

SESS. II.—1884.  
NEW ZEALAND.

# CONFEDERATION AND ANNEXATION.

PAPERS RESPECTING THE  
FIJIAN AND SAMOAN GROUPS, AND PROPOSALS FOR THEIR  
UNION WITH NEW ZEALAND.

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

## I. F I J I.

### No. 1.

PETITION presented, in Sydney, to the PREMIER of NEW ZEALAND.

To the Honourable the PREMIER of the GOVERNMENT of NEW ZEALAND.

THE Petition of the European portion of the inhabitants of Fiji sheweth—

1. That your petitioners are greatly dissatisfied at the political disabilities they now labour under, consequent on the form of government existing in Fiji.

2. That your petitioners are taxed at the rate of about £30 per head, and yet have no voice whatever in the expenditure of the public revenue.

3. That your petitioners have been deprived of the right of trial by jury in mixed cases, and have practically no appeal, there being only one Judge, and the appeal lying to him from himself.

4. That your petitioners have no representation of any kind whatever, all the members of the Legislative Council being either officials or nominees of the Crown.

5. That your petitioners have been for the most part colonists, previously, of either Australia or New Zealand; that not less than £1,700,000 of Australasian capital is already invested in Fiji; and your petitioners therefore desire a more intimate political, as they already have a social, connection with one or other of the Australasian Colonies.

6. That the Colony of Fiji is self-supporting, and has this year a small surplus.

7. That by the resolutions passed in the late Colonial Convention, as well as by the permission given by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that she should send a delegate to such Convention, Fiji is fully recognized as one of the group of Australasian Colonies.

8. That your petitioners have lately transmitted a petition to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, a copy of which is hereto attached, praying—First, “For the inclusion of Fiji as an integral portion of federated Australasia.” Secondly, “In the event of such federation not being immediately accomplished, for incorporation with one or other of the Australasian Colonies,” without naming any particular colony. See A.—3, Sess. I. p. 30.\*

9. That the incomplete and partial federation accomplished by the Convention, does not immediately affect Fiji, in the manner or to the extent wished for.

10. That your petitioners believe that were New Zealand and Fiji united under one government, great good to both would eventuate, as well politically as commercially.

11. Your petitioners therefore now designate New Zealand as the colony with which they wish to be incorporated, in accordance with the second prayer to the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty; and pray that you will take such immediate steps as to your wisdom may seem appropriate, by supporting the petition to Her Most Gracious Majesty, and otherwise initiating such measures as will tend to the complete union of the two groups of islands most interested in the trade of the Pacific, and only one thousand miles apart.

And the delegates appointed by the white inhabitants of Fiji, in public meeting assembled, to represent them at the Colonial Conference, and negotiate for annexation to one of the Australasian Colonies, hereto subscribe themselves.

R. BECKWITH LEEFE, M.L.C. Fiji.  
GEORGE McEVOY, M.L.C. Fiji.  
J. C. SMITH.

CHARLES B. CHALMERS.  
EDWARD W. KNOX.

\* Other correspondence re Fiji will be found in the same paper, commencing at p. 27.

## No. 2.

MEMORANDUM for the DELEGATES to the CONVENTION. By Hon. R. BECKWITH LEEFE.

REFERRING, first, to population, revenue, and commerce :—

By the latest accounts, the number of whites, or persons of European and American parentage, is about 2,500, and of natives (*i.e.* Fijians), 110,000; whilst the estimated revenue from all sources, except immigration, for 1883, is £90,675, and the expenditure, exclusive, again, of immigration, is £86,985.

The imports and exports were, for 1882, £492,846, and will this year reach much larger figures, the exports alone for 1884 being estimated at very nearly half a million.

Of this revenue of £90,000, the 110,000 natives are estimated to contribute £19,000; but, as for 1881, the estimate of £18,000 was only found to realize £14,000, there is no reason, more especially as the people are gradually becoming wearied of the imposition, to suppose that it will this year produce more, showing a *per caput* rate of 2s. 7d.\* whilst the 2,500 whites have directly or indirectly to contribute some £30 per head.

For this paltry sum of under 3s. each, the natives are, for the most part, kept pottering about their towns and Government plantations, when, if the restrictions were removed, and the innate right of man to sell his labour to the highest bidder respected, they could earn each in one week more than they now take twelve months to accomplish, under the injurious system of slavery which in Fiji disgraces the British flag. If you classify the population, and reckon the adult males only at 25,000, putting on one side entirely the women, who can and do earn half as much as the men, the realized tax only represents the ridiculous sum of 11s. 2d. which a man can easily earn in a month, and be housed and fed as well.

Of the sum of £30 per head contributed by the whites, not one penny is spent by or with the advice or consent of those who have to provide this enormous amount, representation of any kind being absolutely conspicuous by its absence in this Crown Colony of a very severe type indeed.

*Justice.*—If we turn to the administration of justice, we find the same utter disregard of what is usually considered and spoken of as the innate right of every Briton, for trial by jury is, in all mixed cases, prohibited by law; so that if one coolie murders another coolie, he has the privilege of trial by jury, both being British subjects; but if an Englishman murders a Fijian (the latter being a slave under the British flag, and not a British subject by the law of Fiji) he is not allowed a jury, and, as there is practically no appeal, although the Governor has the prerogative of mercy, an Englishman is liable to be hanged without appeal, without a jury, and possibly unjustly.

*Trade.*—The policy of the Government to a great extent paralyses trade, and by its irritating measures has greatly retarded the progress of the colony. As an instance of this, I will mention *bêche-de-mer*, the export of which was, in 1879, £2,500, and increasing, but in 1882 had dwindled to £716. The way this was brought about is a good illustration.

One of the Rokos, or native governors, was cast in the Supreme Court in a fine of £20 for undue interference with a white man, who, with a complete plant—boats, punts, divers, &c.—was doing good service in developing this industry. The Roko seized the whole. Immediately afterwards, the Governor called a Council, at which only two official and no nominee members were present, and passed through all its stages in one day, “The *Bêche-de-mer* Preservation Ordinance,” which most completely succeeded in ruining both the man and the industry, the country having as well to pay the fine, by prohibiting the fishing of the reefs, God’s blessings to all his creatures, without a license, which was in turn refused (in spite of the remonstrances of one of the unofficial members), as the reefs were required for the exclusive use of the natives, to enable them to make up their quota of taxation.

*Capital.*—There is at present invested in Fiji about £1,700,000 of Australian and £300,000 or £400,000 of English capital; but this is not nearly as productive as it would be, and the amount would be much greater, but for the unwise impediments thrown in the way of labour, both domestic and foreign. The Labour Ordinance passed last January is a good illustration of the extent of these restrictions, a copy of which, with regulations made under its authority, is appended hereto. How any man accustomed to consider a British subject a free man can come to any other conclusion than that these point to a condition of slavery, is incomprehensible.

I will now mention some of the Ordinances passed, which will give some slight idea of the high-handed manner in which the colony is governed.

First comes that known as the “Deportation Ordinance,” a repetition of which is recommended by Sir George W. Des Vœux in the event of the annexation of the Pacific Islands, which provides that the Governor may, if he believes any person to be disaffected to the Queen, order his removal from his home, by force if necessary, for not more than two years, under pain, on disobedience, of arrest and imprisonment.

Another, to prevent any person other than a resident being within a certain radius of the place where the annual meeting of chiefs, or “*Bose vaka Tuvaga*,” is held, during the continuance of such meeting, under divers pains and penalties.

The Native-labour Ordinance, which, amongst other enactments, provides that labourers are compelled to return home after their engagement terminates, under pain of fine and imprisonment, and any employer who fails to inform his employés of this law renders himself liable to a fine of £20, or imprisonment with hard labour for one month; and also that, if a labourer goes to work for, say, twelve months, he is compelled to remain in his town for an equal length of time after his engagement terminates, under a fine of £1, or three months’ imprisonment with hard labour. These are some of the laws which press heavily on the people, natives and whites alike; and I feel certain that were the former polled to-morrow they would, if freed from Government surveillance, vote almost to a man for any change which would emancipate them from the state of serfdom in which they are now kept.

\* This is not counting what they pay indirectly, by the consumption of dutiable goods, which is unascertainable, but which cannot be great.

In a recent letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, from myself, occurs the following: “. . . . as I need hardly, I think, in view of the petition to Her Majesty which has lately been forwarded, remind your Lordship that very great discontent indeed prevails in Fiji with the present condition of affairs political there, and that I was and am apprehensive that, unless some radical change, in more particularly the policy of the government of the natives, shortly ensues, this discontent will eventuate in some overt act . . . . ; and that these apprehensions are shared by others as well as myself, is evident, as witness the last Wesleyan missionary report held at Bau, and by the evidence of all best qualified to judge outside official circles.”

