

Queensland



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[Hansard]

Legislative Assembly

TUESDAY, 20 JUNE 1865

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Tuesday, 20 June, 1865.*Remittance of Money to the Imperial Emigration
Commissioners.REMITTANCE OF MONEY TO THE
IMPERIAL EMIGRATION COMMIS-
SIONERS.

MR. MACKENZIE: Mr. Speaker—It is with much personal regret, I may say, after the promising appearances at the commencement of this session of a harmonious combination of all parties in this House to carry on the Government successfully, that I find myself in the position of having to bring before the House, a motion which implies a very grave censure against the Government. It is not from choice, Mr. Speaker, I bring forward a motion of this kind. It will be in the recollection of the House, that, shortly after the opening of the session, whispers got abroad that our immigration affairs were getting into some confusion—that the Act of last session was not being carried out in its integrity. Questions were asked, and answers were given by the Government;—those answers may be satisfactory to the honorable members who put them, but they are not satisfactory to me. After a time, certain correspondence was laid on the table for our information. After a very minute consideration of that correspondence, I am compelled to say—as is stated in the resolutions which it is my intention to move—that the Government have acted in the most unconstitutional manner, both as regards the funds placed at their disposal for the promotion of immigration, and in the manner in which they have behaved towards the Agent-General for Emigration. That this feeling should have sprung up—that such a thing should have

happened, and so utterly unexpected—I must say, the Government are themselves very much to blame; first, by the manner in which a motion was made with regard to the Elections Committee; and then we were startled by an assertion on the part of the honorable the Secretary for Lands and Works, that it was the intention of the Government to devote money for one purpose, which had been voted for another. The motion which I bring before the House, divides itself into two parts—first, whether the Government have been authorised by this House in forwarding money to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners; and, second, whether they have been authorised by the Act of last session, and by the wish of the country, to continue immigration through the Imperial Emigration Commissioners; in conjunction with the system carried on by our Agent-General, Mr. Jordan. To shew that I have not altered my opinion since last session, I will take the liberty to read to the House, from that very valuable, but, I fear, very expensive work, the “Queensland Hansard,” what I said when our finances were under consideration:—

“The land revenue was at present not sufficient to support the amount of immigration. That, he understood, was a point taken by the honorable gentleman.”

That is, the late Treasurer—

“He, however, maintained that the large amount of increased immigration, acting, as it most undoubtedly would, to increase the customs and other sources of revenue, should, combined with other circumstances, make the system of immigration a self-paying one. Therefore, the argument that we were spending money on immigration, without any commensurate return, was decidedly a wrong one. £100,000 had been voted for immigration purposes last year, and the honorable the Colonial Secretary had stated that the whole of that sum was wanted for taking up land orders. On looking over the correspondence which had taken place on the subject, however, it was found that a large portion of that vote had been applied, not to the purpose for which it was asked and much needed, but for the purpose of re-establishing the old system of immigration, preparatory to doing away with the land order system altogether. The honorable Colonial Secretary had, therefore, to use a strong, but perfectly truthful phrase, been guilty of obtaining money from that House under false pretences.”

These were my opinions last session with regard to one sum of £100,000; and now we have to consider what has taken place with regard to another. Then, again, when I brought up the report of the Immigration Committee, I am reported to have said—

“I have all along been of opinion that all the imbroglio in connection with this subject has been caused by the jealousy entertained of Mr. Jordan by the Imperial Commissioners of Emigration.”

“The Colonial Secretary: No, no.

“Mr. Mackenzie: I believe that these Commissioners were also supported in this feeling by those high in place here.”

The Colonial Secretary, at the time, denied this. But circumstances have happened, which confirm me more in the opinion which I then had, that such is the case. Well, sir, to prevent its recurrence, an Act was passed by this Legislature. In the first place the Colonial Secretary refused to listen to such suggestions as were made by Mr. Jordan—

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No, no.

Mr. MACKENZIE: And, afterwards, to the surprise of many in the House, he gave way: all Mr. Jordan's suggestions were embodied in the Act, and Mr. Jordan himself was appointed Agent-General for Emigration. An opinion was expressed by my honorable friend the member for Port Curtis, at the time, that he was quite certain the Colonial Secretary and Mr. Jordan would not pull well together. Circumstances shew that he was perfectly correct in his opinion. It would appear from the correspondence laid on the table, that no sooner was this Act passed, and Parliament prorogued, than the Colonial Secretary, in the face of a long adjournment, and having Mr. Jordan in his power, immediately commenced to tamper with the Act. The correspondence shews this—that he has done what the Act never authorised him to do, both with regard to communicating with the Emigration Commissioners, and in appropriating money to be expended under their direction. I have the Act before me, and I will cite its provisions to show what, in plain English, it empowers him to do, and that no authority at all is given to the Government to expend money in that way. The first clause repeals two clauses of the Alienation of the Crown Lands Act of 1860; the second appoints an Agent-General for Emigration; the third defines the duties of the Agent-General; the fourth makes provision for carrying on his office in the United Kingdom; the fifth gives him authority to issue land order warrants; the sixth describes the land order warrants; the seventh refers to the value of land orders; the eighth gives deeds of grant after two years; the ninth—Government may advance money on land orders; the tenth authorises the Government to grant assisted-passages—to pay a portion of the cost; the eleventh authorises the Government to grant free passages; the twelfth provides for the repayment of part of the passage-money; the thirteenth describes the persons who are eligible for free and assisted passages; the fourteenth refers to the nomination of immigrants; the fifteenth refers to the land orders given to shippers; the sixteenth makes such land orders transferable, and the seventeenth empowers as follows:—

“For the purpose of defraying the expenses authorised by this Act, it shall be lawful for the

Governor in Council to issue debentures to an amount not exceeding one hundred thousand pounds in each year."

Up to the seventeenth clause, not a syllable is said about the Emigration Commissioners. It was perfectly well understood that it was not the wish of this House, nor of the country, that there should be two antagonistic systems of immigration for this colony. If honorable members would look at the evidence, they would see that it was a point particularly dwelt upon by Mr. Jordan, that those two systems could not work together. It was perfectly well understood that so long as this Act is in force, the system under the Commissioners should be at a stand-still. Now, sir, there is no doubt whatever that Queensland is deeply indebted for her present prosperity to the immigration that took place during the years 1861, 1862, and 1863. There is no doubt that the land order system is a system that answered admirably—that suited us in every possible way—and that was looked upon by the neighboring colonies with much favor; and they would be very glad if they could find a system like it. Let us see what they say of it. In an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, on the financial statement, made by the Treasurer, it is said:—

"The sum of £60,000 is put down to land orders cancelled. This is equivalent to a vote of £60,000 for immigration. That is to say, the sum of fifteen shillings per head of the whole population is spent in bringing new-comers. If we were to spend at the same rate for the same purpose, we should this year spend £300,000 on immigration. In Queensland, the money is all, from the nature of the case, drawn from the land revenue, and it is no tax upon anybody. The new-comers pay their own passage, and get indemnified in land. But our land sales' revenue could not furnish £300,000 to give an equivalent stimulus to immigration. There can be no doubt that every penny spent in Queensland in adding to the population, is money well spent. Fresh population is the life of a young country. Without it, progress is very slow and miserable."

That is the opinion of our neighbors. Well, it is quite evident, as it was stated before—and it is confirmed every day of our lives—that this system is not in favor with the Government of Queensland—

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No, no.

MR. MACKENZIE: It is a fact, whatever the mysterious connection is between the Government here and the Immigration Commissioners at home—I will not say what;—I leave honorable members to form their own conclusion. But that some mysterious understanding does exist, I have no doubt. It is perfectly well understood by old colonists in England that such is the case; and, I believe it to be a fact. I saw an article the other day, setting forth the extreme unwillingness of the English Government to allow able-bodied recruits to emigrate. I think it is extremely probable; and, if we look at the

way in which those two clauses in the Alienation of Crown Lands Act were repealed—with respect to the privileges to discharged officers, soldiers, and sailors of the British army or navy—we are in a position to see that the Government here may have private instructions from the home Government not to encourage this system of immigration. I have looked over the correspondence and the Act carefully, and I cannot myself see any loop-hole the Government can have to escape through on this occasion. I shall now proceed to quote from the correspondence, and to comment thereupon. The first extract is one from the agreement between the Government of Queensland and Messrs. James Baines and Co., and T. M. Mackay and Co. It is quite evident that, Mr. Jordan being empowered, as Agent-General for Emigration, to draw up this, understood what he had to do, and that he had the Act in his hand; and it confirms what I have said:—

"That the said Governor and Executive Council will not during the continuance of this agreement make or enter into any contract or agreement of a similar nature with any person or persons whatsoever for the conveyance of passengers from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and that the Agent-General for Emigration to Queensland for the time being shall not issue land order warrants to intermediate or steerage passengers who may embark to be carried or conveyed from any part of the United Kingdom to any part of the said colony in any vessel not belonging to the said firms or one of them but that the said Agent-General may issue land order warrants to first-cabin and second-cabin passengers embarking in any vessel whatsoever and to passengers of whatever class embarking from any port or place not within the said United Kingdom."

