

**Record of the
Proceedings of the Queensland Parliament**

...
**Legislative Assembly
10th July 1860**
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Extracted from the third party account as published in the
Moreton Bay Courier 12th July 1860

The Speaker took the chair at the usual hour, and read prayers.

THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY.

After some notices of motion had been given,

Mr. MACALISTER asked, pursuant to notice, whether the government intended to take any steps for having the southern boundary of this colony extended, as contemplated by the Constitution Act. He knew that it was not competent for him to enter into any arguments at that time, but he would state, as a matter of fact, that he referred to that part of the Constitution Act which empowered the Queen to separate the territory at the 30th parallel of latitude.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY understood the hon. member to refer to that portion of the act mentioned, and in reply to the question would state that, although the government had the matter under consideration, they had not thought it advisable to take action upon it, inasmuch as the question involved the separation of a further portion of the territory of New South Wales. The government were aware that considerable agitation was taking place in the districts involved in the question, and they were anxious that their fellow colonists should enjoy the privileges and advantages accruing from separation, but he thought that it would be for the people of those districts themselves to move in the matter, inasmuch as it was hardly likely that the voice of Queensland—being that of an interested party—would have very much weight.

ASSESSMENT ON RUNS.

Mr. ROYDS asked the Colonial Secretary, pursuant to notice—Whether it was the intention of the government to bring in a bill this session for altering the present system of assessment on occupied runs.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY replied that the government did not intend to introduce a measure of the kind during the present session of parliament.

PROPOSED RESCISSION OF VOTE.

Mr. FERRETT wished to give notice of motion to the effect that he should move for the recommitment of the estimates for 1860, in order that the house might rescind the votes passed for the salaries of the troopers and office keepers to the commissioners of crown lands in the country districts.

The SPEAKER said that, as no report had yet been made to the house of the proceedings of the committee, it was hardly competent for the hon. member to place such a notice of motion on the paper.

Mr. FERRETT, in deference to the opinion of the Speaker, and with the permission of the house, would withdraw the notice, with the view of putting it in proper form.

THE NORTHERN ROAD.

Mr. JORDAN stated, with reference to the motion standing in his name for placing £2000

upon the supplementary estimates for repairing and improving the course of the northern road, that, with the permission of the house, he should postpone it for one week, pending the investigation now being conducted by the Committee on Internal Communication.

INTRODUCTION OF UNEMPLOYED FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

Mr. HALY moved pursuant to notice, " That this House will, on Wednesday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to consider of an Address to the Governor, praying that his Excellency will be pleased to cause the sum of £1,500 to be placed on the Supplementary Estimates for 1860, for the purpose of giving free passages to the unemployed working classes from the neighboring colony of New South Wales to the ports of Wide Bay and Rockhampton." He thought it was unnecessary for him to say much, because he thought hon. members could not refuse such a reasonable sum for so useful a purpose. By acceding to the motion they would be doing a good turn to their fellow-countrymen of New South Wales, and benefitting their own countrymen as well. Labor was now very scarce in the Burnett district, and shepherds were getting wages at the rate of £35 and £40. He thought the squatters of that district had a strong claim upon the house on account of the hardships and losses they had experienced, and when he informed the hon. members that it was not a merely local question, but on which affected the prosperity of the colony.

Mr. BLAKENEY seconded the motion.

The COLONIAL TREASURER regretted that he should have to oppose a motion brought forward by his hon. colleague in the representation of the Burnett, but he felt bound to do so on the part of the government. It was not only undesirable to interfere in a matter in which the government of New South Wales might act, if they wished to deport these people, but it would be introducing a most undesirable class of labor. (Hear, hear.) Hon. members might remember that, some short time since, they had had an importation of such labor from Sydney—the people being forwarded by government, and when the people came, it was found that they were downright " loafers," and many of them just came to look about them and go back again. He was not, for his part, a believer in " the unemployed," for they generally turned out to be idle and worthless characters. The hon. gentleman then read various items from the estimates to show that the amounts voted for public works were such as to leave no surplus money for the purpose mooted by the hon. member.

Mr. GORE opposed the motion, denouncing the class of labor proposed to be introduced as most objectionable.

Mr. LILLEY followed on the same side, and said that he could endorse every word that the Colonial Treasurer had uttered with regard to the class of labor referred to. Some of the last importation of the kind had never done a day's work since they came here, and it would be a mistake to introduce more of the same sort. He thought the house should not attempt to deal with the question, especially as there was a committee sitting to enquire into the best mode of introducing immigration. (Hear.)

Mr. RAFF thought the Colonial Treasurer had never made, and was never likely to make, a speech to which the House could more heartily respond than that he had uttered on this topic. The class proposed to be introduced were not men who could not get employment, but who would not take it if they could get it, (hear, hear,)—and even supposing they were deserving characters, it would be doing a direct injustice to New South Wales to draw away from her people who had been introduced into the country at her cost. (Hear.)