About a month ago, a number of natives, one of whom was a district chief, told me that if I could succeed in what I told them I was coming to Sydney to endeavour to bring about, “they would love me to a man.” And the native governor of a province lately said “that the whites wished to have transactions with the natives and the natives with the whites, without which his people would have to go naked, but the Governor had put a fence between them, so high that it will soon fall down.”

I will shortly state what the people I represent want, and what they expect at the hands of the Convention. They want a Government under which they can live, and enjoy those political privileges Englishmen are accustomed to elsewhere. They want a Government that will foster trade and promote the agricultural and commercial interests of the colony. They want a Government that will be in sympathy with the people, and which does not look with supercilious indifference on those they are sent to govern. They want a voice in the expenditure of their own money; they want trial by jury: and they want a total abolition of the slavery of the natives, and recognition of a man's innate right to sell his labour, where and when, and in what direction he pleases.

To obtain these objects they want either federation with or annexation to the “Dominion of Australasia,” or one of the States composing that Dominion; and they expect, I may add, ardently, the Convention will pass such resolutions and make such representations to the Imperial Government as will support the prayer of their petition, and forward the objects they have in view.

R. BECKWITH LEEFE,

Representing the People of Fiji.

N.B.—When the words “slavery,” “slave,” occur in this memorandum, the slavery of the people by the Government through the chiefs is intended to be understood.

R.B.L.

### No. 3.

MINUTE by Hon. Mr. THURSTON, on the PETITION to the QUEEN.

MINUTE with reference to a Petition addressed to the Queen by certain of the Colonists of Fiji, praying See A.—3, Sess. I. that the Colony may be either incorporated with one of the Australian Colonies, or that p. 30.

British-born Residents within the Colony may be relieved from what they regard as their present humiliating position.

THE chief grounds for the general complaints set forth in this petition are contained in its 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 16th, and 17th paragraphs, the others being apparently inserted more as the recital of historical and admitted facts, necessary to a full understanding of the subject, than for any other purpose.

But it is to be observed that, even in this intended recital of facts, such mistakes occur in respect of matters which ought to be known to the petitioners, and especially so to the movers in the matter (among whom is an ex-Attorney-General), that a doubt at once raises itself as to the accuracy of their information in other particulars.

Before touching upon the several subjects alleged in this petition to be matters of grievance, I propose to point out the mistakes referred to above. Paragraph 5 describes the Executive Council as consisting ordinarily of the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Receiver-General, and the Agent-General of Immigration. As a fact, the Executive Council ordinarily consists of the Governor and the two first-named officers only. There are, however, other members (some of whom are appointed for special purposes by Statute); but the Agent-General of Immigration is neither now, nor ever has been, a member of the Executive Council. But, as no special grievance is raised as to the constitution of the Executive Council, this matter is only worthy of notice as indicating want of knowledge on the part of persons professing to be acquainted with public affairs of the Colony.

Paragraph 6, in like manner, wrongly describes the persons constituting the Legislative Council: the official members of Executive Council, other than the special members before referred to, and such persons holding public office as may be appointed—the whole number not exceeding six. The full Council may not exceed twelve, of whom one-half shall at all times be official members. In the absence of members, whether official or non-official, provisional members may be appointed. In point of fact, the non-official element in the Council has always been kept at its full strength. The Chief Justice is not, as alleged in the petition, a member of the Council. He is so if appointed, but not otherwise.

There is another statement in the prefatory part of the petition requiring notice, less perhaps upon the ground of inaccuracy than because of the loose way in which it is put forward. This statement is contained in paragraph 3, and for purposes of special import it professes to give the numerical strength of the present European and Native population of the Colony. It is said that the present population consists of 110,000 native-born Fijians and of 2,560 Europeans and other foreign residents, exclusive of labourers introduced from other of the Pacific Islands and from India.

For the purposes of the statement, as aiding in the correct appreciation of the administrative necessities (both executive and legislative) of the Colony, it is necessary that the numerical strength of the races forming the population should be given with greater accuracy, and that the state and inter-relations of the 2,500 Europeans and other inhabitants be ascertained.

The population other than European is approximately as follows:—

Fijians	...	...	...	...	...	115,600
Polynesians	...	...	...	...	...	6,540
Indians	...	...	...	...	...	2,300
Total						124,440

Thus the total number of persons unfitted for political freedom, and requiring the special protection of Government, is to the European population as fifty is to one, speaking in round numbers.

The permanent European population at present consists, as stated by the petitioners, of about 2,500 persons. Of these, not fewer than 1,000 are women and children. The remaining 1,500 consist of landed proprietors, planters, merchants, and persons of the non-proprietary class, such as estate managers, overseers, clerks, artisans, shopmen, and others. Persons of this latter class form a large proportion of the 1,500 adult male population, and from the nature of their positions and avocations may be regarded individually less as permanent than temporary residents in the Colony.

The European population actually moving independently in the matter of the petition under consideration, consists probably of not more than 500 persons.

Whether the system of government in force in the Colony gives this very small, though wealthy and intelligent, minority adequate political representation, or whether practical means exist of bringing a proper influence to bear upon the Government, may be considered hereafter.

Adverting now to those paragraphs of the petition setting forth the subjects of grievance under which the petitioners conceive they labour, paragraph 8 may be first considered. This paragraph is to the effect "that the votes of the official members of the Legislative Council are recorded as His Excellency may direct, notwithstanding that their personal opinion may be at variance with his own." It is only necessary to say, in answer to this, that, in the absence of the principle to which such grave exception is taken, no system of government whatever, not even parliamentary government, could be carried on. It would be a very singular spectacle to see Cabinet Ministers voting with the Opposition, and assisting to upset the Government of which they were members; yet it is the possibility of an extraordinary procedure something analogous to this, that the petitioners desire. It is, however, well known in the Colony that, excepting upon questions involving a principle upon which the Government intends to insist, the votes of the official members are given at their individual discretion, and, with the experience afforded by an uninterrupted continuance in office since the foundation of the Colony, I can testify that, with the above exception, individual official members generally give expression to their personal opinions in that practical manner.

Paragraph 9 of the petition also shows a want of knowledge as to the powers of the Legislative Council. It is true that the Governor alone can propose any charge upon the public revenue (unless any proposal for expenditure has been expressly allowed by him previously to its proposal); but any member of Council may propose to reduce intended expenditure to such a sum as may seem to him fit, or he may move that it be struck out altogether; and it is needless to say that this power has been exercised, though perhaps seldom. The necessity for the exercise of extreme economy and caution has, in this Colony, hitherto been great, yet in actual practice the official and not the non-official members of Council have exercised restraining influences in matters of public expenditure.

As regards paragraph 10, the petitioners are not liable to the charge that they are badly informed. In this instance, it is right to say "that, during the eight years the Council has existed, no single ordinance has become law when introduced by a non-official member;" but, considering that the following have been the only attempts of non-official members to introduce legislation, the fact stated may not appear to form any serious matter for complaint:—On the 20th June, 1878, the Hon. R. B. Leefe introduced a measure for the amendment of the Native-labour Ordinance, No. X. of 1877. The actual object of the proposed measure, stripped of its verbal pretensions, was to enable planters, under certain circumstances, to acquire the enforced services of Fijian villagers. On the 1st October, 1878, the Hon. R. B. Leefe introduced another Ordinance, the effect of which was to encourage the manufacture of coir rope within the Colony. This measure proposed to offer a bonus of £500 to the first settler who made                    tons of coir rope. On the 17th December, 1879, the Hon. R. B. Leefe introduced a Bill to provide for the eradication of a weed known as *Sida retusa*. No seconder being found among the non-official members, it was seconded by the Colonial Secretary, and, after considerable discussion, the motion was lost, the sense of the Council being against it.

Considering, therefore, that in no instances other than in the trifling and unimportant cases quoted has a non-official member evinced any desire to introduce a legislative measure to Council, it does not appear that this complaint has any good foundation.