Now, if I can read plain English, that portion of the agreement has been broken by the Government. Next, I shall quote from the correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and the Emigration Commissioners. In the letter of the Colonial Secretary, dated 16th September, 1864, in the fifth paragraph, he says—

"5. Mr. Jordan has been desired to carry out, in every possible manner, the views and requirements of your Board, and I trust that his re-appointment will prove in all respects satisfactory."

Satisfactory to whom, I should like to know? If his appointment is satisfactory to the country and to this House, what do we care whom it pleases? What have we to do with the Commissioners, I should like to know?

"6. In a further communication, I shall do myself the honor to refer to some points in connection with the emigration to Queensland which has been so satisfactorily carried out under the superintendence of your office, and to invite special attention to one or two clauses of the new Immigration Act."

Now, with reference to the satisfactory manner in which our immigration has been carried on under the Emigration Commissioners, it is only of late years that their ships have been at all tolerable, as the numerous graves at the quarantine ground in Port Jackson, and even at our own quarantine station, at Dunwich, can testify. I am not quite clear that, a short time ago, there was not a subject for inquiry on board the ship "Charlie Palmer." Everything was not satisfactory in that ship, if what I know is correct:—she was not well conducted.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Oh! yes she was.

Mr. MACKENZIE: When we come to the next letter of this correspondence, which contains the gist of the whole matter—it is also dated 16th September, 1864—the Colonial Secretary says, in the fourth paragraph:—

"The 13th and 18th clauses refer to the classes eligible for passage, and to the proportions to be forwarded from the different parts of the United Kingdom; and, being based upon what has previously been the practice of Her Majesty's Commissioners, will not introduce any fresh requirements."

What requirements? What have they to do with those requirements? In the fifth paragraph, he goes on to say:—

"The Government of Queensland has determined to raise a portion of the amount authorised to be raised by loan, under clause 17 of the Immigration Act, to defray the cost of emigrants despatched under Her Majesty's Commissioners; and sums of money will, from time to time, be transmitted to you for that purpose."

Now, I ask honorable members on both sides of the House who were here during last session, to read the Act, and say if the Government have the slightest authority for sending the money? I ask if it was not the understanding that immigration was to be entirely under the Act, while the Act was in existence? I, at first, proposed that the Act should be in force only three years. But, I ask if the spirit—that is quite enough—but I ask if the letter of the Act is not violated by that paragraph? In paragraph 7, the Colonial Secretary goes on to say:—

"The demand for labor in the northern and newly-settled portions of the colony continues great, and wages are in many cases excessive; should you be able occasionally to despatch a vessel at a reasonable rate per adult to either Hervey's Bay or Keppel Bay, Port Denison, or Rockingham Bay, it would be an advantage."

Here is a clear understanding that we are to have two systems of immigration in force at one time, in opposition to the decision of the representatives of the people. A clearer case than this was never made out. I have heard the remark, that if the Colonial Secretary chooses to have two strings to his bow—if he chooses to stand up for the Commis-

sioners—that is his affair. But it is of moment to us—it has a great deal to do with the country. In the first place, the immigration under the Commissioners is not so good as under the Queensland system. We are told by Mr. Jordan, that his agents are their agents, and that they are jealous of him; and he cannot fill up his ships. If that is not sufficient to justify us to enter into this matter, I do not know what is. Then, in the eighth paragraph, the Colonial Secretary says—

"I have only to add, in conclusion, the thanks of this Government for the satisfactory manner in which the emigration by your ships has been conducted."

This goes on: there are more letters, and he is evidently corresponding with the Commissioners as if they were our Agent-General, and not Mr. Jordan. And then he is answered by the Secretary of the Emigration Commissioners, who writes in a very satisfactory way, for he says he shall be happy to conform in all matters with the wishes of the Government. The last letter is dated Brisbane, 5th May, 1865. In this it is stated—

"That the Colonial Treasurer has been instructed to remit, by the first mail, the further sum of ten thousand pounds (£10,000,) to meet future operations."

That is, the last mail. This ends the correspondence with the Commissioners. Now I turn to the most unpleasant part of the whole business, that is, the correspondence between the Agent-General for Emigration, Mr. Jordan, and the Colonial Secretary. It is quite evident that this system of immigration was too successful altogether—too successful for those who, for their own purposes, wish that system to come to an end. Hardly had Mr. Jordan left the colony, than we find the beginning of the opposition to it by the Government. The Act prevents them from framing regulations, but it does not prevent them from issuing instructions. They carry things with a very high hand. Mr. Jordan writes a letter from Melbourne; he has heard that it is the intention of the Government to continue emigration through the Emigration Commissioners, and he appeals against this. This letter is perfectly respectful, and in no way can be found fault with. He appeals against any interference with the immigration system established by the Immigration Act, and he uses all those arguments which he had formerly used before the select committee last session, and which it is not necessary for me to refer to. He points out that clause eighteen of the report of the Immigration Committee of 1863, sets forth the necessity of placing all immigration under the control of our own officer, and the Act is to the same effect, and he complains of the difficulties that arise from his agents being the agents of the Imperial Emigration Commissioners also, and of the jealousy of the Commissioners, and he expresses his fear that it must lead to

"the ultimate overthrow of our present emigration arrangements, if the Commissioners are still required by the Government to collect a portion of the free and assisted emigrants."

With every word of the arguments used by Mr. Jordan, I entirely agree. He concludes by saying:—

"I do respectfully, but most earnestly, deprecate any action on the part of the Government in this matter, which I see would not be in accordance with the recent action of the Parliament, and which my own past experience in the management of the emigration convinces me would work to the injury, and tend to the ultimate overthrow of our laud order system of emigration."

Well, sir, there is the reply of the Colonial Secretary; to which Mr. Jordan responds; and, here, I must say, in speaking of Mr. Jordan, that I wish he personally should be left out of this discussion. There are many friends of his in this House, and there are many here unfriendly to Mr. Jordan. Many are friendly to the system of immigration; and it is upon the merits of that question, and the acts of the Government that I wish to argue; and I hope honorable members will do the same;—at the same time it is perfectly impossible to avoid speaking of Mr. Jordan; but I will mention, individually, that this colony owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Jordan, which it can never repay.

Mr. WALSH: No, no.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Whatever his faults of temper may be, he has done wonders for this colony. In his answer to the Colonial Secretary, I admit he has committed himself; and I wish the letter was never penned. Although he had the Act in his hand, and he may have seen that he was right, I think it would have been better if he had confined himself to a respectful remonstrance. In answer to the first letter of Mr. Jordan that I have just alluded to, the Colonial Secretary writes, under date 18th October, 1864—

"Before you left the colony, you were distinctly and repeatedly informed that it was the intention of the Government to avail itself of the advantages—

What advantages?

"offered by Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners, and had an opportunity of making your representations on this subject, it is therefore unnecessary that I should now notice your observations in detail. I take this opportunity, however, of desiring you to be very careful to conform in all matters with the wishes and requirements of the Commissioners, and to co-operate with them to the utmost of your ability."

So, we find, after passing this Act, our Agent-General is here put under the Commissioners—a servant to the Commissioners.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE: The Colonial Secretary approves of that. Does he intend to do so?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I approve of my own letter.

Mr. MACKENZIE: He goes on to say:—

"I regret that I should so soon be compelled to point out to you the extreme impropriety of a subordinate officer dictating to the Government on matters of policy in the interpretation of Acts of Parliament; and I have to desire that you will for the future confine yourself to the discharge of the duties which have been entrusted to you, asking instructions from this office on all matters, the details of which are not fully specified in the Act."

Well, this is autocratic enough; and if the Colonial Secretary were a great disciplinarian, which he is not, he might fitly apply that sort of language to those numerous subordinates who infest the public service. Then, I admit, he would be right; but that an officer in the position of Mr. Jordan should be addressed in this style by the principal minister is, I will say, unbecoming. Now, if any honorable member ever visited the *depôt* at South Brisbane, which, by the way, is a disgrace to any civilised community, he will then see what immigrants come out in these ships. There is the greatest possible difference between the immigrants by Mr. Jordan's ships and those by the ships of the Imperial Commissioners. I allude to this, because I know the Colonial Secretary thought the *depôt* good enough for the people coming from home—he may have been right;—he said that those people were accustomed to nothing better, and that we should not accommodate them too luxuriously.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I never said so.

Mr. MACKENZIE: I think, however, that we ought to accommodate them in a proper manner. I admit that when shipping was coming more frequently than it is now—as it was some time ago—and large numbers of people were arriving on our shores every few weeks, there might have been some excuse—some temporary difficulty; but there is no reason now for the state of things that exists; and, particularly after this House voted public money for the building of the military barracks, for the purpose of giving the old barracks to the immigrants. There was a public meeting in the School of Arts about eighteen months ago, at which Bishop Tufnell was present; and I attended a deputation appointed by that meeting to wait upon the Colonial Secretary, who admitted that when the new barracks were finished, the old barracks should be thrown open to meet the requirements of the immigrants who were arriving in such large numbers. It is true there is now a *depôt* being built; but the mischief is done; the tidings have gone forth how we treat our immigrants; we have lost our good character through the improper manner in which we receive them.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Question.

Honorable MEMBERS: Order, order.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I have a right to speak.

Mr. MACKENZIE: There is Mr. Jordan's letter in answer to the Colonial Secretary's.