Mr. FITZSIMMONS also opposed the motion. The characters referred to were, in a very large majority of cases, persons who had fallen to the depths of degradation by drunkenness and dissipation, and hence most unfit to be introduced into this colony.

Mr. TAYLOR said that the Colonial Treasurer had told them, when he brought forward his budget, that they would have a surplus of something like £11,000, but it appeared that they were short of funds already. He (Mr. T.) believed they would soon be heavily in debt if they went on as

they had begun, and if some hon. members had only protested against many of the extravagant votes of an extravagant ministry, they might have been able to get a little money for such purposes as this. (Laughter.) He did not, however, agree with the motion at all, and thought they could be doing wrong in introducing such an undesirable class—many of whom had already refused 7s. 6d. a day in Sydney.

Mr. BUCKLEY said that a similar question arose in the Sydney Assembly about four years ago, and one of the ablest committees ever appointed enquired into the subject. That committee was formed of gentlemen unconnected with either house, and it was found that, by their report, certain favored localities were selected to which the unemployed were to be sent—places where labor was scarce, and the gentlemen forming the committee had interest. He thought the principle involved was of far more importance than appeared on the face of the resolutions, and if New South Wales had any desire to get rid of the class referred to, she ought to send them here instead of our paying for their coming. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WATTS cordially endorsed all that had been said by the hon. member for East Moreton. If such a plan were carried out they might rest assured of their goals being well filled.

Mr. HALY replied briefly, and concluded by withdrawing the motion.

SHERIFF'S BAILIFF AT IPSWICH.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN withdrew the motion standing in his name, viz. :—" That this House will, on Wednesday next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole to consider of an address to the Governor, praying that his Excellency will be pleased to cause the sum of £60 to be placed on the supplementary estimates for 1860, being portion of £120 annual rate of salary for a local Sheriff's bailiff at Ipswich." His reason for asking the withdrawal was that he understood the object would be carried out by a select committee now sitting.

NAVIGATION OF THE BRISBANE AND BREMER.

Mr. MACALISTER moved—" That this house will, on Wednesday next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to consider of an address to the Governor, praying that his Excellency will be pleased to cause to be placed on the supplementary estimates for 1860, the sum of two thousand pounds for the improvement of the navigation of the rivers Brisbane and Bremer, between Brisbane and Ipswich." He regretted that it was out of his power to adopt the suggestion of his hon. friend, the member for East Moreton, by withdrawing the motion. The question was one of immediate, pressing importance, and could not, therefore be deferred without injury to every interest in the colony. The navigation of the river between Ipswich and Brisbane was, from its direct and indirect connection with all the leading interests of the colony, a subject of general attraction. Nearly the whole of the produce from the westward and south-west came down via the Brisbane and Bremer rivers for the purpose of shipment at Brisbane, and therefore it might fairly be said that the whole country had a deep interest in the object of his motion. Indeed the subject was one of such great and pressing importance, that he was astonished to find the necessary sum had not been placed on the Estimates in the ordinary way. The construction of an electric telegraph line to Warwick had been duly provided for, but it did not possess half the importance which the improved navigation of those rivers implied. He freely admitted that a great deal of money had been wasted in the attempt to facilitate the navigation of these rivers. Not only had the money been wasted, but it was now ascertained that the operations upon which it had been expended had been the means of rendering the Brisbane even less navigable than it was before. He concluded by stating that until the obstructions were removed at the Seventeen Mile Rocks and the junction of the Bremer, the full and equal navigation of either river would never be realised.

Mr. RICHARDS seconded the motion.

The COLONIAL TREASURER pointed out that the mere fact of so much money having been wasted in the attempt to clear the navigation of those rivers was an unanswerable reason why they should await further and more complete surveys before incurring additional expenditure.

There was another reason why the government could not assent to the proposed vote, and that was the simple fact that there was no money at their disposal for this service during the present year. It must be borne in mind moreover that the improvements contemplated were such as could be most appropriately and economically carried out by the steam dredge shortly to be brought into operation.

Mr. BROUGHTON who had come down the river that day detailed certain information to the house which he had obtained from the captain of the vessel. He stated amongst other things that the removal of certain obstructions at the Seventeen Mile Rocks had led to an increase of the shoal in other parts and that the steamer in coming down had twice bumped on a shoal which was never known to exist before. As for the surveys that had been made he believed them to be valueless. He could not see the philosophy of sending a land surveyor to do a marine surveyor's work. (Hear, hear.)

The COLONIAL SECRETARY concurred in all that had fallen from the hon. mover relative to the desirability of improving the navigation of the Brisbane and Bremer rivers, but at the same time pointed out that according to the opinion of some people the removal of the obstructions at the seventeen mile rocks would, by increasing the rapidity of the current, lessen the depth of water above, and thus perhaps ruin the navigation altogether. These were matters which would have to be scientifically considered, and he thought they might very appropriately form one of the first subjects of investigation by the marine surveyor who was expected to arrive next month.