The 12th paragraph states that the revenue of the Colony has now reached a total of at least £90,000 per annum; that the European inhabitants are the principal contributors, directly or indirectly, thereof; and that such revenue exceeds the present expenditure of the Colony. This proposition is one that has been frequently advanced. Over and over again it has been asserted, that the whole of the native population passes its time in working to procure the amount of its assessed taxes, and that at most they only contribute some few shillings per annum to the revenue of the colony. In short, the statements so made, and the inference to be drawn from the paragraph of the petition now under consideration, are alike, and mean that, speaking generally, the whole trade of the Colony is created by and for its European population. Never was a greater fallacy urged. In the first place, it may be said that, admitting that the sum of £90,000 named in the petition represents the gross actual receipts of the year last past, it does not follow, and in fact it is not the case, that revenue proper amounts to that sum, a very considerable portion of receipts coming under the head of immigration and miscellaneous receipts (which are only matters of account), of land sales and survey charges, of fees of office, postal dues, pilot, light, and harbour dues, &c. These latter are fees for services rendered, and rendered, it may be added, exclusively to the European population, or nearly so.

Revenue proper is derived from the following sources:—Customs, general licenses, stamp duty, and in the year 1882, amounted, under the various heads respectively, to £36,794, £3,567, £1,800: total, £42,161. To this may be added, revenue received under the head of “Native taxes,” paid directly by the Fijian natives, and amounting to about £17,000 per annum.

It may be admitted without discussion, that the Europeans pay the whole of the receipts under the head of “Stamp duty,” £1,750; that, as regards “General licenses,” they pay it in the first instance, but no one acquainted with business will suppose that the burden of this impost is not finally borne by the customers (of whom natives are in majority) of the person holding the license.

As regards Customs duties, it cannot be admitted that 2,560 Europeans, the large majority of whom are dependents, are “the principal contributors” to the £36,794 of revenue derived from that source, for that would be to suppose that they contribute to such duties alone the sum of £14 14s. 4d. *per caput*, which, as compared with the average of other countries, or with other British dependencies, appears absurd:—

	£	s.	d.
France, in 1878	...	...	...
United States...	...	...	...
Victoria	...	...	...
	3	8	4
	1	2	9
	2	1	10

But, dealing with the subject generally, it may be well to turn to the published returns of imports during 1882. From these it will be observed, that the declared value of imports for the year was £303,329. Of this value, however, the sum of £37,850 represented the value of machinery (admitted free of duty); so that imports, exclusive of machinery, valued £285,479, or about £88 10s. per head for every man, woman, and child of the European population.

In the neighbouring flourishing Colony of New Zealand, the value of imports for 1882 (without any exception as to machinery) was about £11 10s. per head of population; in other words, the settler in Fiji (if the petitioners are to be credited) imported last year eight times the value imported by the settler of New Zealand. In case it may be said that this comparison is weakened by the fact that the population of New Zealand here referred to includes Maoris, it is to be observed that in Queensland, where there is no consumption of imports by aboriginal natives, the imports in 1882 were only equal to £12 14s. per head of population. But, to test the case further, and to examine closely the affirmation that European settlers are the principal contributors to the revenue, it may be well to descend from the general to the particular, and to do this the tables of imports may be again referred to. Two items of imports largely consumed by Fijians are drapery and hardware. The value of drapery imported to Fiji in 1882 amounted to £56,350, and hardware, £40,216. Both these articles are liable to an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per centum. The questions here arise—

- (1.) Was there imported during 1882, for the sole use of the European population (*i.e.* 2,500 souls), drapery to the value of £18 15s. *per caput*?
- (2.) Was there imported, for the same people, hardware to the value of £3 10s. *per caput*?
- (3.) If not imported for and consumed solely by Europeans, what proportion of the above-named articles were consumed by the native inhabitants of the Colony?

As it is possible to say with absolute certainty that a large proportion of these two articles was not only purchased but was imported specially for the purposes of *native trade*, as it is termed, and as there are stores and shops all over the country doing an almost exclusively native business, the first two questions may be answered in the negative. The third question is not so easily answered. It may, therefore, be prudent, in order to be on the safe side of probability, to draw a comparison between the confessedly struggling settler in Fiji, and the admittedly prosperous settler in the old and wealthy Colony of New South Wales; and the items drapery and hardware are particularly applicable in the consideration of this subject, since there are no manufacturers of these articles in New South Wales to speak of, the whole of its supplies, as is the case with Fiji, being obtained from abroad. Now, the value of the imports of drapery to New South Wales is £4 19s. 2d. *per caput* of population, and of hardware (including in the term far more than is included in the case of Fiji), £1 *per caput* only. Assuming, therefore, that the settler in Fiji does not go better clad than the settler of New South Wales, and that the necessities of his life demand no larger supply of hardware, the following deductions may be drawn:—

	£	s.	d.
Value of drapery imported to Fiji, <i>per caput</i> of European	...	...	...
“ “ New South Wales	...	...	...
	19	0	0
	5	9	0
Difference to the credit of natives of Fiji	...	...	...
	£14	0	0
Value of hardware imported to Fiji, per head of European population	£13	10	0
“ “ New South Wales	...	...	...
	1	0	0
Difference to credit, natives of Fiji	...	...	...
	£12	10	0

If the European population in Fiji does not import *per caput* more than is the case in New Zealand, *viz.* £11 10s. it would follow that they import goods to the value of £28,750. This would leave a balance of £256,729 to be distributed among 123,000 natives of *all classes*,\* which would amount to only £2 1s. *per caput*.

* Six thousand Polynesians earn £3 (and more) annually—all spent in Fiji	..	..	£18,000
Two thousand Indians certainly spend £3 per annum	..	..	6,000
Two or three thousand Fijians, at £6 to £8	..	..	21,000
Spent in wages alone	..	..	£45,000
Salaries and allowances	..	..	11,000
			£56,000

To this must be added the whole value of native trade resulting from the sale of *produce*, *contract work*, and the receipts for work done without formal agreement.

Considering the large amount of money earned by natives, their increasing industry, and steady advance in the habits of civilization, and that there is not a native in Fiji who is not a consumer of imported merchandise, while native salaries and allowances paid on account of native officers of the Government amount alone to over £11,000—is it difficult to believe that they individually consume at least 41s. *per caput* of the imports of the Colony. If such a belief is warranted, then I fear the allegation that the European population of the Colony are the principal contributors to the revenue, must be dismissed as founded on error.\* Upon this important and most interesting subject I must record my opinion—an opinion, I may add, not lightly arrived at—that the native, and not the European, inhabitants of this Colony are the principal contributors to the revenue, and that, in the matter of Indian immigration, mail contracts, and a not inconsiderable part of the establishment of government, they contribute to an expenditure in which they have either no interest, or at best only a remote one. But it is also to be remembered, in the consideration of this subject, that, as regards direct taxation, the Europeans during the year 1882 paid, under the heading of “General licenses,” the sum of £3,567, which, as before said, was ultimately borne by the persons dealing with the licensees, and that the natives paid, under the heading of “Native taxes,” £18,346, the burden of which it was not possible to transfer to third persons.

As, apart from the two heads of taxation last noticed, it must be clear that revenue proper is derived indirectly from imports, and is, in fact, dependent in amount upon the general trade of the Colony, it may be well to see what that trade is *per caput*, as compared with other countries, *if the native population is excluded from consideration.*

The value of the total imports of 1882 (excluding machinery), amounted to £285,479, and of exports, £190,517; therefore, the total trade of the Colony per head of European population, amounted to £190 7s.

The magnitude of the success thus attainable under the Government of a Crown Colony, in the brief space of eight years from the date of its foundation, may (presuming the petitioners' views are correct) be gathered from the following statement:—

Countries.	Population at last Enumeration.	Trade per Head of Population.
Austria and Hungary ... ..	35,904,435	£ s. d. 2 14 3
France ... ..	36,102,921	8 17 9
Russia in Europe ... ..	63,658,934	1 15 9
Great Britain ... ..	31,817,108	21 8 10
United States ... ..	38,588,371	5 19 8
Canada ... ..	3,602,321	12 19 2
New South Wales ... ..	693,743	40 18 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Fiji ... ..	2,500	190 7 0

The 12th paragraph of the petition is, as regards the latter portion of it, also singularly wanting in accuracy. The earlier part complains that “all Government appointments are made by the Crown alone;” but, as all Governments have the right alone of making such appointments, this statement should be regarded perhaps less as a cause of grievance than the expression of a desire, on the part of the petitioners, to take a new departure in one of the fundamental rules associated with the administration of government. It is said that “a reference to the appointments made for some years past will show that only an exceedingly small proportion of the offices created have been filled by residents in the Colony, and that in the great majority of instances preference has been given to cadets from England or Scotland, or persons from India.”