Honorable members will observe that all this took place immediately after the prorogation, and that advantage was taken of the long recess—as was done once before;—and they should notice that all this mischief can be done during the nine months when they are not here—when they cannot get hold of the correspondence and know what is going on. Mr. Jordan acknowledged the receipt of the Colonial Secretary's letter, and, in the third paragraph, he denies that he was repeatedly informed that immigration was to be conducted through the Imperial Commissioners:—

“Except from His Excellency the Governor—

I call honorable members' particular attention to this; they may draw their own conclusions—

“I received no intimation of this intention until the very last, when I was making final arrangements in your office with Mr. Taylor.”

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Oh, no! that is not the fact.

Mr. MACKENZIE: He complains of the style in which the Colonial Secretary writes to him; he writes under feelings of exasperation, which I do not mean to defend—I do not mean to defend this letter at all. Then a Minute of the Executive Council is sent to Mr. Jordan. It is the last extract with which I shall trouble the House;—but the correspondence is so very important. This letter of Mr. Jordan's was laid before the Council, extracts were made from it, and the conclusion come to is this:—

“The Council regret that they are obliged to conclude, from the foregoing passages of Mr. Jordan's letter, that he holds opinions with respect to his powers and duties which are wholly inconsistent with his position in the Civil Service, and contrary to the principles of Parliamentary government.”

Well, we hear a great deal about the “principles of Parliamentary government;” it has been the fashion lately to allude to honorable members for their ignorance; but there is some excuse for them—probably they are ignorant—but there is no excuse for the Government, because they know better. Now, Mr. Jordan is blamed for throwing off his allegiance to the Colonial Secretary; but, in my opinion, there is a pair in the same position. If he has thrown off his allegiance to the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Secretary has thrown off his allegiance to this House.

“Whether the directions of the Executive be, or be not, in pursuance of the provisions of any Act, it is not for Mr. Jordan to inquire; nor can he be permitted to stay any action that may be directed, because he may think it unauthorised or inexpedient.”

That is altogether wrong; Mr. Jordan had the Act to guide him, and he had a right to take the interpretation which is plain to every one.

“Upon all questions of the interpretation and execution of Acts, the Ministers are responsible to Parliament;—

I wish to goodness they were; they are only responsible to themselves.

“and Mr. Jordan must be informed, that obedience to orders is absolutely essential to the public service, and that its absence cannot be compensated for by any amount of zeal or ability otherwise displayed.”

Well, as I said before, if this were carried out in the Civil Service, I would not be surprised at this language being applied to Mr. Jordan. Sir, I have it on undoubted authority, from parties who have seen him, that we may consider Mr. Jordan's mission at an end. If the Government are not in possession already of a letter conveying his resignation, they soon will have it. I consider that Mr. Jordan's resignation will be the death-knell of the land order system.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No, no.

Mr. MACKENZIE: The confusion which has been occasioned by Mr. Jordan's coming to this colony—the confusion that will be created by his resignation—the restrictions that have been placed on emigrants, all prevent them from coming here; and from the extreme difficulties that people have, when here, to get what they want, what they are entitled to—we are so much swayed by red tape, that is, in the departments, and the “call again” system is carried to such an extreme—all their money is gone before they can get their land orders;—from all this I fear that Canada and the other colonies will have the preference with emigrants over Queensland. If Mr. Jordan leaves, and another person is sent home in his place, who is a little more pliable than he, and gets under the thumb of the Emigration Commissioners, we are done. I am satisfied immigration will never be revived to the extent of our requirements. There is one more letter from the Colonial Secretary's office, dated 14th February, 1865—and here I would respectfully point out to the Government that a letter of such an important character, if not written, should be signed by one of themselves. With all due respect for the Colonial Secretary, I say that, particularly with English correspondence, it is not well that such letters should be signed by the Under-Secretary. The last paragraph is, perhaps, the most important of all, because it gives Mr. Under-Secretary Manning's opinion:—

“It is thought desirable to adhere strictly to the tenor of the Act, and I would suggest the desirability of a revision of the circular again.”

Because, I must here observe, that throughout this correspondence, so far from wishing to act on his own responsibility, Mr. Jordan has endeavored to act under the Government. “At the foot of the same document, reference is made to ‘Regulations.’ No such regulations have been framed.”

Of course not.

"The Act is, itself, so explicit, that none are considered necessary."

I am not aware that they were considered necessary by the House—they are not considered necessary by the Government;—if they had been considered necessary, they would have been provided for, at once, in the Act itself.

"A clear exposition of the Act in your lectures will obviate the necessity of special regulations."

Leaving it for the Government, I presume, to frame regulations if they like. Well, sir, there is no doubt in my mind, that immigration to this country flags very much at present. I will not go so far as to say that the depression which pervades the colony is altogether due to that cause; but that it is very much aggravated by it, no one can deny. This is a question that affects all of us. It is not a question for a railway here, nor for £2,000 or £3,000 for draining a swamp there. Had it not been so important, I should not have brought it forward, and taken up the time of the House with it. I trust that if any discussion takes place upon these resolutions, that the whole question will be argued temperately and quietly, and that the character given us by the honorable the Secretary for Lands and Works will not be falsified. I will myself endeavor to adopt this course. I now address myself to those honorable members who sit on the other side, and who are in the habit of voting with the Government, and I appeal to them to remember that this is not a squatting question—it does not affect the squatting tenure—though it is a question which affects them as much as any of us on this side;—it affects them as much as anybody in the colony; it affects all classes of the community. The country will ask—"Are we or are we not represented fairly?" according to the decision of honorable members on this question; and I appeal to them to exercise their own unbiassed judgment and conscientiousness, and not to act as if they were tied neck and heels to the Colonial Secretary. I submit this respectfully to the consideration of honorable members; and I ask them again, to deal with this question to-night temperately, and to give their votes according to their consciences. They must be aware ill-natured people will remark that the Darling Downs squatters are afraid of this question—afraid of their runs—that others may come and take up their country. I do not believe it for a moment, because I have always found that they are in favor of immigration as it is—that it is of as much importance to them as to any of us. Now, I should like all honorable members to-night to give their votes without reference to any other matter than the act of the Government, which is before the House—that the House shall consider whether the Government are to spend certain money or not. In fact, if I am not misinformed, the Government are about to feel the sting of the serpent that they have

warmed in their bosom—the Darling Downs squatters. For the Colonial Secretary, I can assure him that no one can give his vote with more reluctance than I do. The time is not far distant when his services will be retained in a higher sphere.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No, no.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Ere long, he will not be engaged with such small fry as we are in Queensland; but, whenever he does go from us, no one will watch with greater interest than I shall his career.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I protest against all this.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Not that I desire that he shall not make this country a stepping-stone to his future advancement and success in England; but I do not think he should make it a stepping-stone at our expense. I speak of this as many in England do; that the Colonial Secretary himself, or some one to whom he succumbs, finds it to his interest to keep on terms with the Emigration Commissioners. I will conclude by saying that I have it on the best authority that Mr. Jordan has expressed his intention to resign—before he could have received the minute of the Council, he had made up his mind. He had intended to make his health the plea—that he could not stand the worry entailed upon him; but in this correspondence, and in the conduct of the Government in interfering with the administration of the Act, we find the real cause. I now move, sir—

- (1.) That the continued remittance of money to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners is at variance with the Act 28 Victoria, No. 17, and is a misappropriation of funds voted by this House for the purposes of the said Act.
- (2.) That this House will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, for the purpose of preparing an address to His Excellency, embodying the foregoing resolution."

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Mr. Speaker—I am obliged, so far as I can be obliged to any honorable member who moves a vote of censure on the Government, to the honorable member who has taken charge of the motion, to-day, for the temperate manner in which, as regards language, he has moved it; and for abstaining, as far as he could, from reference to what is unfortunately a matter of difference of opinion—the relations between Mr. Jordan and the Government. I will not go into these relations at all. I intend to confine myself strictly to the terms of the honorable member's motion, and not to enter in any way—at any rate, not more fully than I am obliged to do—into the conduct of Mr. Jordan and of the Government. Of course, I must say that, as I did distinctly state to the House last session, in re-appointing Mr. Jordan to his office, the Government would feel themselves bound to exact from Mr. Jordan complete obedience; and I shall leave it to the House to say whether the Government have exercised any interference with Mr. Jordan too