Mr. BUCKLEY would have voted for the motion most willingly had it been merely intended to place a sum on the estimates for the purpose of a survey. This he conceived to be the first step necessary to any real improvement in the Brisbane and Ipswich rivers. As for the bumping alluded to, he imagined that if the captain had started a little earlier he would have experienced no bumping whatever. There had already been a sufficiently large amount wastefully appropriated to this service without voting the very large expenditure which was now proposed. It was generally known to scientific people that the removal of obstructions from one part of the river without placing them conveniently in another would impair the navigation by increasing the shallowness of the water in the upper portions.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN supported the motion, which after a few words from Mr. MACALISTER in reply was put and passed.

PETITION PRINTED.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS moved, " That the petition, presented by him on the 5th instant, from certain inhabitants of Wide Bay, be printed."

The motion, after some remarks in which the Colonial Secretary, and Messrs. Macalister, Buckley, and Broughton took part, was put and passed.

CLERK ASSISTANT.

The CHAIRMAN of Committees brought up the report relative to the appointment of a Clerk Assistant, &c., which, on the motion of the Colonial Secretary, was agreed to.

LIEN ON WOOL BILL.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL moved—For leave to bring in a bill " To give a Lien on Wool and to make Mortgage of Sheep, Cattle and Horses."

Mr. BUCKLEY seconded the motion, which was carried, and the bill having been read a first time, the second reading was fixed for Thursday (this day.)

PUBLIC GRAMMAR SCHOOLS BILL.

On the motion of the COLONIAL SECRETARY this bill was read a first time and the second reading fixed as an order of the day for Tuesday next.

CENSUS BILL.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY moved that this bill be read a second time, and in doing so explained that it was framed on the same principles as those embodied in the Census Bills of other colonies. It was desirable that there should be an uniformity in this respect in order that the whole information of the census might be taken in the whole of the colonies on the same day and in the same manner. One great advantage which would result from the ensuing census consisted in the additional light it would afford them in reference to the population of the several electoral districts. The information thus derived might be very valuable in enabling them to effect a more equitable distribution of the representation. The hon. gentleman also stated that it was the intention of the government to introduce a short bill repealing so much of the existing law as rendered it necessary every year to collect a new electoral roll. The plan he proposed was the same as that adopted in England whereby persons as they became entitled to be inserted on the electoral roll could have their wishes gratified by merely forwarding a notice to the proper authorities. The expense of an annual collection would thus be entirely saved.

After some remarks from Mr. WATTS in support, the motion was put and passed, and the committal of the bill fixed for Wednesday week.

MESSAGES FROM THE GOVERNOR.

Messages from his Excellency the Governor were received and read, signifying his compliance with certain votes of the house, and his assent on behalf of her Majesty to the Gold Export Duty Repeal Bill.

MESSAGE FROM THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

A message from the Legislative Council was received and read, signifying the approval of that body to the resolutions relative to the appointment of Commissioners.

ABOLITION OF STATE-AID TO RELIGION.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY, in moving the second reading of this bill, explained that he had not felt it necessary on a former occasion to answer the remarks of the hon. member for Toowoomba, as he knew the Government would be compelled to express their opinions on the subject on the present occasion. The principle involved was a very simple one, being nothing more than the withdrawal altogether of money grants from the revenue in aid of religion. The bill, however, contained a clause empowering the government to grant in certain cases and under certain conditions small portions of land for church purposes. This power of alienation was exercised by the government in various other matters, and when moderately exercised, he thought it ought not to be interfered with even in matters of religious concern. It was specially desirable that in the formation of new towns the religious communions should have the advantage of free building sites for their churches, for after all it was buildings such as these, and the attractions they usually possessed, that frequently gave a character and importance to the townships of the colony. The bill also contained a clause for commutation which he thought, after mature consideration, might be withdrawn altogether, or materially modified in committee. (Hear, hear.) In thus withdrawing state aid from religion, he believed the government were doing that which would most subserve its real interests. Being compelled to depend upon its own inherent vitality, it would receive a stimulus such as the system of state aid was incapable of imparting, and he believed this was the opinion of the particular church to which he belonged. At all events, it was the opinion of the bishop and the clergymen coming out under him.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL seconded the motion.