To show the utter incorrectness of this statement, a list is attached to this minute, giving the names and stations of all the officers of Government, other than the Chief Justice and members of Executive Council. But it may be said here that the “cadets from England and Scotland” referred to do not exceed five in number, and that the “persons from India” are some half a dozen officers, engaged specially as interpreters of the English and Hindostani languages, and whose presence here is owing entirely to the introduction of East Indian coolie labourers for service on plantations. The total number of officers on the establishment (not being native Fijians) is 97. Of this number there came from England six medical officers, three magistrates, three clerks, and four so-called cadets. These officers, with seven interpreters from India, amount in all to 23 persons; the remaining 74 are colonists, many of them old ones, and many of them still attached to the offices they held under the Fiji Government prior to annexation. In view of these facts, the first part of the complaint contained in this paragraph appears frivolous, and the latter part to be culpably misleading.

The 13th paragraph contains something closely approaching wilful misrepresentation. It is true that the municipal affairs of the town of Suva are temporarily being conducted by a Government officer, under the provisions of an Ordinance attached, but it is a matter of notoriety that this state of things was necessitated by the fact that, on account of Government works in progress at Suva, and the bustle and confusion in which the residents themselves were at the outset of the building of the new town and the transfer to it of the seat of government, the place was not ripe for the creation of a Municipal Board. It has been equally a subject of notoriety, that the management of the town affairs by a public officer was of temporary duration, not to extend beyond the

\* But should this view be not absolutely sustained, enough has been said to show that, even admitting the value of imports per head of European population is double that of New Zealand in 1882, there will still be left an amount to be accounted for, more than sufficient for the purposes of the opinion now put forward, that natives are the greatest consumers.

close of the current year ; and, finally, I may add that before this minute was written, the Ordinance providing for the creation of municipalities in Suva and Levuka, upon the model of the Australian Colonies, had passed a first reading.

Paragraph 14 requires no notice, unless it be to say that the petition bears evidence that the main object of government as regards the European population of Fiji has not been unsuccessful.

Paragraph 15 states that the petitioners are discontented and grieved that all right of being represented or heard in the councils of this Colony is denied to them, and that they have no voice in the administration of the government of the Colony, the enactment of its laws, or the public expenditure.

This statement is perhaps one of the most singular made by the petitioners, and it may be regretted that some reasons are not given for the dissatisfaction with which, as may be inferred, the present non-official members of Council are regarded. The non-official half of the Council is composed of the following gentlemen :—Roger B. Leefe, Esq. ; George McEvoy, Esq. ; James E. Mason, Esq. ; Alex. Barrack, Esq. ; John Hill, Esq. ; George Morgan, Esq. ; Matthew Wilson, Esq. (in the absence of Mr. McEvoy). I think it would be admitted by every candid person in the Colony that, if the non-official members of Council were elected by the colonists, instead of nominated by the Governor, it would be unlikely that a more able or more independent body of men could be returned.

Upon the very day upon which the petition to Her Majesty, forming the subject of this minute, appeared in the columns of the *Fiji Times*, a journal evincing a persistently-hostile spirit towards Government, the following criticisms upon the appointment of Mr. Matthew Wilson as a member of Council, were also made :—“ Mr. Matthew Wilson has been appointed by His Excellency the Governor a member of the Legislative Council. In connection herewith, it may be said to His Excellency, as was said by the Catholic priest to the Protestant who would not believe in purgatory, ‘ You might go further and fare worse.’ Mr. Wilson is a practical man, who has had long experience in the colony ; as such, he is capable of forming an intelligent opinion as to its requirements, and, having formed it, he possesses the desirable qualification of being able to maintain it with that degree of firmness and consistency that will compel respect even from those holding different views.”

How can it be said that, with such a fairly representative body of gentlemen in the Council, representation is denied the petitioners, and that they have “ no voice in the administration of the government of the colony, the enactment of its laws, or the public expenditure ” ?

If the petitioners mean that they are unrepresented, and that they are denied a voice in the Legislative Council of the Colony, because they do not elect the non-official members, they may be technically correct, though substantially wrong ; but if, as would appear more likely, they mean that the non-official members cannot control the Council, it can only be said that neither would they do so if returned to Council upon the suffrages of the 1,500 adult male Europeans whose interests they may be said to specially represent.\*

The grievance contained in paragraph 16 appears overstated, and, as in the case of the recently-passed Native-labour Ordinance, I am inclined to believe it is less the want of due publicity that is in fault, than that, after the Government has carefully considered the necessity for legislation and the manner of best attaining the object sought, the suggestions of the public Press or of non-official members, are not sufficiently strong to convince the Government that its measures are unsuitable and unnecessary. It may not be out of place here to mention that, in the course of a warm controversy that arose over the Ordinance just named, one newspaper writer declared that the Government was to blame, for had it held its sittings in some place to which the public could have had convenient access, the misunderstanding forming the cause of controversy could not have arisen ; and yet, in spite of this complaint and excuse for misrepresentation, the Government, instead of sitting for the consideration of this measure in the comparatively small Council-room, held the meetings of the Board in the Supreme Court, so that the public might attend, in the largest and most convenient building at its command, and as a fact people came in and went out just as they pleased.

Paragraph 17 requires little notice. The assumption raised has already been shown to be without reason. As regards representation being “ entirely denied ” to “ Her Majesty’s subjects ” in the Colony (the expression “ Her Majesty’s subjects ” clearly meaning the 2,500 Europeans in Fiji, and not the 123,000 “ native Fijians ” and others, who presumably are not “ Her Majesty’s subjects ”), this paragraph is pregnant with meaning to those who can appreciate it. Although, taking their own figures, the petitioners show that they are only one-fiftieth of the whole population, they do not appear to see the difficulty which they raise, or, if they do see it, the difficulty is only raised to be evaded.

The 18th and last paragraph of the petition refers to the approaching Convention in Australia, for considering the question of the Federation of the Australian Colonies, and the annexation to them of New Guinea and a number of islands in the Western Pacific, lying between it and Fiji. The petitioners pray that this Colony may be either—

- (1.) Included with Federal Australasia, if federation becomes a fact ; or
- (2.) Failing federation of the Australian Colonies, to be incorporated with one of them ; or
- (3.) Failing these alterations, the petitioners beg they may be relieved from the humiliating condition in which they are at present politically placed ; and
- (4.) That such relief be granted with due regard to the preservation of all existing rights and privileges of the native races inhabiting this Colony.

---

\* Personally, I have no objection to the election of the non-official members of the Council : but, as they could not be allowed to control the Council, and could not possibly be allowed to impose upon Government their views in the matter of legislation affecting the relation of natives, *inter se*, or with the European settler, I should anticipate no practical good to result from the change, while friction would be greatly increased.

Into the question of Federation and Annexation I do not propose to enter; for, whatever may be my opinion upon so important a topic after twenty years of official experience in the Western Pacific, it is foreign to the subject now occupying my attention.

The questions for consideration, after perusal of the Petition, are:—

Would Her Majesty's native subjects (who, for the purpose of acquiring adequate protection against influences they had already learned to dread, ceded the sovereignty of the islands to the Queen) be likely to benefit either by inclusion with a federate Australia, or by annexation to one of the Australian Colonies? No one, I think, who is competent to give an opinion upon the question would fail to answer in the negative. Any such scheme would result in the rapid destruction of the whole race, which Her Majesty's Government is bound by every impulse of honour and humanity to save from such a fate. The Fijian, at no great length of time, would be demoralized; the native polity of Government, and the social organization of the people, would be broken up before any other controlling power or influence could be created; and the Fijian would die off before the in-coming European settler, with his Indian or Chinese coolies, as surely as the Maori in the south and the Hawaiian in the north are dying now.

The petitioners speak of "due regard being paid to the preservation of all existing rights and privileges of the native races inhabiting this Colony:" but do they profess to ignore the fact that the existence of such rights and privileges as those to which they refer constitutes the difficulty and impossibility of acceding to their desires? Are the petitioners not aware that, apart from the question of sovereignty and protection, the position of Her Majesty's Government to the Fijians is, in every sense, tutorial; that, from the foundation of the Colony, it has been determined and repeatedly announced, that an effort would be made to open a new page in our colonial history; that for once a Colonial Government would endeavour to save a native race alive. The fact that the numbers of natives in this Colony is to that of Europeans as fifty is to one, renders it simply impossible that the rights and privileges of the former could be intrusted to the dangers and changes of party government. Nor do the natives desire it. It would of course be absurd to say that any native in the Colony is capable of understanding the bearings so important a question as a change of government both in fact and form involves; but it may be safely said that they are contented as they are, and will remain so if left alone by meddling Europeans; and, for anything else, it may be added, that the Power to which the Fijians in 1874 confided their fate must think and act for them.