soon or not. I should have been much better pleased if the honorable member had spared me the slight personal references in which he has just indulged; I should have been very glad if he had abstained from them. It is particularly annoying to me to have such references made to me in this House. I have a right to be considered a public man, and I do not choose to receive good wishes with regard to my own personal views. I may say that I do not look forward to any particular advantages of position, as he says, nor to any change of position, at least, for some time to come. Having my own personal investments in this colony, I shall be connected with the colony for some time to come. In respect to this motion, the House has to consider, firstly—Have the Government done wrong?—have they acted without sufficient power or authority, or in contravention of the will of Parliament, in remitting money to England to bring out immigrants?—and, secondly—Is it expedient that the Government should have done so, and should continue to do so? Now, I am obliged to the honorable member for what is not an unimportant point in my case; for I had overlooked the desirability of referring to “Hansard” for it. He has read out words of his own which distinctly show that, at the time they were uttered, this House was quite cognisant of the intention expressed by me—of the intention of the Government—to remit funds to the Imperial Commissioners for immigration purposes. He took occasion to object to that, and he has discovered that the intentions of the Government in that behalf were possessed by that House. I had overlooked that point; but I have many other proofs, if they were necessary, to show that it was perfectly well known by the people of the colony, and by the Parliament, that the Government had not any intention, in consequence of Mr. Jordan’s return to this colony, to abolish the system of introducing immigrants by the Commissioners’ ships. It has never been discontinued, and the Government never have said that it was to be discontinued; indeed, there are many grave reasons why it should not be discontinued, which I shall explain presently. There is nothing in the report of the committee against its continuance, except Mr. Jordan’s statement, from a large portion of which, it is very well known, I differed, and still differ. Admitting that he may be right and I wrong, nothing except his statement in the evidence appended to that report expressed in any way an opinion that this immigration should be done away with. The Government have continually stated that such was not their intention. No resolution has been brought forward in this House to check the Government; and if there had been, I believe I should have been as well able as I am to-night to show that it is desirable to send money home for the introduction of immigrants under the system

carried out by the Commissioners. We have continued, from the Separation of this colony up to the present day, to employ the Commissioners more or less in the introduction of immigrants; and the Government have bound themselves to do so by pledges to the country. The honorable member has referred to a certain public meeting held in the School of Arts in October, 1863. I, also, have occasion to refer to it. It was described in the papers of the period, as being one of the most unanimous and influential meetings ever held in this city; and I believe that is right. It was addressed by the Bishop of Brisbane, and by several members of Parliament, and others of high position in this colony;—and it was held in consequence of the great abuses that occurred on board the Black Ball ships, sailing under the agency of Mr. Jordan. Almost every speaker referred to the desirability of using the Commissioners’ ships, for the purpose of avoiding the great evils which inevitably arise out of the practice of carrying passengers in ships used for merchant traffic, and which, I am sorry to say, do still exist; and Mr. Jordan has been unable to remedy them. I shall just read a few extracts I have made from the report of the meeting, at which certain resolutions were adopted, and by which a deputation were appointed to wait on me, and, in consequence of which, I gave a distinct pledge on this matter. I have had no instruction from Parliament to depart from that pledge, and I do not expect to receive any. Bishop Tufnell said in his speech at the meeting,—

“Whatever the country did, let the meeting urge on the Government the necessity of placing our emigrant ships, if possible, under the control of Her Majesty’s Commissioners. (Hear, hear.)

* * * * *

He believed there were none now coming to this country, who had placed themselves in connection with him, who did not endeavor to obtain passages in the Commissioners’ ships, in which provision was made at home for the well-being of the people coming to these distant lands.”

Then, the deputation from that meeting, a very influential deputation, waited on me, and set forth the views of the meeting at considerable length; and various speakers took part in the conversation at the interview, the proceedings of which are reported at great length in the *Courier* of the 3rd November. All parties then present unanimously decried the state of things then existing, and deprecated the monopoly of the Black Ball line; and which monopoly the honorable member for the Burnett desires to re-introduce in all its vigor. What I said in answer to the representations of the deputation is reported in these words:—

“The Colonial Secretary said that Government had authority from Parliament to raise a large loan for immigration; that they hoped to get a good many more of the Commissioners’ ships, and gradually come down to the old system.

"Mr. Mackenzie thought it would be better to let the land order system die out, which it would do in a year or two."

(Laughter and cheers.) That is what the honorable member said on that occasion. I say that I gave my answer perfectly *bona fide* to the representatives of the people of Brisbane who assembled at that meeting, and under a severe cross-examination from the members for the city and other constituencies, who were on the deputation. I believe that they were all, on that point, unanimously of opinion that more decided steps should be taken to put an end to what one speaker called the "beastly atrocities" on board the Black Ball ships, and what was admitted to be a very disordered and unbecoming state of things. I referred those gentlemen to the authority under which the Government proposed to act—that we had a loan from Parliament, a large portion of which would be remitted to the Commissioners; and, last session, I took frequent opportunities to inform the House that it was the decided feeling of the Government that a portion of the loan raised for immigration should continue to be so remitted. As the Press has been kind enough to take notice of the acts of the Government in this matter—as to its dealings in relation to the Black Ball ships—I shall read an extract from the leading journal, *The Brisbane Courier*, with reference to that meeting. It will be recollected that the *Courier* has been strongly in favor of the Black Ball ships, since Mr. Taylor came here:—

"The real cure is easy, and will be complete when applied. Let the English Emigration Commissioners charter the vessels, and bring them under their regulations, a considerable saving in money will be effected; efficient supervision will be exercised; and, at all events, common decency secured. Mr. Jordan will be relieved from the worst part of his duties, and will then have time to pay proper attention to the selection of a suitable class of immigrants."

Now, nothing has ever transpired to render it desirable that these words, which I believe to be words of good sense, should be recalled either by the gentlemen who attended the meeting and the deputation, or the Press, that gave proper expression to them. They very properly stated that the disregard of decency on board the Black Ball ships was positively injurious to the country, and that the disorder should be put a stop to; and that to continue to give the company an unfair preference, in point of fact, over other companies, would be to maintain the monopoly under which those evils occurred. Now, the Government are called to task, because the proceedings they thought proper to institute had the very effect of doing away with that monopoly. I should have no hesitation in appealing to the feeling of the country, whether the Government did right or not in this matter. I could prove, if I were to go into details,

which, however, I have no intention to go into, by reference to almost any ship of the Black Ball line that has arrived, that the state of that ship has been discreditable to an English colony, in some respects. Occurrences have taken place on board those ships, which render it desirable that there should be an alternative for people who desire to come to this colony, to come by other ships than those of the Black Ball line. The Government have never disguised for one moment, their intention of sending money to the Commissioners: they never disguised it from Mr. Jordan, or from Mr. Taylor, the agent of the Black Ball company, when he was out here. Mr. Taylor was fully aware of our intention, and he expressed his consent to the act of the Government;—in Mr. Jordan's presence, he did so repeatedly. Mr. Jordan was perfectly aware of my intention, and in the presence of the Parliamentary Draftsman—the agreement was not drawn by Mr. Jordan; it was necessary to examine carefully into the idea of Mr. Jordan, for, with very excellent intentions, he was too apt to fall in with the intentions of the Black Ball Company, who are decidedly clever at making a bargain;—he heard Mr. Taylor informed that this agreement had no reference to, and was entirely outside of the intentions of the Government, as set forth previously, to send money to the Commissioners out of the immigration loan; and the very clause which the honorable member quoted to show that the Government are wrong, that they have violated the agreement, I, myself, intended to quote to show that this understanding existed:—

"The Government will not during the continuance of this agreement, make or enter into any contract or agreement of a similar nature with any person or persons whatsoever."

That is, no similar agreement by which any other company should be remunerated by land orders. The company wished that, in order that they might command the land order market, and have a ready sale for their land orders. When Mr. Jordan and Mr. Taylor were present with the Parliamentary Draftsman, he read the articles of the agreement over to them, and he asked them both—"Do you understand that it is the intention of the Government, notwithstanding this agreement, to send money to the Commissioners?" They said they did so. Therefore, I rather regret that Mr. Jordan wrote the letter he did write to the Government when he was no longer able to argue with the Government, and to support his remonstrances. He never was for a moment in doubt as to my intention—the intention of the Government—to continue the previous system of immigration. I explained it to him frequently; and I think he ought either to have caused, when he was here, something to be introduced in the Bill or to have laid the matter before the Government. If a clause had been proposed for insertion in the Bill, that no

money should be sent home to the Commissioners, we should have known in time how to deal with his objection; and the Parliament would, perhaps, have inserted a direct authority to send the money home—that authority which the honorable member says we do not possess. If it were only for one reason, I should take exception to the motion before the House;—I would rather see the general principle affirmed that the Government ought to send money to the Commissioners; and, I think, it might almost be desirable to have a resolution moved by the Government to this effect. I intend to take the division to-day, as a guide; and I lay it distinctly before the House that I do not only defend myself, personally, as the administrator of the immigration department, and the Government, against the charge, the impeachment, that we have misappropriated money; but I wish the House further to understand the reasons why they should be very loth so to deal with immigration, as to leave no alternative but for people to come here by the Black Ball ships. Indeed, I should see a serious difficulty in administering the immigration in that way. I have stated the opinion of the Bishop of Brisbane, who is now in England—and I do not wish his views to weigh unduly with the House—that there are many persons who will not proceed to this colony except by the Imperial Emigration Commissioners' ships. It is a very important thing to bear in mind, that a man in his position has vast influence with a superior class of emigrants. Many persons will not, he says, come out by our own ships—such are especially girls who wish to avoid contamination of any kind; and, as the Commissioners' ships bring us a class of labor which is very suitable for this colony, it is desirable that he should not be excluded from sending emigrants in the way which alone he can approve. If he is obliged to state to his friends at home that he cannot do so, that the state of things on board our ships prevents it, much of the stream of emigration that this colony could command go to New South Wales, Victoria, Canada, or British Columbia. I may state to the House that I may claim to be regarded as an authority on immigration. It is a subject that occupies the greatest part of my time: I have been studying it for six years, and I have in some respects as good a knowledge of the feeling in regard to emigration in England as Mr. Jordan himself. I have approached it from a different point of view from him; I have, at once, the advantage of his knowledge, and I have knowledge gained from other classes; and I do state that a vast number of respectable persons, desirous of emigrating, would not think, on any account, of going on board merchant passenger ships to any part of the world. It is a fact that many very respectable persons do come out in those ships to Victoria and other places; but they do so, not knowing what they have