Mr. WATTS moved, as an amendment, that the bill be read a second time that day six months. He contended that the abolition of state-aid would amount, in point of practice to an utter annihilation of religion. He contended further that those who agitated for abolition formed only a very small section of the thirty thousand persons who were supposed to inhabit this colony. He had no doubt whatever that if the whole colony were polled, a very large majority of the people would be found favorable to the continuance of state-aid. Why then should twenty-six gentlemen, sitting in that chamber, acting upon mere theories of their own, take upon themselves suddenly to

deprive the whole colony of its principal means of supporting religion. The hon. member here quoted figures to show that in every instance where religion had been left to the voluntary principle for support it had languished and lost ground. He cited as one example the Free Church Sustentation Fund in Scotland, which was liberal enough so long as the novelty of separation from the parent church lasted, but which had latterly fallen away to such an extent as to preclude many of the clergymen from assistance altogether. He also quoted the case of America, and endeavoured to prove that, with two or three exceptions, the voluntary system in that land had lamentably failed in providing the means for disseminating the ordinances of religion, notwithstanding that all the ingenuities of beggary had been resorted to. He maintained that the voluntary system was only calculated to degrade clergymen both in their own estimation and in that of the world. If it were carried out to the full extent he believed that very few gentlemen would be found willing to study for the pulpit, and they would thus have imported into the ministry a class of men who might be selling a yard of tape to-day and preaching the gospel to-morrow. He did not think that any of them desired to see such a state of things come to pass, and he therefore hoped that the majority of hon. members would vote for his amendment.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN seconded the motion.

Mr. LILLEY thought that after the manner in which State-aid had been discussed out of doors, and the decisive vote of the other night, he might very well abstain from saying a word on this occasion. But there had been one objection offered by the hon. mover which he could not allow to pass unnoticed. The hon. member had told them that, under the voluntary system they might have a man selling a yard of tape one day and preaching the Gospel the next. This was the first time he had heard that a man's trade or calling was an obstacle in the sight of God to his preaching the Gospel. (Hear, hear.) Indeed he had always understood that the whole teaching and spirit of the Holy Scriptures conveyed precisely the opposite effect. If he remembered rightly, Paul was a tent maker, whilst Christ himself was a carpenter, or the son of a carpenter. But to come down to modern times, how many persons did they find who, like Elihu Burrett the great linguist and blacksmith, believed it to be their duty to preach the Gospel, not only on the Sabbath but even on week days, amidst the sparks of their own anvils. As for the church dying if State-aid were withdrawn, he thought the argument was absurd when he remembered how many proofs the world had furnished to the contrary. Let them look at Wesleyanism throughout the world, or Roman Catholicism in England and Ireland. Neither of these bodies received a farthing of assistance from the State, and yet no one could deny that they both flourished, and that to an extent which was almost incredible considering the enormous difficulties they had to contend with. Even the state church itself was indebted to the voluntary principle for any advance she had ever made in missionary enterprise. What was it but the voluntary principle that sent out Livingstone, and what was it but the subscriptions of voluntaries that caused the Bible to be circulated in all parts of the world, and in all languages. He had not the slightest doubt that if the whole population of the colony were polled an immense majority would be discovered in favour of this principle.

The COLONIAL TREASURER observed that the question was not so much whether state-aid should be discontinued as whether state-aid should be established, for up to the present time it could scarcely be said to have had any existence at all in this colony. He had no hesitation in saying that the abolition of state-aid to religion would rather conduce to than damage the cause of real religion. If they wanted any examples to assure them of this fact, they had only to look around and examine how it was that other bodies were so pre-eminently successful in all their religious operations, although they received not a farthing from the state. He was aware of instances in the country where liberal salaries had been raised by voluntary subscription, for the purpose of inducing clergymen to go and settle in the remote parts, but unfortunately without success. By making churches, however, entirely dependent on the voluntary system, evils of this kind could be easily rectified, for the laity having the full command of the purse strings, could of course influence the distribution of the money according to the requirements of each case. Another good effect resulting from a general system of voluntarism would be the repression of despotism on the part of the bishop, who, they were aware, sometimes very capriciously

consulted his own feelings as to where clergymen should be stationed, and where they should not. (Hear, hear.) Fortunately, the bishop and clergymen who were now coming out to the colony perfectly understood that they were to depend exclusively on the voluntary system, and they had made their arrangements accordingly.

Mr. RAFF said that when an hon. member made an inconsiderate or incorrect statement, it was the duty of any other hon. member to take the earliest opportunity of correcting him. Now the hon. member for Toowoomba had told them that the abolition of state-aid (for such appeared to be his meaning) would involve the annihilation of religion altogether. It appeared to him (Mr. Raff) that such an opinion could only be seriously entertained by a person who believed religion to be nothing more than a device of man. (Hear, hear.) If religion were really the Divine principle they all supposed it to be, they must all admit that no act of man could annihilate it ; and if it were not that Divine principle, they must all agree with him, that its annihilation would be of very little consequence to the higher interests of humanity. But the hon. member, in taking them to America in illustration of his argument, had not ventured to say that religion there had been annihilated, nor even that it had lost any portion of its natural vitality. On the contrary, everything in that country went to show that the further religion was withdrawn from the state the more vigorously it flourished.