As bearing upon the welfare of the natives—to which the Colonial Government has contributed, if not altogether brought about—upon their ability to purchase so large a proportion of the imports as they undoubtedly do purchase; upon their advance in civilization and progress in the management of their own local affairs—the establishment of peace and order throughout the islands may be regarded as the first cause. During the last eight years, they have raised, for the purposes of taxation, produce to the value, in Levuka, of £138,000. The value of boats and small vessels they have bought in the same period, superseding the old canoes, cannot have been less than £25,000.\* When it is remembered that a few years back hardly any but the highest Chiefs, and few of these, owned a boat, the magnitude of the change may be appreciated. In the one district where sugar can be grown to advantage, a large mill being established there, the natives have grown 10,103 tons of sugar-cane in two years, worth £5,000; and as other mills go up, other native communities will follow suit. In short, while much has been left undone that ought to have been done, the advance of the Fijian in material prosperity has been immense.

Referring now for a moment to the legislation of the past, it may be said that, as regards the ordinary enactments having reference to or bearing upon the relations of Europeans, *inter se*, little or no exception has been taken. The friction, if it may be so termed, between Government and colonists is confined to laws governing the relations between the colonists and individuals or communities of the native race, such, for instance, as the Indian, Fijian, and Polynesian Labour Laws, and the regulations thereunder—laws regarding contracts with natives, cattle-trespass, and so on. It is upon such subjects as these, all intimately associated with the rights, happiness, and very existence of Her Majesty's native subjects, that Her Majesty's European subjects enter into conflict with the Government; and it is unnecessary to say that, unless Her Majesty's Government is prepared to abandon the duty of protecting these rights, it must maintain the power to govern.

It may be gathered from these observations that, so far as they go at present, I am of opinion the complaints of the petitioners are made without any reasonable cause. That discontent exists, notwithstanding the undoubtedly rapid progress of the Colony, cannot be denied; but, considering the questions which, upon the foundation of this Colony, required settlement, and having regard to the strong passions which the settlement of these questions necessarily aroused (I refer more especially to land claims), it would be very extraordinary if the hand of every man was not against the Government. In spite, however, of the conclusions to be drawn from this petition, it is not so; and I know, from the personal information of leading colonists, that there is a large and influential section of the European community wholly opposed to its purport and object.

It would conduce very much to the general contentment of this Colony, if the question of the relations of Her Majesty's Government towards the Queen's native subjects in this Colony were authoritatively set at rest, and that it were announced that between the Colonial Government and the natives no interference whatever, not even of the slightest character, would be allowed.

As an instance of the mischievous interference which barely stops short of actual activity, the following letter, appearing in the *Fiji Times* on the 7th instant (annexed), may be cited. For causes appearing to it necessary, the Government recently appointed a well-known and very able Chief to be Roko (or Chief Native Executive Officer) in the Province of Lomai Viti. An intrigue against this officer immediately began, and at one moment appeared not unlikely to lead to serious embarrass-

\*£15,000 has been spent through Native Office since 1879; but there are almost as many vessels bought outside the office as through it.

ment. Certain Europeans, whose hostility to Government or naturally-mischievous bent continually impels them to press their advice and opinion upon natives, contributed to the danger of the moment. One of these persons has apparently relieved his mind in print (*vide* annexure), and it serves the purpose of indicating the fact that it is not only a voice in the ordinary affairs of the Colony to which some of the settlers aspire, and to something more than a voice in the matter of the appointment of European officers, but that this class seek the power of interfering in every and all directions—the right of exercising the fullest freedom of speech, no matter how calamitous may be the results of doing so among 125,000 natives, controlled solely by the moral power attaching to a Government unsupported by physical force.

Knowing as I well do what is meant by the desire expressed in the fourth section of the 18th paragraph of the petition, I do not hesitate to say that the “relief” actually prayed for is utterly inconsistent with the “existing rights and privileges of the native races, inhabitants of the colony,” and equally inconsistent with the public safety. As to the manner in which the danger of this interference should be avoided, I have long since expressed my opinion; but when, as in the *Fiji Times* of the 6th October, we learn that the promoters of this petition have only abstained from stirring up excitement among the native population out of consideration for the Government, it may be well to reflect upon what might happen in the future when no such generous consideration may be exercised.

JOHN B. THURSTON.

17th November, 1883.

Allardyce, W. L., Stipendiary Magistrate; \*Allen, J., Assistant Gaoler; Anson, H., Agent-General of Immigration; \*Beauclerc, G. A. F. W., Inspector of Immigrants; \*Bentley, H., Supernumerary Clerk, Treasury; \*Bentley, R., Clerk to Attorney-General; \*Bertram, G., Storeman; \*Brunn, L. W. J., Clerk to Registrar-General; Brown, H. G., Clerk, Audit Office; Bureau, A., Accountant, Provincial Office; \*Blyth, Hon. J., Commissioner, Native Affairs; Blyth, D., Medical Officer; Beith, R., Medical Officer; \*Ball, E. R., Government Surveyor; \*Carew, Hon. W. S., Stipendiary Magistrate; \*Chisholm, D. J., Assistant Auditor; \*Cocks, R., Harbourmaster, Levuka; \*Cocks, J., Assistant Native Commissioner; Cornelius, F., Hindustani Interpreter; Collet, W., Inspector of Immigrants and Assistant to Native Commissioner; \*Coxon, W., Clerk and Interpreter; \*Cox, J., Gaoler, Suva; Corney, B. G., Medical Officer; \*Cogan, J., Customs Officer; Davidson, W. H., Hindustani Interpreter; Davidson, J., Hindustani Interpreter; Dods, M., Clerk, Executive Council; De Silva, A., Hindustani Interpreter; Eastgate, A., Stipendiary Magistrate; Emberson, H. G. C., Registrar-General; Eyre, H., District Inspector; Fleming, A., Accountant, Immigration Department; Forster, J., Sub-Agent of Immigration; Fowler, J., Inspector of Police; Friend, P. S., Chief Clerk, Provincial Department; Gardiner, G., Customs Officer; Ghio, C., Medical Officer; Gibb, W., Clerk, Treasury; Gray, A., Customs Officer; Gordon, W. M., Acting Resident Commissioner, Rotumah; Groom, W. O., Clerk, Customs Department; Halkett, F. C., Stipendiary Magistrate; Hansen, C., Foreman, Government Works; Hedstrom, N., Harbourmaster, Suva; Heffernan, E. O. B., Stipendiary Magistrate; Hunter, H., Chief Police Magistrate; Irvine, C. H. H., Registrar, Supreme Court; Keaney, T., Government Surveyor; Langford, J., Chief Clerk, Colonial Secretary; Langton, A., Clerk, Colonial Secretary; Lomberg, E., District Inspector; Leese, H., Master, schooner “Zephyr;” Lee, J., Storekeeper, A.N.C.; Marriott, S. F., European Officer, A.N.C.; Marriott, A., Clerk and Interpreter; \*Milne, H. T., Depot-keeper; Michael, H. M., Hindustani Interpreter; \*Martin, G. F., Government Surveyor; \*Mackay, A. R., Government Vaccinator; \*Moore, G., Staff Surveyor; \*Moore, E. J., Draughtsman; \*Molloy, J., Court-keeper; \*McFadyen, J. A., Clerk, Post Office; \*McFadyen, J., Clerk, Provincial Office; \*Murray, W. L., District Inspector; \*Otway, F., Inspector of Immigrants; Patullo, W., Medical Officer; Paul, D., Accountant, Post Office, Suva; Pounds, F. J., Medical Officer; \*Rego, G., Assistant Storekeeper; \*Reeve, H., Staff Surveyor; Ross, J. K. M., Stipendiary Magistrate; \*Sabben, F., Customs Officer; \*Schemmel, J., Government Surveyor; \*Scott, R., Accountant, Treasury; \*Smart, D. H., Collector, Customs; Sutherland, Wm., Stipendiary Magistrate; Stewart, J., Postmaster, Levuka; \*Swayne, C. R., Stipendiary Magistrate; \*Spence, F., Clerk, Lands Office; \*Spence, Frank, Second Clerk, Colonial Secretary’s Office; \*St. Julian, J., Stipendiary Magistrate; \*Swann, F., Dispenser; \*Taylor, A., Stipendiary Magistrate; \*Thomson, T., Bond-keeper; \*Thomson, J. P., Government Surveyor; Trezevant, R. D., Hindustani Interpreter; Tabone, V., Medical Officer; Turner, E. C., Customs Officer; Tripp, H. L., Superintendent, Industrial School; Vaughan, J. D. W., Government Storekeeper; Walker, L. J., Colonial Postmaster; West, J., Customs Officer; Wilson, S., Customs Officer; Wilson, R., District Inspector; Woodford, C. M., Clerk, Treasury; Wright, A. G., Hindustani Interpreter.