to put up with;—if they did know, they would never come out. There are many good and well-conducted ships, but they are the exception, not the rule; and, as a rule, it is a very severe trial to persons who make the voyage in merchant passenger ships. The cabin passengers who are introduced in those passenger ships are the cause of the evil—they make it an insurmountable evil—and most of the outrages that prevail arise amongst the second cabin passengers. When I say this, I desire that it may not be taken up by any of the second cabin passengers as individually referring to them; but I say that there are a number of young men—gentlemen, so called—who come out as cabin passengers in those vessels, whose presence is a curse to the country. I have been told by passengers by some of those ships, that almost every adult male has been drunk during the passage, at some time or other. Some of the cabin passengers take grog on board in their luggage, and sell it to the steerage passengers. I do not wish to refer to those proceedings more than is necessary, but, at the same time, I do not wish to gloss them over. I believe, also, that if Mr. Jordan, or whoever succeeds him, should work zealously to have this state of things wholly or to some extent suppressed, he would do a very great deal of good; but still the evils incident to the mixture of various classes in merchant ships can never be entirely removed. Now, such being the case, I do not see that the humbler style of immigration by the Commissioners can be discontinued. The present contract with the Black Ball Company extends to 1868. In entering into that engagement, I endeavored, on the part of the Government, to make arrangements for the classification of the passengers; but I was informed, on the one hand, by the representative of the company, that the contract could not be carried out in any other way than that pursued; and by Mr. Jordan, on the other hand, that he thought the evils complained of might be obviated. At one time, I asked Mr. Mackay to refuse to allow drink to be sold on board, and he promised that he would endeavor to do so; but, subsequently, he did not enforce the regulation, and stated, as his reason for doing so, that he could not prevent cabin passengers, or others, from taking spirits on board. I then endeavored to make arrangements, so that young single women should not, unless accompanied by their friends, be brought out in the same ships with single men; and in that I so far succeeded, but, in the correspondence to which the honorable member for the Burnett has referred, will be found a passage by which Mr. Jordan alters that portion of the agreement. It will also be seen, by that correspondence, that the Government desired that Mr. Jordan should not alter that agreement, but should adhere to the clause, and have it carried out in its entirety. I think, myself, that Mr. Jordan is

too easily prevailed upon by the Black Ball line to fall into their views; and when I say so, I would wish to add, that I believe him to be a thoroughly conscientious man, and if I did not think so, he should not, with my approval, hold his present office. His doing so, I think, is the strongest proof I can give of my belief that in all his conduct he acts conscientiously. At the same time, I think, he is too easily prevailed upon in some matters. I think the Black Ball Company go to him and say, "We cannot do this or that," and ask him to alter existing arrangements; and not being, in my opinion, sufficiently proof against them, he accedes to their request. I do not think that Mr. Jordan is so smart a business man as is required to deal with those particularly smart business men who have the management of those ships, and I would be very much astonished if he were. I thought that the arrangement with Mr. Taylor, which I have mentioned, would do a great deal of good; and the Government thought they had done a great deal of good when they obtained an arrangement that no single men should be sent out in the same ships with single women; and, therefore, the House may understand how astonished the Government were when informed that, in the opinion of some lawyer—the most remarkable opinion I ever read; an opinion that would not hold water—the agreement must be abolished. The opinion thus given, was to the effect that, as Messrs. Mackay, Baines, and Company advertised their ships as passenger ships, they could not refuse to carry any persons applying for a passage, and, therefore, the restrictive clause in the agreement must be abolished. Now, if that opinion were correct, the agreement with the shippers, and even the presence of Mr. Jordan in England, would be useless. I accordingly replied to Mr. Jordan, as follows:—

"If that opinion were of the smallest force, it would follow that your services would be wholly ineffectual, and that the most undesirable persons would only have to apply to the shippers to obtain a passage in the ships leaving under your superintendence. The question, however, raised by Messrs. Mackay and Co. may be at once disposed of by your declining to 'approve as suitable' any single woman desiring to proceed without her parents, or other suitable protectors, in a vessel carrying single men, and I have to request that you will adopt this course."

I think it right to point out this, because I mentioned to Mr. Jordan that he should not have a single male passenger to come by a passenger ship for single females. For my own part, I wish that the time was come when we could do away with this expenditure for immigration; and I treat with contempt all those charges against the Government in respect to the land order system, for the Government do believe in that system; and I, for one, do not see how we are to get immigration otherwise than by paying for it

by land orders. I have stated that I think this the best way to obtain the bulk of our immigrants; but I ask the House to consider if it is absolutely necessary—looking at the working of the land order system—that there should be no alternative to coming by ships which modest girls would have the greatest reluctance to come by. I think the Government could not for a moment consent to subject, as a matter of necessity, every person who wishes to come here to the inevitable evils of a passenger ship. There was another point as to the Commissioners' ships that should be considered, and that is in respect to persons in the colony. The question should be looked at from the point of view of persons sending home for their friends, and who know what has to be encountered on the passage out. I know of dozens of cases, from letters I have received and from personal interviews I have had with persons in the colony, that they desired their friends should come by the Commissioners' ships, because, having come out themselves, they knew all about the passenger ships, and their friends at home did not; and they urged that their friends should come out, not in passenger ships, but in the Commissioners' ships. Now, the wishes of such persons are entitled to every consideration, and if it were only for them alone, the Government ought to maintain the system. Now, if I consider the number of immigrants who have been sent by the Commissioners, the amount of money expended has been exceedingly small, but I admit that, even such being the case, if an infraction of this law were committed, it would be insufferable. There has, however, been no infraction of the law. The amount remitted to the Commissioners has been, as I have said, exceedingly small. The new loan of 1864, which was passed at the same time as the Immigration Act, has not yet been circulated in London, and so we have hitherto been dealing with the loan of 1863, under which we took power to spend £100,000 in bringing out immigrants by the Commissioners' ships. The paper before the House, shewing the Commissioners' proceedings in 1864, is important in various ways, and I may quote it to show the great advantage there was in sending to the Commissioners. Honorable members are aware that Mr. Jordan left England without the knowledge of the Government, and returned to the colony; and if money had not been remitted to the Commissioners, we should have had a greater falling off at that time in immigration than we had. In 1864, the Commissioners sent out seven vessels, and by them they sent only 357 free passengers, and 340 assisted passengers; and these 340 passengers paid to the Government no less a sum than £2,000. There was another point of view to which I wish to call the attention of the House, the advantage in an economical point of view of getting the Commissioners to send out immigrants. The Commissioners

obtained £2,000 from persons in England desiring to come out to this colony, and only 375 were free immigrants. All the rest, 1,300, who came out by the Commissioners' ships, were nominated in this colony. The comparative expense of the ships, also, is worth some notice. I have seen it argued that the passengers by the Commissioners' ships cost £18 per head, and the honorable member makes that part of his impeachment, and no doubt the Government, if wrong in remitting any money to the Commissioners, would have been further wrong if they had fostered an expensive system instead of a cheap system. Now, the fact is, that the average passage by the Commissioners' ships was £13 7s. 4d., and in the five last ships under £13. I say, therefore, that through the Commissioners we not only brought out those persons in a way satisfactory to themselves, but at a cheaper rate than they would have been brought out by the Black Ball line. The Black Ball Company must be well aware of the doings of the Government in this respect, for in many cases they have identically the same agents. There is commonly in English towns one immigration agent for several firms, who works for all alike if he gets an equal per-centage from them; but, if not, he works for those who pay him most. The Black Ball line must, therefore, have known that this was going on, but I have received no protest from them; and they, being good men of business, would know that their ships were closed against many passengers sent out by the Commissioners. Now the sum named of £2,000 is to be regarded as a great advantage to this country, for the whole of that amount would not be received by Mr. Jordan for assisted passages. There is another point I may refer to, and it is this. I am at a loss to see why Mr. Jordan should not take to himself full credit for all the passengers who come by the Commissioners' ships, seeing that they come out in consequence of his lectures. Why he does not take credit to himself for them I am at a loss to understand, for I hold that every man who comes out in the Commissioners' ships goes to the recruiting agent and takes his passage in consequence of Mr. Jordan's lectures; and I have told him that he ought to take credit for such passengers. I give him credit for every one who comes out here, and I know that some immigrants have gone to the Commissioners after having had interviews with him. We have heard from the honorable member for the Burnett, that there is a possibility of Mr. Jordan again returning to the colony, but I trust that such is not the case; and I trust that I have not said anything that will hurt his feelings, or the feelings of any reasonable man in this matter. As to Mr. Jordan, I may say that the Government consider him an efficient and able man; and he holds his office because the Government