Mr. JORDAN said he believed that every hon. member felt that the question now under consideration was one of the greatest importance. He thought there could be little difference of opinion as to what was likely to be the result of this debate ; this day this great question would be settled, and Queensland would be the second of the Australian colonies to effect this great reform of doing away with State-aid to religion. He did not wish, however, for a moment to forget that there were hon. members of that house who entertained very different views on this question ; for their conscientious convictions he entertained the highest respect, and were it only in courtesy to them, he thought it was right that those who took his views should state some of those considerations which brought them to an opposite conclusion. Further, as this would be almost the first Act of the Queensland Legislature on a question of great importance, he thought the case demanded that, while they did not attempt any systematic vindication of the principle they wished to see affirmed, they should at least give a general statement, with some of those reasons by which the soundness of the principle might be demonstrated. The speaker said he was aware that there were honourable members who were more than half convinced that voluntaryism was a sound principle, but who only doubted its success under our present circumstances, with our scattered population in the bush, and he hoped that their doubts might be removed, and that possibly they might almost unanimously arrive at a right conclusion on this important question. A clever statesman of the present day who had written in defence of a State church, had said that one of the great ends of government, as a government, was the propagation of religious truth. To this article in the political creed of a great statesman voluntaryists could not possibly subscribe. They believed that the duties of government terminated with the protection of temporal interests, that the functions of government were purely secular, and that a great mistake was committed whenever government overstepped the limits of its duties, and interfered with matters purely religious. The speaker could not understand how any one could approve of State-aid to religion, especially as administered in these colonies, without admitting that religion, not being strong in its own strength, needed to be upheld by the state ; the community at large, not being willing to support religion, ought to be compelled to do so ; that four systems of religious belief were so nearly alike good, that all persons should be compelled to pay for the support of each and all indiscriminately. He would take the first proposition, that religion, not being strong in itself, ought to be held up by the State. To this he could never assent, contradicted as it was by history, by observation, and by common sense. Divine in its origin, possessing an inherent strength and power, religion declined the support of the secular power, and refused to live by the patronage of kings. When christianity was young and unprotected by governments, religion in its simplest and purest form flourished and spread till old Pagan Rome was subdued by its power ; but when emperors patronized and endowed the church its vitality and strength speedily declined, till little was left but an empty form. Religion came freely to man to do him good, but it came in the dignity

of its own divinity ; it wanted no human patronage ; it would dwell in the court and in the hovel, in the city and in the camp, but it demanded to be unfettered and free, untrammelled and unpatronized. The speaker alluded to some of the evils connected with an “ establishment ” in England, and while heartily admitting the good derived from the labours of the Church of England clergy at home, denied that this resulted from the connexion of the state with the church. The question in England of the abolition of a state church was encumbered with difficulties, and perhaps could not be effected without spoliation and wrong, but in Australia there was no “ establishment,” and here in Queensland there was no state pay to religion ; and as he believed in religion as true—as he hoped everything from the operation of its influence of what was best and most to be coveted for the land of his adoption—he earnestly hoped and believed there never would be. The speaker then combatted the view that the people were unwilling to pay for the support of religion, stating several facts in connexion with the operations of the voluntary churches in this city in proof that there was a disposition on the part of the people connected with these churches to pay generously to the support of their ministers and the erection of places of worship. He admitted there had been difficulty in the matter with the English Episcopal Church. Accustomed to lean on the state for support, the members of that church had not been educated to give. He (the speaker) though not brought up as a member of the Church of England, had never-the less been in the habit of attending her services, had learned to admire her liturgy, and to approve almost all her doctrines, and he would never believe there was anything in these tending to narrow a man’s soul, and indispose him to acts of Christian duty and benevolence. The fault was in the system ; they had learn’t to locomote artificially, but take away the crutches, and they would stand alone, aye and run the race with any of the other churches. He saw, however, the utmost inconsistency in the mode in which State-aid was administered in these colonies. If it were unjust to make him pay for any one specific form of religion, it only multiplied the evil, and aggravated the injustice, to compel people to pay to the support of four or five different religions of neither of which they might possibly approve. The Speaker here alluded to the establishment of the English Church in Ireland, and said it was a gross injustice which compelled six millions of Roman Catholics to pay for the support of a religion which they believed to be a dangerous heresy ; and that no reparation was made, but another act of great injustice committed, when the Protestant people of England were taxed to support the College of Maynooth. But this afforded an illustration of the maze of difficulty in which government sometimes got entangled by one false step in legislation. He thought we should look at the other colonies. Had the endowment of religion by the state succeeded there ? If so, why had they abolished it long since in South Australia, voted sixty thousand pounds to get rid of it in Tasmania, and been struggling to be free from the incubus in the other two colonies. Had the English Church progressed in proportion with the advancement of the great overgrown city, Sydney ? In consequence of their superior numbers they had the lion’s share in government money ; but did they find no difficulty in building their churches ? Why was St. Andrew’s Cathedral unfinished ? Twenty and five years had this church been in building, and no one believed it would ever be finished ; it seemed it was to remain there as a standing monument of the weakness and inefficiency of the system of government support to religion. But many would admit the voluntary system would answer in the towns, but what was to save people in the bush ? He would answer church missionary societies, established on the voluntary principle. These had been tried with great success, and one of the churches had its ministers in the greater part of the principal bush towns in Australia, and these missions had, in almost all cases, very soon proved to be self-supporting ; and much more could be accomplished, for there were applications for ministers from a great number of other places, with promises of support, but they were in want, not of the money, but of the men. He, therefore, could not think there was the least force in the argument of the sparseness of our population, for the continuance of state-aid. Indeed, he thought those who used it felt its weakness—they felt that state-aid was doomed, and as a drowning man catches at a straw, they seized upon this, desperately hoping that it might prove the ark of safety for the whole system. Should we perpetuate a system which we believed to be unjust, inexpedient, and injurious to the cause of religion simply because there were many scattered about in the bush who could not come into town to church ? Let the churches go to them. Was it asked where are the men to come from ? He answered from every