Fiji.—No. XVII., 1882.

AN ORDINANCE (enacted by the Governor of the Colony of Fiji, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof) to provide for the Temporary Management of the Town of Suva.

(L.S.) G. W. DES VŒUX, 18th January, 1881.

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for the Management and Improvement of the Town of Suva while in progress of building, and before a Town Board can be advantageously constituted:

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, as follows:—

I. This Ordinance shall continue in force until the establishment in the Town of Suva of a Town Board, and no longer.

II. It shall be lawful for the Governor from time to time, during the continuation of this Ordinance, to appoint a Warden of Suva, hereinafter called the Warden, who, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained, shall have all the powers and shall perform all the duties of a Warden and Town Board, or either of them, under the Towns Ordinance, 1877, and shall have all the means of

\* Nearly every one marked \* was in the Colony prior to annexation.

enforcing such powers, by proceedings for penalties or otherwise, and shall be subject to all the conditions, limitations, and restrictions in the performance of such duties as are contained and enacted in the said Town Ordinance, with reference to the powers and duties of the Warden and Town Board appointed thereunder.

III. The Warden, when directed by the Governor so to do, shall transmit to the Colonial Secretary an estimate of the probable amount which will be required during the ensuing twelve-months for the making, maintenance, and management of any roads, streets, bridges, or other public works within the Town of Suva. Such estimate shall be laid before the Legislative Council, who shall fix the amount which may be expended for the above purposes, and such amount shall be raised by an assessment and rates upon all rateable property within the Town of Suva, such assessment to be made and such rate levied or otherwise recovered in the same manner in all respects as assessments and rates under the Towns Ordinance, 1877. Provided that the valuation of such rateable property for the ensuing year may be made at any time which the Governor shall appoint, and that there shall be the same right in any person to appeal from such valuation as if the assessment were made under the provisions of the Towns Ordinance aforesaid.

IV. The rate shall be collected by the Warden, and paid by him to the Receiver-General, and the Receiver-General shall expend the same upon the purposes for which it was levied in such manner and in such proportions as may be fixed and determined by the Governor, and any such rate, if unpaid, and overdue, shall, together with the costs of recovering the same, be a charge upon the rateable property in respect of which it is due, in the same way and to the same extent as is enacted of overdue rates under the Towns Ordinance, 1877.

V. If at any time while this Ordinance continues in force, the Governor shall by Proclamation establish a Common School for the Town of Suva, the Warden for the time being appointed under Section II. shall have all the powers and duties which would be possessed by a School Board of Suva, duly constituted under the provisions of Ordinance No. X. of 1882: Provided that the amount to be raised for the purposes of such school shall be fixed by the Legislative Council, and shall be raised in the same manner as is hereinbefore provided for the rate for public works within the Town of Suva.

VI. This Ordinance may be cited as "The Temporary Suva Ordinance, 1882."

Passed in Council this sixth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two.

#### ANNEXURES.

[Extract from the *Fiji Times*, 7th November, 1883.]  
To the Editor of the "*Fiji Times*."

SIR,—

The oppressive course of action adopted by the Government against the European settlers, is defended by officialdom as necessary in view of the welfare of the native race. But similarly high-handed methods are pursued in respect to the Fijians themselves, and their real needs are as disregarded, their just demands treated with as much scorn, as ours. The latest instance is in respect to the Rokoship of this province (Lomai Viti). The *tauvei* have hitherto regarded themselves and been regarded as belonging to Bau, and as subject only to a Roko Tui taken from the great ruling Bau family. There is the strongest evidence that this view is the natural and correct one. Namata (Province of Tai Levu), on the mainland near Bau, is also a dependency, and one of even less importance; yet Ratu Marika, of Namata, is, in opposition to the distinctly-expressed wishes and protest of the Lomai Viti Chiefs, forced upon them as their Roko. This people ask, "When did our ancestors and we send *mata* to Namata, as to Bau? Where are the houses for our reception at Ngamata, as at Bau? Our ancestors and we are degraded and insulted by this appointment. Against Ratu Marika, as an individual, we have nothing to say, but his gods were not our gods, nor ours his. Why should a stranger be forced upon us? Why should our revered traditions and customs, our very family honour, be gratuitously outraged? If the Governor insists on making Ratu Marika a Roko Tui and will not place us under Roko Tui Tai Levu, why not promote Roko Tui Ba to Lomai Viti, and send Ratu Marika to Ba *kei* Yasawa? Roko Tui Ba is a high Bau Chief who would have a right to our obedience and whom we would gladly obey, but Namata and his Chiefs we do not know and will not serve." All the Bau connection of course sympathize with their *vei wekani*, and those who are not so related feel that, under the present régime, they may at any time be similarly dealt with, without reason and without hope of redress. The Governor, when he treated the Chiefs so courteously (?) at Cakobau's funeral, warned them against listening to Europeans who sought to taint them with their own disloyalty. The Fijians are not disloyal: they venerate Her Majesty and British constitutional law as highly as we do, but there is among them as among us very grave dissatisfaction at the arbitrary rule now in vogue. For the causes of this there is no need to seek for supposititious disloyalty among the colonists, but His Excellency may find it much nearer home. I enclose my card, and subscribe myself by the name of what we all urgently require.

Levuka, November 5th, 1883.

I am, &c.

NA ULI VOU.

[The subjoined letter has reference to a large block of land at Bua, Vanua Levu. The land was surveyed with the full knowledge and concurrence of the Chief and people concerned, who, for the purposes required by Government, assisted the surveyor in every way.]

#### THE GOVERNMENT AND LAND CLAIMS.

SIR,—

To the Editor of the "*Fiji Times*."\*

I have understood from statements made at various times by, or on behalf of, the Government, that it fully recognizes the right of the native *tauveis* to the use and enjoyment of lands which

\* The *Fiji Times* is taken by all settlers in the group, and by numbers of them the hostile and suspicion-breeding articles and letters it contains are read (translated) to the natives.—J.B.T.

they and their ancestors have held in undisputed possession for generations back, and that it has insisted upon the recognition of this right in various cases heard before the Lands Court and Court of Appeal. This fact has been set forth as the explanation why some of the white residents have been unsuccessful in establishing their claims to certain lands. I am therefore surprised to learn that certain native landowners and others are in a state of alarm and irritation over some report that the Government purposes taking possession of a large block of land, with a view to lease the same to some Melbourne company. Personally I know nothing of the matter, save that the report is fully believed by the natives, has come to my ears from various sources, is having a very injurious effect upon the minds of the natives, for it is shaking their confidence in the honesty of the British Government, and therefore, unless speedily contradicted, is sure to do considerable harm to the Government itself.

The rumour is that a valuable block of land, including the planting lands of the *taukies*, has been leased to a company for the sum of £10 per annum; that surveyors have been despatched to survey the block; that the native owners have never been consulted on the matter, and therefore have not consented to the transaction; that they are indignant and alarmed, and have resolved to hold a meeting and protest at once against this high-handed proceeding. Whether there are any grounds for this rumour I do not know; but it is very clear the native owners believe there are, and their confidence in the integrity of the Government is shaken. Other natives are looking on with the deepest concern, and are wondering whether the Government really intends to take this land from the owners, and I very much fear that, unless some action is taken to calm the fears of the natives, serious trouble will be the result. This being my conviction, I make no apology for calling the attention of the Government and of the public (for we are all concerned therein) to this unpleasant rumour. I say no more at present, but shall await the issue of this appeal to the powers that be.

I am, &c.

ERE (=“FEAR”).

[Extract *Fiji Times*, 6 October, 1882.]

REASONS for not Agitating among the Natives of the Colony for Annexation to one of the Australian Colonies or to Federated Australia.

HEREIN it will be claimed by the official opponents to the agitation, that the native is not in accord with the European, since it has been the official fashion to represent the Fijian as being supremely happy and positively “shut up in measureless content.” This, it is known in Fiji, is the very reverse of the truth. The people are not happy and contented, but on the contrary they are sullen and seriously discontented. It was the knowledge of this fact which decided those having charge of the present agitation not to venture on addressing the native Chiefs, lest such a disturbing element should be introduced among them as would seriously embarrass the Government.

#### No. 4.

The PREMIER of NEW ZEALAND to the FIJIAN DELEGATES.