believe him both honest and zealous in the performance of his duties. Now, supposing that Mr. Jordan is at sea on his return to the colony, as the honorable member says he is, will it not be a great advantage to the colony, that during his absence from England, there will be another system of immigration in operation, and that seven or ten ships with immigrants will be despatched from England to the colony? I trust that on that ground the advantage of transmitting money to the Commissioners will not be denied. We do not desire to transmit a large amount, for all we desire is that there should at intervals be ships sent out by the Commissioners; and these ships are small, compared with the ships of the Black Ball line. For my own part, I wish to see as many immigrants come out to the colony as possible; but the Government desire that opportunities should be afforded to immigrants to come out by other ships than those of the Black Ball line. To afford this opportunity, we would only remit sufficient money to the Commissioners to send out a ship once in a month or six weeks; and I shall ask the House to say that, for the reasons I have stated, if we do not carry out the whole of our immigration policy in the most satisfactory way, on account of circumstances over which we have no control, we shall continue to carry out part of it in as satisfactory a way as possible. The Imperial Government maintains the Commissioners at the request of the colonies, and no system could compete with theirs; and it should be remembered, that the Commissioners have a body of surgeons, gentlemen of superior abilities, and who understand well the particular business on which they are engaged. They have, therefore, an advantage we are only beginning to obtain in the Black Ball line of ships. The Commissioners also have an efficient way of classifying the passengers—the single men being placed in the fore part of the ship; the married couples in the centre; and the single females in the after part of the vessel—and the separation is thus complete both below and above; and thus a splendid system of regularity can be maintained. In the Black Ball line there is no such separation; and it is impossible to prevent drunkenness, because the doctors and captains and others are not proof against it themselves; and they cannot check it amongst the passengers and the crew. I think I have now, in some degree, shown the House that the Government has not, according to the letter of the resolution, acted contrary to any Act; because the Act of 1864 does not deal with the practice that previously existed of introducing passengers by the Commissioners' ships, and no instructions were given to the Government, that that practice should be discontinued. I contend, therefore, that we have not infringed any law, and if there were any law bearing on the case it is the Loan Act of 1863, which authorised the expenditure of £100,000 in bringing passengers by the

Commissioners' ships, and the Government did so. I think I have also shown some reason why we should continue to send forward funds to bring out passengers by the Commissioners' ships. I do not ask that much should be sent; but if it is thought desirable to limit the amount, let the House say how much should be sent, and in that way the power of the Government will be limited; and if the House consent to that, I shall ask that the Government be allowed to remit about as much for the future as they have been in the habit of doing hitherto, for we desire that an injustice should not be done to a large class of persons in England, who desire to immigrate here, but who, if there were no Commissioners' ships, would proceed to some other colony to which there would be more satisfactory means of conveyance than by the Black Ball line of vessels to this colony.

Dr. CHALLINOR desired to confirm the statement that had been made by the honorable the Colonial Secretary to the effect that when the subject of immigration was under discussion, both as regards last year and the previous year, it was considered that it would not be desirable to discontinue altogether immigration by the Commissioners' ships. It was thought desirable, for the benefit of single females, and to meet emergencies that might arise in consequence of the course that Mr. Jordan might pursue, that immigration by the Commissioners' ships should be continued. He quite concurred with the view that had been stated, to the effect that there was no clause in the Act of 1864, which at all interfered with the practice of sending passengers by the Imperial Commissioners' ships, except the 19th clause, which said that £100,000 was to be raised for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act; but he did not think it could be shown there was anything in that Act that interfered with the mode of expending the £100,000 voted the previous year; and so, therefore, whatever powers the Government had previous to 1864, to send for passengers by the Imperial Commissioners' ships, must remain intact. The honorable member for the Burnett had quoted some remarks on the immigration system of this colony that had been made in the Parliament of New South Wales; but there was nothing in those remarks whatever against the sending of immigrants by the Commissioners' ships, and those remarks also were made on the mistaken belief, that all the immigration to this colony was on the land order system; but such was not the case. He did not think, therefore, that anything could be argued from what was stated in the Parliament of New South Wales, against immigration being continued to this colony under the Imperial Commissioners. He also concurred in the opinion that had been stated with respect to the clause in the agreement with Messrs. Mackay,

Baines, and Company for the conveyance of passengers to this colony. He held that it did not preclude the Government from having passengers sent by the Imperial Commissioners; and the fact that the Black Ball Company had made no remonstrance was positive proof that they did not think they had been hardly dealt with under the terms of their agreement. There was a great disparity, he thought, between the statements by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, and the statements by Mr. Jordan, as to conversations about the sending of immigrants by the Imperial Commissioners, before Mr. Jordan left. Mr. Jordan said it was only once that the sending of immigrants by the Commissioners was spoken of, and the honorable the Colonial Secretary said it was several times. It would appear, even on Mr. Jordan's own admission, that the matter was mooted by His Excellency the Governor, and we are not to consider that the remarks made to him by the Governor were made simply as Governor, but as a member of the Executive, and if Mr. Jordan was so well aware of the intentions of the Government on the subject through His Excellency, that was no reason why he should be silent, but an additional reason why he should have brought the matter under the notice of the Colonial Secretary before he left the colony. There was another matter not alluded to by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, and it was this, that under Mr. Jordan's arrangements there was a great disparity in numbers of the sexes, whereas, with the Imperial Commissioners, it was a rule to have the sexes equalised as fully as possible. At the same time, he desired it to be understood, that he was much in favor of Mr. Jordan's system, and he could assure the House, that Mr. Jordan had no more sincere friend than he was. He was, however, fully alive to the morbid sensibility of Mr. Jordan, and he was sure that no person who had a respect for his position and for the Government could endorse the opinions and views referred to in Mr. Jordan's second letter to the Government. It appeared to him, by that letter, that Mr. Jordan assumed to consider that he stood in the same relation to the Immigration Act as the Auditor-General stood in relation to the Audit Act, but he saw no grounds for such assumption. As to the accommodation provided for immigrants in the Immigration Dépôt, he must repeat what he said on a previous occasion, and he believed that the honorable member for the Burnett must be able to endorse his statement—that those persons who objected so much to the accommodation provided for them in the dépôt made not the slightest objection on receiving engagements to accept of very inferior accommodation in the bush. He had himself, when travelling, gone to a shepherd's hut, and he had been glad, for the sake of a night's rest, to put up with a sheet

of bark and a sheepskin. He did not think that there were any good grounds of objection to the accommodation provided in the Immigration Depôt; and he knew that settlers themselves had no objection, for a time, to put up with slab huts and clay floors, and, in other respects, far inferior accommodation to what was provided in the depôt. The reason, he believed, why the barracks had been taken up by the Government was to secure the public documents against the danger by fire to which, it was shewn by the fire in Queen street, they were imminently exposed. He was not prepared to say what proportion the immigrants sent by the Commissioners should bear to the number sent by Mr. Jordan, and he would, therefore, prefer that that should be allowed to remain an open question, so that they might be in a position to meet the requirements of those persons in England who desired to come out to the colony by the Commissioners' ships. If, however, that course would interfere with the introduction of immigrants under the land order system, he believed it would be productive of evil instead of good to the colony. The amount remitted to the Commissioners should, therefore, be limited to the requirements of those who desired to come out by the Commissioners' ships, in order to avoid the great objection that many persons had to come by merchant passenger ships; and also to keep the door for immigration open so as to meet emergencies such as the unexpected return of Mr. Jordan.

Mr. DOUGLAS said: On the question of immigration, I have always found myself compelled to adopt a course different from that which I have adopted in respect of other questions; for I have never fully concurred in the feelings of the honorable gentlemen who sit on the same side of the House with myself, as fully expressed in favor of the land order system, nor have I, on the other hand, been able to agree with the way the Government have administered the law. Feeling, as I do, so far as administrative detail is concerned, with the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government—feeling that it would be undesirable wholly to ignore the Imperial Emigration Commissioners, and yet recognising thoroughly the fact that the country owes much to the land order system, and that the people of the country believe that on the due administration of that system the prosperity of the country greatly depends—recognising that, and yet admitting that there have been, and still continues to be defects in that system—I necessarily feel some difficulty in expressing an opinion on the general question in a manner that would satisfy my honorable friends who sit on the same side of the House, or of honorable members who sit on the Government side. But the honorable member who has brought forward the motion has not, I think, raised the question whether the land order

system, or a system of immigration to be carried out under the Imperial Commissioners, is the most desirable; but he has raised the question whether the present administration is in accordance with the existing law—be it good or bad. Now I think that, after the interesting, ingenious, and informing speech of the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, we might revert to the question as it was originally placed before the House. The honorable gentleman intimated his desire and intention not to allude to the details of the question, but said he would deal with it as set forth in the motion before the House—namely, whether the Government had administered the law of 1864, and whether they had or had not misappropriated the funds devoted by the House for certain purposes under a specific Act of Parliament. The honorable member for the Burnett has raised one or two questions, and not one of those did the honorable the Colonial Secretary meet, though he professed his willingness to do so. Reference has been made to the position which honorable members took on a previous debate, and I feel authorised also to refer to the position which I took on a previous occasion when this question was before the House. My objection on the previous occasion was to the misappropriation of the funds, and I am reported in "Hansard" to have said:—

"The Colonial Secretary, subsequent to the report of the select committee of last session, which recommended the continuance of the land order system, undertook to put a stop to the system, and in pursuance of the undertaking had sent home a portion of the £100,000 appropriated out of the Loan Fund for emigration to be expended under the auspices of the Imperial Emigration Commissioners."