denomination of protestant christians who have churches in the towns. Already one of them had been very successful in these home missionary efforts. Once establish the voluntary system and the other churches would not be far behind. At this time they knew the bishop of Brisbane was on his way to this colony accompanied by a number of clergymen, and he (the speaker) hailed their coming with great satisfaction. He believed the bishop was eminently qualified for the high and responsible position he would occupy here as head of his own church. He was evidently a learned, devoted, and earnest man, and he was glad to see that the bishop was expecting, on his arrival here, that he should have to depend solely on voluntary effort for support. Acting upon this he had been appealing to the benevolence of the Christian public at home for assistance, and with success. He thought the bishop would be so well satisfied with the result of his efforts that on his arrival here he would desire nothing better than to be left to carry out his own plans without government interference in any shape, on the voluntary principle. The speaker rejoiced to think that, on the bishop's arrival, he would find that government aid was abolished, and then he would enter upon a career of usefulness by far exceeding his most sanguine expectations. He believed that the Church of England, in common with the other churches, had a great mission of good to accomplish in Queensland, and that, acting under the healthful stimulus of the voluntary principle, their zeal, and their Christian emulation, and their self-reliance and energy, would be called forth in a manner never seen before in Australia, and that this new colony of Queensland would become the most religious, and therefore the most prosperous of all the dependencies of the British crown.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said he had listened to the prayer of the little gentleman, the hon. member for North Brisbane, and had felt some surprise that the hon. gentleman whilst praying for the safe arrival of the Church of England Bishop did not also pray for the Catholic Bishop, who was shortly expected to arrive.

Mr. GORE rose to order : He did not think the phrase ' little gentleman ' was a parliamentary expression.

The SPEAKER ruled that it was not, and

Mr. O'SULLIVAN withdrew it. He quite agreed with the hon. member for Toowoomba that the abolition of State-aid to Religion would lead to the installation of an inferior class of preachers. He remembered an anecdote which, to a certain extent, would illustrate his meaning. One of these preachers, representing himself to be full of the Gospel, went over to Ireland, accompanied by his mother, for the purpose of converting the " ignorant peasantry." During one of his ministrations, it came out that he could not read, and, on being asked how he managed to get over the difficulty, he replied, " my mother reads and I expounds." (Laughter.) Doubtless under a complete system of voluntaryism we should have many similar examples of the mother reading and the son expounding. As for the building of the Catholic Church at Ipswich, which had been referred to as an instance of what might be expected from the voluntary principle, he might state that it took ten years to raise the necessary funds. With regard to the present movement to abolish state-aid, he attributed it entirely to the hon. member for Ipswich (Mr. Macalister). He did not know what that gentleman's religion might be, or whether he possessed any at all. [The hon. member was here ruled to be grossly out of order.] In fact he believed, with the Bishop of Newcastle, that state-aid was only advocated by those who could talk the best. [Here the hon. member proceeded to analyse a published speech of Mr. Macalister's to prove that gentleman's inconsistencies, but as these were not considered to be material to the issue, he was again ruled out of order.] In conclusion, he said he had no fear for the safety of his own church, even though the voluntary system should be carried out in its entirety.

Mr. TAYLOR rose with very great diffidence to address the house on this occasion, especially after the eloquent speech of the hon. member for North Brisbane. He was told that the Roman Catholic clergy had not agreed among themselves as to the merits of this bill, and he did not wonder at it, for a more wishy-washy production never emanated from any ministry. (Laughter.) With regard to the voluntary principle which was sought to be introduced, he would say a word or two in reference to its working. He had sat under the ministrations of the

Wesleyans for some years, and he could therefore bear testimony to the fact that they were a very wily meddling sort of people, and no wonder, for they were continually out from morning till night practising the art of begging. (Laughter.) They were the most remarkable people in the world for dragging money out of your pocket ; but he would ask was such a system of beggary in any way suited to the dignity and position of a clergyman. After all, the funds so raised were not nearly sufficient for the purposes they were intended to meet, even in the towns, and if such was the case in the towns it was very clear that the country districts would have to go without religion altogether. As for the boasted £9000 raised for Church buildings in Brisbane, he could tell the hon. member who made the assertion that a very large proportion of the money was collected in the country, and from different denominations. The result, however, of this bill, if carried, would be to compel every one to subscribe only for his own church, and hence those voluntary churches who had been in the habit of receiving contributions from other denominations would find it in future very difficult to live.