GENTLEMEN,—

Sydney, N.S.W. December 15, 1883.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a memorial signed by the “Delegates No. 1. appointed by the white inhabitants of Fiji, in public meeting assembled, to represent them at the Colonial Conference, and negotiate for annexation to one of the Australasian Colonies,” which states that “the incomplete and partial federation accomplished by the Convention does not immediately affect Fiji in the manner or to the extent wished for;” and adds, that the delegates “now designate New Zealand as the Colony with which they wish to be incorporated, in accordance with the second prayer” of a petition recently transmitted to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

I am sure the Delegates recognize that there are many difficulties connected with the subject of the memorial, and that, therefore, I am unable at present to say more than that, on my return to New Zealand, I will lay the document before my colleagues.

I have, &c.

Hon. R. B. Leefe and the other Delegates.

H. A. ATKINSON.

#### No. 5.

The PREMIER of NEW ZEALAND to the FIJIAN DELEGATES.

GENTLEMEN,—

Government Offices, Wellington, June 7, 1884.

Referring to my letter, dated Sydney, December 15, I have now the honour to state that the memorial which, as “Delegates appointed by the white inhabitants of Fiji, in public meeting assembled,” you forwarded to me, has been considered by the Government of New Zealand.

2. The memorial states that, because “the incomplete and partial federation accomplished by the Convention” recently held in Sydney “does not immediately affect Fiji in the manner or to the extent wished for,” the Delegates designate New Zealand as the Colony with which they wish to be incorporated, in accordance with the second prayer of a petition to the Queen; and asks that this Government will, by supporting that petition, and otherwise, endeavour to secure the complete union of the two groups of islands.

3. You will be aware that a Bill passed by the Assembly of New Zealand during its last session, purports to give to this Government power to enter into arrangements with the Chiefs or other authorities of islands in the Pacific, for which annexation to New Zealand may be sought; but that that Bill was reserved for the expression of Her Most Gracious Majesty’s pleasure, and has not yet been assented to.

4. It is clear, I think, from correspondence, and from the interviews had by the Agents-General in London with the Secretary of State, that the decision of the Imperial Government to take, or to consent to, action as regards annexation will be greatly affected by the decisions of the colonies regarding confederation. The latter question is to be submitted to the New Zealand Parliament without delay, and to certain of the Australian Parliaments during their next sessions. Upon the resolutions then come to, it is hoped that further, if not united, representation to the Imperial Government may be made; and the reply thereto will probably enable an opinion to be formed as to what action, if any, would be likely to succeed in securing a result such as that desired by you. Present action by this Government would, it is believed, hinder the accomplishment of your wishes.

I have, &c.

Hon. R. B. Leefe and the other Delegates.

H. A. ATKINSON.

---

## I I. S A M O A.

### No. 1.

Governor Sir WM. F. D. JERVOIS, G.C.M.G. C.B. to the Right Hon. the Earl of DERBY.  
 MY LORD,— Government House, Wellington, December 8, 1883.

I have the honour to transmit herewith, a copy of a despatch I have received from the Acting High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, dated the 26th October last, forwarding an extract from a letter sent to him from Samoa, concerning the action taken by a Mr. Lundon, with reference to the annexation to New Zealand of that group of islands.

2. I referred the despatch and enclosure to my Ministers, stating that I should be glad to receive from them a memorandum, which I might forward to the Acting High Commissioner by the mail leaving for Fiji that day, disavowing the proceedings complained of.

3. I transmit herewith, a copy of the memorandum from the Premier, Major Atkinson, in reply; and of the covering letter with which I forwarded it to Sir G. W. Des Vœux.

4. I enclose the extracts from the *New Zealand Herald* of September 17th and 18th, 1883, to which the enclosure to Sir G. W. Des Vœux's despatch refers.

5. I should observe that neither I nor my Ministers had ever heard of this matter before the receipt of Sir G. W. Des Vœux's despatch. This may seem strange, considering that it was published in an Auckland newspaper; but the fact is that, amidst the numerous local journals of the colony, the paragraph escaped attention.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby.

I have, &c.

WM. F. DRUMMOND JERVOIS.

### Enclosure 1.

The HIGH COMMISSIONER of the WESTERN PACIFIC to Sir WM. JERVOIS.

SIR,— Government House, Suva, Fiji, October 26, 1883.

I have the honour to enclose, for your Excellency's consideration, at the same time requesting that you will draw the attention of your Ministers to the subject, extract from a letter just received from Samoa, from one in whose information may be placed complete reliance.

By way of explanation, I may mention that four years ago, the civilized Powers concerned succeeded in putting an end to warfare that had been going on for a long time, with only short intermission, by an arrangement under which one Malietoa was made king, and Tamasese, the head of the opposition, was made vice-king.

Though this settlement has preserved the peace for four years, it has not, of course, suppressed the elements of discord; and, indeed, its nature is such as to afford a specially-favourable opportunity for creating agitation to those who are desirous of doing so.

The course now being taken with a view to bring about a cession of the islands is one which, whatever its ultimate results, will inevitably produce a renewal of civil war; and, whether the annexation of Samoa to New Zealand be desirable or not, it is to be borne in mind that it would not probably be sanctioned without the previous consent of Germany, which has interests in the islands considerably greater than those of any other Power, and which deserves special consideration, as having afforded for years past the principal protection to all white settlers, by keeping ships of war almost continually in Samoan waters.

As Germany is not a colonizing Power, it is not impossible that her Government might regard with favour the annexation of these islands by England, in the assurance that the possession of the private property of German subjects would be thereby guaranteed. But, however this may be, a disposition of this kind is not likely to be induced by an agitation which places in immediate peril interests which have hitherto been preserved at so heavy a sacrifice.

The action now being taken by persons from New Zealand, is thus calculated to defeat the object which the Parliament of that Colony appear to have had in view in passing the recent permissive Annexation Act; and not only on this account, but with a view to obviate Imperial complications, and in the interest of the unfortunate islanders, I would earnestly ask your Government to exercise all its influence with a view to check the mischief which is going on.

In confirmation of my correspondent's information, I have, by the same mail which brought this letter, received an official intimation that King Malietoa has requested the foreign Consuls to prevent the departure of Tamasese in any of the ships of their respective countries, inasmuch as he, Malietoa, is apprehensive that it would be the cause of civil war.

I have, &c.

G. WILLIAM DES VŒUX.

His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir William F. Drummond Jervis, G.C.M.G. &c.  
 Governor of New Zealand, Wellington.

### Sub-Enclosure.

CONSIDERABLE excitement has been caused here, by the appearance in the *New Zealand Herald* of a draft of a petition, for Samoan signature, &c. drawn up at the instance of Sir George Grey and some other New Zealand people, on, as is stated, the strength of representations made by Mr. Lundon.

It has had a most undesirable effect upon the natives in the far districts: so much so, as to materially increase the chances of an outbreak, as the opposition party are now saying that Malietoa has been attempting to sell the country. They know very well to the contrary, but will not pass this opportunity for raising ill-feeling against him. In a part of Savaii, instigated by a German in the employ of the big firm, who volunteered to lead a force, if required, the Stutane division decided to confederate with the rest of the opposition, and to resist any attempt at annexation, by arms.

... Missionary in that district is my informant. I do not, however, consider this individual movement to be of any great importance, beyond creating additional excitement in a district already professedly prepared for war, and needing but small excuse to declare it. In fact, the whole opposition party but very thinly disguise their intention of breaking out, should they not carry their wishes out at the next Fono, which is shortly to come off.

Lundon was in that district a short time ago, and probably by his mischievous talk has contributed largely to this state of affairs. What Lundon has represented to New Zealand, beyond the usual clap-trap of anarchy, Consular arrogance, and missionary greed, we are ignorant; but one thing is quite certain, that Lundon's experience of Samoans is not of that value as to guarantee his authority for giving anything but a very shallow local opinion concerning them. Since he has ceased troubling Malietoa, he has been a great deal with the vice-king Tamasese, and Masua, the chief of the opposition and the principal speaker. I believe that by fooling Lundon to the top of his bent, they are but using him as means for getting up additional feeling against Malietoa, by appearing to sanction this annexation scheme to which their party is proclaimed to be opposed. It is hard to understand how it is that the vice-king's party in Savaii and other parts are threatening armed resistance to New Zealand annexation, while the chiefs are ostensibly hand-and-glove with the promoter of the scheme, who, if the report be correct, wishes to take them to New Zealand to assist in his purpose. I should not, however, be at all surprised that, were Tamasese and Masua brought to think that personal benefit were to be derived by taking such a course, they would take it.

### Enclosure 2.

Sir WM. JERVOIS to the HIGH COMMISSIONER of the WESTERN PACIFIC.

SIR,—

Government House, Wellington, November 13, 1883.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 26th October last, enclosing an extract from a letter from Samoa, relating to proceedings in that group of islands, of certain persons from New Zealand.