Well, the honorable gentleman has done so, but he wished the House to infer that no notice had been taken of that.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No. I said that notice was taken of it at the time, which showed that honorable members were aware of what the Government intended doing.

Mr. DOUGLAS: At the same time, I pointed out that if the House was prepared to accept the administration of the honorable member, they must expect further infractions, for if it was proved that the honorable gentleman was prepared to infringe the distinct enactments of law; then, in another session, and when Parliament was prorogued, they must expect a similar demonstration of his intentions. The honorable gentleman has said, that no resolution was brought forward, objecting to the continuance of immigration under the auspices of the Commissioners. Well, that might be; but I would ask in what position have they been with respect to this question since last session, when the question was fully discussed? The question was then fully discussed, but we have since been in recess.

Although we have a Parliamentary form of government for three or four months of the year, it is waived for the rest of the year, and the business of the colony is then conducted in a very unparliamentary manner. The Government having got rid of the colony members, and the House being prorogued, they do as they like.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: But we answer all questions that may be put to us when the House meets.

Mr. DOUGLAS: The honorable gentleman, in the course of his remarks, referred to a meeting that took place some eighteen months ago, and he justified his conduct on the result of that meeting—not on the debate of last session, or the report of the committee—not on the expressed opinion of Parliament—but on the result of an interview with a deputation from a public meeting held two years ago. The honorable gentleman justified his proceedings in this matter on the result of that interview, which took place about two years ago. That being so, I question if henceforth we will hear any more of Parliamentary government; and I must say that the course pursued by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, being based on such grounds, appears to me to savor more of mob law than of Parliamentary government. But I do not take the ground which is taken by the honorable member at the head of the Government. I admit that we are governed, not only by the Parliament of Queensland, but by the force of public opinion; and, unless expression be given to that opinion, it will be impossible for us to know what is really the mind of the country. I accept the resolutions which were passed at that meeting. I took no prominent part in it, although I believe I addressed a few words to the meeting; but the purport of my observations, and, indeed, the object of every person who spoke was to show that certain immoralities had occurred, that certain deficiencies existed, and, unfortunately, were known to exist, in a vessel recently arrived belonging to the Black Ball line. The object of that meeting was to protest, in the name of morality, and in the name of society, not only against the malpractices which had occurred on board that particular ship, but against the arrangements which permitted such malpractices in any ship. We know that similar malpractices have taken place on board ships under the direction of the Imperial Emigration Commissioners, even in this colony, and more especially in the neighboring colonies. In Victoria, a short time ago, proceedings of a very serious character took place; and in the neighboring colony, but a short time ago, acts of immorality, as gross as could well be perpetrated, were exposed. ("No, no.") Pardon me, that is the case. I go further than the honorable member at the head of the Government. He is well aware that, some time ago, when the system conducted under the auspices of

the Imperial Commissioners was not as well organized as it is now, some very gross irregularities crept into it. I say, therefore, that these malpractices are not to be attributed especially to the vessels belonging to the Black Ball line or any other line, but to emigrant ships generally; and that the aim and endeavor of the Government should be, to reduce them to the lowest possible ebb. To revert to the meeting again—I may say that I was one of those gentlemen who waited upon the Colonial Secretary with the resolutions which were then passed; and whatever may have been the feelings of my honorable friend the member for the Burnett in bringing forward this motion, I can state that, for my part, when I heard the honorable Colonial Secretary state that it was the intention of the Government to send home £10,000 to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners, I was perfectly thunderstruck. I held that he had no right to do so, and the honorable gentleman cannot attribute to me any assertion in which I have admitted his right so to dispose of that money. When that vote was passed, sir, I left this House, because it was stated that a portion of the vote was to be devoted to that purpose. I said then that it was a false pretence to which I would not commit myself. At the same time, I have always admitted, with the honorable member at the head of the Government, that the system which regulates the ships of the Emigration Commissioners was carried out effectively, and that the morality on board those ships, and the manner in which they are conducted, is superior to the system carried out by the Black Ball line. But that does not alter the position we took—that a specific sum of £100,000 had been voted for the reduction of a debt incurred by the circulation of land orders, and that a portion of that sum had been sent home to be expended under the auspices of the Imperial Emigration Commissioners. The honorable member at the head of the Government, I must admit, stated boldly that he intended to apply the money to that purpose; but I said "you have no business to do it unless you obtain authority from Parliament, the money having been voted for a totally different object." And with reference to the question of the immigration barracks,—on that occasion also the honorable the Colonial Secretary said he anticipated that the military barracks would be completed in six months from that time, and that he would then hand over the old building for immigration purposes. I expressed a doubt that the new barracks would be ready by that time, and suggested twelve months, and I believe they were not completed for more than twelve months. These are but minor details, but I think they ought to induce the honorable member at the head of the Government to be careful how he commits himself for the future. There was no occasion for the honorable gentleman to be so definite and certain of the fact; he had better not have

used language which could be called into question. I also understood from the honorable gentleman that irregularities had taken place on board the emigrant ships belonging to the Black Ball line, and also that every person, on one occasion, had been drunk.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I did not say that.

Mr. DOUGLAS: Well, almost every person had been drunk.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Sir, I must rise to correct the honorable member. I did not say that almost every person had been drunk, but that it had been stated to me, that almost every person except the single women had been drunk at one time or other, which is a very different thing.

Mr. DOUGLAS: Well, the honorable gentleman had been informed, that every male adult—those I believe were the words—in some ships lately arrived, had been drunk. Now did the honorable member, as administrator of that department, take the proper steps to ascertain whether that was really the case or not?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I was not informed of it until it was too late.

Mr. DOUGLAS: Well, then, I must say, that does not display any tact in the management of the department. Yet, upon a mere assertion, unsupported by evidence—upon a statement, the accuracy of which the honorable gentleman was not in a position to investigate—he now comes forward and bases an accusation against the Black Ball line, by which he leads us to infer that the management of that line of vessels has been, even recently, very unsatisfactory. Of course, the honorable gentleman is in a position to be much better informed upon these matters than I, or any other member of this House can be. I have been lead to believe that, of late, there has been a considerable improvement in the arrangements on board these ships. I believe, the surgeon-superintendents have been of a better class, and that more efficient captains have been brought into the service from the Victorian and southern trade; and I suppose my information is derived from similar sources to that which has been obtained by the honorable Colonial Secretary. If the arrangements on board these vessels are improperly carried out, the natural inference is, that no proper check has been kept over them, and I infer as much from the remarks of the honorable gentleman himself. For, he has informed us that malpractices have occurred, and that upon no occasion has he been able to bring them home to the guilty parties.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: It is almost impossible to get evidence.

Mr. DOUGLAS: It is impossible to get evidence, and yet you know they occur.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: That is a very different thing.

Mr. DOUGLAS: Well then, of course, I admit at once that it is the fault of the immigrants themselves. No doubt they are

to blame, and that when they land they are inclined to forget all the hardships they have endured, and are not disposed to bring forward their grievances or to enter upon the difficulties of a state prosecution, which I suppose is what it would amount to. But I imagine these persons should be compelled to give evidence in reference to the arrangements of the ships in which they come out. Now, sir, I have not met this question upon its broad grounds, but I have noted a few of the observations which fell from the honorable member at the head of the Government, which I must refer to. The honorable gentleman stated that a small infraction even of the Act would be insufferable. Does he mean to say that this conduct of the Government is not a small infraction? It may be justified by the policy of the Government, but I maintain that it is a very serious infraction, when we find £100,000 put down in the Estimates for cancelling land orders, we are naturally led to infer that the whole of that sum will be devoted to that purpose; if not, what interpretation is to be put upon the words? As I previously stated, I do not feel in a position to treat this question on its merits further than to give my support to the law as long as it exists: and I shall always consider any infraction of that law as a serious charge against the Government. In my opinion no policy, no convenience, no expediency can ever justify the Government in setting aside the distinct, literal, and, if you like, spiritual, meaning of the Act. Does the honorable member at the head of the Government mean to assert that, during the frequent debates on the question of immigration during the last session, it was ever contemplated that the system in force under Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners should be reverted to?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Yes, you quoted it yourself.

Mr. DOUGLAS: I only quoted my individual opinion, but that was not the opinion of this House. Mark you, I have never disputed the efficiency of the system carried out by the Imperial Commissioners—all I have said is "administer the law." I have said that I did not think the law was altogether perfect. I did not think it was wise for Mr. Jordan to go back under the administration of the honorable Colonial Secretary. The honorable gentleman has himself said that he very nearly believed in the land order system.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Mr. Speaker, I must really take leave to contradict the honorable member—I never made such an assertion.