Mr. BROUGHTON remarked that the last hon. member seemed to view this bill in the same light that a person viewed his tailors. (Mr. Taylor : I do nothing of the kind—laughter.) He quite concurred in nearly every remark that had fallen from the hon. member for North Brisbane, especially as to the fact of State-aid, inducing an inactivity highly-detrimental to the vital action of religion.

Mr. MACALISTER said that, before addressing himself to the matter in hand, he would just observe that it was not his intention to take any notice of the lamentable scene by which the house has been disgraced at an earlier period of the debate. He would, however, give expression to the hope that, in the event of a recurrence of such a scene, the house would interfere and exercise its undoubted privilege. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member for Drayton and Toowoomba, when bringing forward his amendment to the house, remarked that a similar measure had been introduced into the Assembly of New South Wales, and rejected. This could hardly be said to be the fact. Such a bill was introduced, and was triumphantly carried at its second reading by an overwhelming majority, but a change of ministry took place very soon afterwards, and the bill fell to the ground from that cause, and that cause alone. In other colonies besides New South Wales, such measures had been carried, and had become the law of the land. He (Mr. M.) affirmed that the system of State-aid to religion was bad in every shape and form— bad even if it were given to all denominations alike ; and the very giving of it was injurious to the cause of religion itself. Let them look at the country from which they had sprung. Was it to the state establishment that it was indebted for its position with regard to religion and morality ? No ; it was to dissenters, to voluntaryists, that she was indebted. The same might be said of Scotland, where, notwithstanding the assertions of the hon. member who moved the amendment, voluntaryism flourished ; and he could assure that hon. member that his information was erroneous, from whatever quarter he derived it, for no church in that country, except that established by law, was ever in a more successful position than now. (Hear, hear.) He regretted to observe that no arguments had been adduced by the hon. mover of the amendment on which it was possible to lay hold, although he appeared to be very bold in his cause, and had declared it to be his duty to himself and his duty to his God, to stand forth for his amendment. Nothing but mere assertions had been brought forward, and with regard to what had been said with reference to the practice of preaching by unordained men, he would say that he thought it an honor and a credit to any man who could follow his regular avocations through the week and preach the gospel on the Sabbath. Really the hon. member seemed to think that religion consisted in paying men a certain sum of money, and keeping them in a certain position. (Hear.) Religion was a vital principle in the human heart, and could not be improved by the system of State-aid, which was bad in principle, and vicious in its operation. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GORE, in rising to support the second reading of the bill, alluded in very complimentary terms to the speech of the hon. member for North Brisbane (Mr. Jordan), and said that it would have done credit to any assembly of the kind. He was sorry, therefore, that the hon. member should have been subjected to insult. He (Mr. G.) had listened to the speech of the honourable member for Drayton and Toowoomba, with the hope that he should have heard something like

argument in favor of the views of that hon. member, but he had heard nothing of the kind. He (Mr. G.) believed the system of state aid to be a vicious system, and thought that no church would have to complain of insufficient support if voluntaryism were fairly tried. He had never entertained the idea that the return of the hon. member for Ipswich (Mr. O'Sullivan) would tend to increase or improve the dignity of the house, but he had hoped that the hon. member's deficiency in education would have been made up for in some measure by his mother wit, and that his addresses to the house would be short and to the purpose. Such, however, had not been the case. The hon. member had taken up far too much of the time of the house in taking upon questions of which he was ignorant, in fostering local prejudices, and in endeavouring to create sectarian feeling—

Mr. WATTS rose to order. He thought the hon. member was following the course for which he had condemned the other hon. member previously.

The SPEAKER suggested that the hon. member should confine himself more closely to the question.

Mr. GORE would bow to the decision of the Speaker, but he thought it was due to the character of the house that some notice should be taken of the hon. member's behaviour. Reverting to the subject, he was opposed to the very principle of state aid, and thought that the utmost they could do would be altogether inadequate and insufficient to meet the case, even if the system were adopted.