2. I need scarcely state that neither I nor my Government have any knowledge of such proceedings, or would have in any way countenanced them. The Confederation and Annexation Bill has not become law, and if it had it would not authorize the course now being taken by Mr. Lundon.

3. I transmit herewith a copy of a memorandum on the subject, from my Prime Minister.

I have, &c.

His Excellency the High Commissioner.

WM. F. DRUMMOND JERVOIS.

### Sub-Enclosure.

MEMORANDUM for HIS EXCELLENCY.

THE Premier has the honour to return to His Excellency the despatch of 26th October, from His Excellency Sir W. Des Vœux, enclosing extracts from a letter written in Samoa, respecting proceedings by persons said to be from New Zealand, with the object of securing the annexation of that group of islands to this colony.

2. The Premier desires to say that any such proceedings as those described are being taken, not only without being countenanced by the Government of this Colony, but without their knowledge, and in the absence of anything that, as the Government believe, can be reasonably regarded as even implied authority.

3. The Confederation and Annexation Bill passed by the Assembly last session, was reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, and is, therefore, not yet in force. Even if it were, the Government of New Zealand could not take action of any kind except upon the approval of Parliament, after there has been submitted to it a formal expression of the wish of the Government or constituted authorities of any island or islands it may be desired should be annexed to New Zealand.

4. The Premier need hardly add the assurance, that this Government will not be a party to any action under the Confederation and Annexation Bill, which is not strictly in accordance with the provisions of that measure; and that no countenance will be given to such action until, by the assent of Her Majesty, the measure shall have become law.

H. A. ATKINSON.

Wellington, November 12, 1883.

### Enclosure 3.

[Extracts from the *New Zealand Herald and Daily Southern Cross*.

Monday, September 17, 1883.

NEW ZEALAND AND PACIFIC ISLANDS.

SOME time since, Mr. John Lundon, formerly M.H.R. for the Bay of Islands District, went down to Samoa (Navigator Islands) on some private business. By the last mail from Samoa, letters were received from him, in which he stated that a great deal of discontent prevailed there amongst

both natives and Europeans with the nature of the Government, and that a petition would be generally signed, praying that the islands should be annexed to New Zealand. The Government is a singular mixture, and comes under no form of government with which the world has hitherto been familiar: consequently it has not a name. Theoretically, the native chiefs are the sovereigns, but practically their rule is not so powerful as that of the Consuls, who meddle in everything, their influence, again, being crossed by that of the missionaries, who in their turn are watched by those Europeans who have acquired commercial interests in the group. Mr. Landon, at the time he wrote, had no knowledge of the Annexation Act which has been passed by the New Zealand Parliament, or that any such proposal had been made, and it is somewhat singular that he should have suggested the very method of procedure which is laid down in the Act. There would probably, in the case of the Samoan Islands, be a difficulty in the fact that the British Government have recognized the authority of the chiefs; but that could no doubt be got over. The Annexation Act, we may remark, has been reserved for Her Majesty's assent, and this fact will elicit from the British Government some expression of opinion on its policy and methods. The whole matter has been laid before Sir George Grey, who recommends that a form of petition should be drawn up under the Act, and forwarded to Mr. Landon to obtain signatures. This, we understand, is being done, and it is not at all improbable that, in this direction, the Annexation and Confederation Act of New Zealand may bear fruit at an early date.

Tuesday, September 18, 1883.

PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF SAMOA.

THE following is a petition which has been prepared by Mr. J. A. Tole, M.H.R. and which is to be sent to Samoa for signature:—

To the Government of the Colony of New Zealand.—The petition of us, the undersigned hereditary chiefs, heads of tribes, and other aborigines of the Samoan or Navigators Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, and also of us, the undersigned European inhabitants of the said islands, sheweth:—1. That your petitioners have heretofore viewed with the deepest concern the relations subsisting between the two races, and the unsatisfactory condition of political government and social order, upon which the prosperity of these islands in a great degree depends.—2. That your petitioners rejoice to learn that the Legislature of New Zealand have enacted a measure to facilitate the annexation to the Colony of New Zealand of any island or islands in the Pacific, whose inhabitants may make proposals to that effect to you, as the Government of the said Colony.—3. It is firmly believed by your petitioners that, if negotiations were, under the provisions of the enactment, carried on to a successful issue, the evil consequences which have resulted from the existing state of affairs in these Islands generally, and against which your petitioners most anxiously and urgently desire to provide, would no longer continue.—4. Your petitioners earnestly point out to your Government the desirability as early as possible of causing the appointment of a Commissioner or Commission to conduct with, us or some fit and proper persons appointed by us, negotiations relative to the annexation of these Islands to New Zealand.—5. Your petitioners do not at this stage think it necessary to enter upon the several grave questions as to customs and territorial rights of your aboriginal petitioners, as also the establishment of laws and institutions applicable to aborigines or Europeans, the due regard to the just rights of both races of inhabitants, and generally such other important questions which would naturally have to be considered in arriving at a basis of such annexation, or the terms upon which such annexation might be satisfactorily concluded, all of which matters would more properly arise when the above-mentioned Commissioner or Commission may be appointed.

Your petitioners therefore most sincerely and respectfully pray, that your Government will, in accordance with the spirit and intention of the Act passed by the Legislative Assembly of New Zealand, listen to the appeal which we now make to you, by enabling your petitioners, by annexation to your colony, to secure to these islands lasting peace, and that good order and government which your colony enjoys.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

No. 2.

Mr. JOHN LONDON to the PREMIER.

SIR,—

Onehunga, February 25th, 1884.

I have lately been to the Samoan (Navigators) group of islands, and while there I had three meetings with the Samoan Parliament, and I advised them to get their islands annexed to New Zealand. This the Parliament unanimously agreed to do. I was the bearer of some papers which were addressed to the Hon. F. Whitaker, Premier, and to the Government and Parliament of New Zealand.

I laid the papers before Sir F. Whitaker, after his return from the Conference at Sydney, and before he held his public meeting on Federation. He said that, if I liked, he would forward the papers to you, but that you would be in Auckland in three weeks, and he recommended that he should keep the papers until you arrived, and he and I could then discuss the whole matter with you. Last Saturday (23rd) I again called on him, when he told me you would be up here in ten or twelve days. I afterwards met the Hon. J. Bryce in the street, and he told me he did not think you were coming further than Taranaki, and kindly offered me a passage in the "Hinemoa" to go to see you on the matter. I should have availed myself of this offer, had it not been for my understanding with Sir F. Whitaker.

My motive in writing to you is, to ask you if you are coming to Auckland soon, and when? And, if not, will you kindly make some arrangement for me to meet you for the purpose of

discussing the annexation of the Samoan Group, as I promised the Samoan Parliament that I would do my best in their interests with the Premier and Government of New Zealand.

The Hon. Major Atkinson, Premier of New Zealand.

Yours, &c.

JOHN LONDON.

No. 3.

The PREMIER to Mr. LONDON.

SIR,—

Government Offices, Wellington, March 20, 1884.

I duly received your letter of February 25th, respecting your visit to the Navigator Islands, and as to the proposals made respecting their future government.

I should have written to you sooner, had I not been hoping, day by day, to be able to fix the time for my visit to Auckland. Even now, I am not quite certain as to the matter, but I shall be very shortly, and I will then write again, giving you the date of my arrival in Auckland.

I have, &c.

John London, Esq. Onehunga.

H. A. ATKINSON.

No. 4.

The PREMIER to Mr. LONDON.

John London, Esq. Onehunga.

Wellington, May 5th.

I HOPE to arrive Auckland Thursday next.

H. A. ATKINSON.

No. 5.

The PREMIER to Mr. LONDON.

SIR,—

Government Offices, Wellington, May 30, 1884.

I have now the honour to state, in writing, the opinions I expressed to you at our recent interview in Auckland, upon the alleged desire of certain Chiefs and a considerable section of the people of the Samoan group, to secure the annexation of those islands to New Zealand. At that interview, you explained your action during your late visit to the group, respecting which you had written to me; and you stated that a deputation desired to visit this Colony to urge their views upon Ministers.

My colleagues agree with the opinions I stated to you, namely, that, the Assembly having passed "The Confederation and Annexation Bill, 1883," which was reserved for the expression of Her Majesty's pleasure, and has not yet been assented to, the Government are not in any way empowered to receive applications for annexation; and that now—in the absence of authority, and while the Imperial Government have the matter under consideration—to take action of any kind respecting Samoa, or to encourage the visit of the proposed deputation, would certainly prejudice, if not defeat, the object which it is stated a large proportion of the people of the group desire to secure.

I have, &c.

John London, Esq. Onehunga.

H. A. ATKINSON.