinted, his outpourings of bombast and falsehood?

24. It is a maxim with public men at Home that they do not take any serious step in grave concerns without having well-ascertained facts upon which to stand. Here we have a resolution of a meeting of colonial delegates supported apparently by nothing better than anonymous libels, or the random charges of an alien adventurer!

25. I must enter my protest against the character and good name of Judges, who have grown grey in Her Majesty's service, and who fill positions such as those which for many years I have had the honor to hold, being thus trifled with, either by colonial delegates or by any other body of men. The delegates are now more responsible for the libels than even the author himself. As his, they would rapidly, and before this time, have sunk into oblivion; accepted and recirculated by the delegates, they may live some little time longer,—not, however, to my hurt, but to the shame of those who have reproduced them.

I have, &c.,

JOHN GORRIE,

Chief Judicial Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

His Excellency the High Commissioner, &c.