Mr. FORBES had listened with much attention to the arguments brought forward by the opponents of this measure, and he certainly must say that they had not made the slightest alteration in his convictions as to the desirability of doing away with the system. He firmly believed that state-aid was more likely to injure the cause of true religion than to foster it. The hon. gentleman who moved the amendment had alluded to America, but he thought he had ventured upon tender ground. He (the speaker) found that out of the 24,000,000 of inhabitants in that country, 14,000,000 were provided for in regard to religious matters, and that fact alone spoke well for the voluntary principle. He believed it to be utterly impossible to create a national religion in any country, and if it were possible, it would be unwise and improper to do so. (Hear.)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL wished to say a few words with regard to the vote he intended to give. Having made up his mind long ago that State-aid to religion was an evil, he could have no difficulty now, irrespective of his position in the ministry, in giving the bill before the house his most cordial assent. The term "State-aid to Religion" as generally understood, was inapplicable, inasmuch as on turning to Sir Richard Bourke's church Act, which constituted the entire foundation of the present system, he found that the arrangement was entered into merely as a temporary one, the state, under the peculiar circumstances of the colony, guaranteeing a certain amount to each of the four denominations on condition of the remainder being raised by voluntary subscriptions. It was never contemplated that the small amount then granted should continue for ever. Its sole object was to aid in the establishment of the Christian religion in Australia, and that object having been accomplished, the functions of the Act might be considered as having terminated, and consequently the time had arrived when the system should be formally abolished. In the mother country State-aid to Religion was on a very different footing. There they had a State church, and, as a matter of course the aid granted was intended to be permanent ; but even in England the church was supported almost as much by voluntary subscriptions as by State-aid. In the colonies, however, a state church was impossible, as the population was composed of persons from different nations and of different religions, all being under one set of laws, and possessing equal liberty. Such being the case, a state church in this colony would be utterly inconsistent with the spirit and genius of their institutions. As to whether the colony was in a position to support religion without the assistance of the state, he thought there were many reasons for believing that it could. In the time of Sir Richard Bourke the population likely to support religion was so small as to render it very doubtful whether religion could be supported at all, and hence the arrangement was entered into for granting temporary assistance from the state. But that time had long since passed away, and the population was now large enough and

wealthy enough to support religion without any assistance from the state. For his own part, he had no fear whatever that religion would suffer from the withdrawal of the small sum now granted in aid of it, whilst on the other hand, he was persuaded that the amount of voluntary subscriptions would be immensely increased. It was not only the mere existence of State-aid which induced people at present to withhold their voluntary subscriptions ; it was owing in a great measure to the arbitrary and improper manner in which the bishops distributed the state money. The hon. and learned member then proceeded to cite the example of South Australia and Tasmania in support of his argument, explaining that although the bill abolishing state-aid in the latter colony had not been assented to, owing to a technicality, yet the principle had been triumphantly affirmed. He agreed with those hon. members who thought the indisposition of the Church of England people to subscribe was owing in a great measure to their being accustomed to rely exclusively on state support. The hon. member next proceeded to show the inequitable character of the present system, whereby the public money was abstracted from the consolidated revenue and applied to purposes directly opposed to their conscientious convictions.

Mr. BUCKLEY observed that the hon. member for the Western Downs had proved himself singularly unfortunate in his argument. He had told them in the first instance that money could not be raised in the bush for the support of religion, and in the very next place he asserted that a large proportion of the £9000 raised for churches and chapels in Brisbane had actually been collected in the bush. This, he thought, the hon. member had completely cut the ground from under him. As for the support accorded to clergymen in the bush, he knew from past experience, that it was generally of the most liberal character. The hon. member here cited several cases, and said he might multiply them if it were necessary. He thought it was not a little singular that the hon. members representing the Downs— by far the richest portion of the country—inasmuch as they yielded a revenue of £8000 or £10,000 a year, should be among the loudest in proclaiming the inability of their constituents to support religion. The hon member then went on to state instances in which liberal salaries had been offered with a view of inducing clergymen to locate themselves in the bush, but without effect ; and he also adverted to his own experience in America, which led him to believe that in no part of the world was religion so well supported as in that country. He further alluded to the wonderful efforts of missionary labour in all parts of the world as a signal proof of the immense good the voluntary system had been the means of conferring, and concluded by deprecating the slur that had been cast on persons in the humble walks of life preaching the gospel.

Mr. HALY supported the amendment. Had been in the colony 21 years, and he never knew a voluntary to appear in any of the districts in which he had resided except on one occasion, and that was for the sole purpose of collecting money.

Mr. MOFFATT also opposed the bill, remarking that the question of State-aid to religion was not one on which hon. members at the last election were called upon to make any pledge. (Oh, oh.)

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said the question was one on which he distinctly pledged himself at the last election.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS opposed the bill on grounds similar to those already set forth, as did also Mr. FERRETT.

The amendment was then put and negatived as follows :—

Noes, 9.
Mr. Taylor
“ Royds
“ Fitzsimmons
“ Thorn
“ Ferrett
“ Haly
“ O’Sullivan

Ayes, 14.
Colonial-Secretary
Colonial-Treasurer
Mr. Gore
“ Raff
“ Lilley
“ Blakeney
“ Jordan

“ Watts } Tellers.
“ Moffatt }

“ Buckley
“ Broughton
“ Edmondstone
“ Forbes
“ Richards
Attorney-Gen. } Tellers
Mr. Mr. Macalister }

The original motion was accordingly carried, and the bill was read a second time.

The committal of the bill was ordered to stand an order of the day for Wednesday week.

The house adjourned at 25 minutes to 9 until 3 o'clock the next day.