Mr. DOUGLAS: Well, the honorable gentleman said he felt very like believing in it, and I may say that, in that respect, I and the honorable gentleman are at one, except that he is in office and I am not, and he is content to administer a system in which he has no faith. The honorable gentleman should have

taken his stand when Mr. Jordan was here; he should have said—"You have brought an excessive pressure to bear upon me; you have brought the people to believe in your system—a system with which they were not quite satisfied before you came." For that opinion was expressed to a certain extent at the meeting I have referred to; that was the feeling which had pervaded men's minds for some time before that. But what was the result? Mr. Jordan came out; evidence was taken on the question of immigration; this House deliberated; a select committee of this House deliberated, and the consequence was that a preference was given to the land order system over any other. That was what the country decided upon. It said in effect—"This system, with all its defects, with all its imperfect arrangements, whether from the administration of the honorable member at the head of the Government, or otherwise—this system of monopoly, which is not justifiable in itself, is to be continued." That was what the people of this country, rather than the House, affirmed. It is not what I said, nor did the House say it; but the people of Queensland declared that, taking it all in all, the system had conferred great advantages upon them, and it was one which, after due deliberation, they had decided upon accepting; and, of course, by the same inference, that they were determined not to accept any other system ("No, no"). I assert that there were, to a great extent, two antagonistic principles, whether the Black Ball line of ships should carry out the land order system, or whether immigration to the colony should be invited under other auspices. The public decided in favor of the land order system, to the exclusion of any other. That was the opinion which took hold of the public mind. The public believe that if we revert to the system conducted by the Imperial Emigration Commissioners—whether it be a good or bad system, and I have always maintained it is a good one—we shall, instead of progressing, retrograde. They believe that the Emigration Commissioners' system has resulted in a decrease of emigration to the neighboring colonies; they perceive that every year the number of emigrants sent out by the Commissioners is lessened, and that smaller sums are voted each year for emigration purposes. They believe that if you revert to that system, as in all probability you will, we shall be going back instead of going forward. I will not, upon this occasion, enter into the many disputes which have arisen between the honorable member at the head of the Government and the Agent-General for Emigration, Mr. Jordan. I do not support these resolutions, because an angry correspondence has taken place between those two gentlemen. I do not seek wholly to justify either of them. But I think the short, pithy, and very trenchant letter addressed by the honorable the

Colonial Secretary, was calculated to inflict a deep injury upon the gentleman to whom it was addressed. The honorable member was aware that he was writing to a person of a very sensitive temperament who had done great service to the country, and might do more; and yet he addressed such a letter to him as must necessarily wound his feelings. I do not say that such a course of conduct is not what I should have expected, because I knew that several passages of arms had taken place between them, and more were likely to occur. I do not think the honorable member at the head of the Government was justified in addressing Mr. Jordan in those terms. Still I do not vote on account of that correspondence, or because there are defects in the system of immigration carried out by the Black Ball line. I do not approve of a system of monopoly, nor do I think this system is immaculate; but I believe it is improving and is likely to improve. Nor do I vote for the resolutions, because I disapprove of the Imperial Commissioners' system. I know that system has been stigmatised in terms which it does not merit. The immigrants sent out under it have been designated paupers, which is wholly and materially wrong. The term has been misapplied to them, for I believe a more respectable class, a better class of immigrants; morally and physically, never left the shores of Great Britain than those which were sent out by the Imperial Commissioners. I think, perhaps, their pockets were not so well lined—they did not bring the same amount of money which has been imported into the colony by means of the land order system, and that, I believe, is where the grievance lies. They have not been in a position to buy up town allotments or small farms, and the colonists have looked upon them with a certain amount of discredit. That discredit has been entirely undeserved, for I believe them to be quite as desirable immigrants as any which have come out by the Black Ball line, and as carefully chosen. But it is very natural that people should prefer to have emigrants who have money to those who have none. The great object in our legislation is not only to introduce labor, but also to bring capital into the colony to make that labor profitable; and that was one of the great principles upon which the land order system was based, and which made it so acceptable to the people of this colony. Now, sir, I have stated some of the reasons which induce me to vote for these resolutions; I will now state further why I shall support it. First, because, argument apart, there is no doubt that the action taken by the honorable member at the head of the Government—although it may have been politic, although it may have been forced upon him, although it may even have been desirable—was not in accordance with the law of the

land. Whatever may be said to the contrary, nothing will convince me that such action was legal, and, therefore, I say we are bound in honor to administer the law, if not according to the strict letter, fairly and equitably. Nothing else will satisfy the people of this country, that we are giving effect to that admirable principle embodied in the land order system, the exchange of a superfluous commodity, land, for the great desideratum, population, or that we are taking the necessary steps to make the sterile wastes of this country profitable and reproductive. I say, unless the people of Queensland are at once satisfied that the action of the Government is not such as to imperil the system which carries out this principle, and which has been found to produce such admirable results—then, I say, whatever may be the result of the division to-night, I am quite sure they will withdraw their confidence from the reigning administration. I do not say it will not be necessary at some future time—it may be necessary even now, to admit some dealings with the Imperial Emigration Commissioners; but, I say, if the Government once admit that they are going to relax their exertions to keep up the supply of immigration—(“No, no;” from the Government benches)—I am glad to hear it, for, after all, that is the main question for consideration. If they can satisfy the people that, instead of remitting their exertions in favor of immigration, they will rather infuse new vigor with their administration—then, I say, no matter what system be in force, the land order system or that of the Imperial Commissioners, or both combined—I am quite sure they will enjoy the confidence of this House, and of the country.

MR. R. CRIBB: Sir, my intention is to vote against these resolutions, and I will briefly give my reasons for doing so. I think the honorable member at the head of the Government has fully answered the first of these resolutions, as to the action of the Government being contrary to law, and secondly, the charge that they have misappropriated money voted by this House for the purposes of the Immigration Act. That is really the question before the House; and it appears to me that nineteenth-twentieths of what has been said in the course of this debate, has had no reference whatever to it. As that charge has, in my opinion, been fully answered, I shall say nothing further about it. But, sir, there is one point upon which the honorable Colonial Secretary has failed to convince me, and that is, that, although the course taken by the Government was not contrary to law, or a miss-appropriation of funds, it was either wise or expedient. And, sir, I do contend that, if we have an Emigration Agent at home authorised to send out emigrants in various ways, we ought to confine our operations to the system of immigration under which he receives his instructions, and if a motion to that effect had been

brought forward I should certainly have voted for it. Of course I only give this as my opinion, others may think differently, and may perhaps consider it desirable to merge the two systems into one. As there has been so much discussion upon various topics in connection with the motion, I may, perhaps, be permitted to occupy the time of the House for a few minutes on the general system of land orders. That is a system which I advocated in New South Wales long before it was introduced into this colony. I was very glad to see it adopted here; its operation has been very beneficial to the colony, as I was quite sure it would be, and we have had no reason to be disappointed in it, but, on the contrary, our most sanguine expectations have been realized. And I must say I do think it was a most unfortunate day for this colony when that system was first tampered with, for I think if it had not, we should have been further advanced than we are now, far advanced as we are. But that has been done and we have now another system in operation, while the land order system is not so perfectly or so effectually carried out as it was at first. Still, while it is in force I do hope the Government will do their best to make it beneficial to the colony, for I believe we can get a sufficient number of emigrants under the land order system, even in its modified form, to meet the requirements of the country, without sending home any money to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners. And, sir, there is this advantage in confining ourselves to the land order system—we shall not be obliged to raise money by loan, and we shall not have to send home money to form a sinking fund. There is another thing which must be borne in mind, that the more fully the land order system is carried out, the less money it costs to introduce each immigrant, because the more land orders are brought into the market the more the price of land is raised. These are the reasons, sir, which have led me to the conviction that we ought to confine ourselves entirely to the land order system of emigration. The honorable member for Port Curtis, referring to the Estimates, pointed out that a sum of £100,000 was voted by this House for cancelling land orders. Now, sir, I believe the honorable member took a wrong view of that matter. I believe it was simply that the land orders returned to the Treasury as money were found to amount to that sum, and the £100,000 was set down in the Estimates to correct the apparent deficiency. That is the £100,000 the honorable member refers to, and not, as he would have the House to believe, a sum voted by this House for the purpose of buying up the land orders. Then, sir, there is a point to which almost every honorable member who has spoken has addressed himself—the mode in which the arrangements connected with the passenger traffic is conducted in the ships belonging to the Black

Ball line, as compared with those in the ships employed by the Imperial Commissioners. Now, sir, I cannot see why the same morality cannot be observed in one passenger ship as in another. If immoralities have occurred, proper regulations can be made in either case to put a stop to them; they cannot occur if those regulations are enforced; and I do not see that the fact of any such irregularities having occurred is in any way an argument in favor of the Imperial Commissioners' ships, or against the ships of the Black Ball line. And I trust that while the agreement with the present shipowners lasts—it must last for two or three years more—we shall have a similar system, with this difference, that the traffic will be open to competition. I believe that is the way in which we shall succeed in getting the best class of ships employed for the conveyance of emigrants to this colony—ships that will bring out passengers in a systematic and orderly way, and in which no such immoralities as we have heard of will be permitted. It has been argued to-night that the immigrants introduced by the Imperial Commissioners are the best immigrants which have been sent to this colony. But, sir, if I offer my opinion, I must say that we have had an excellent class of immigrants introduced under the land order system. It has been said by one honorable member that the immigrants sent out by the Commissioners do not usually bring any money with them to buy up town allotments. I think, sir, that is not a consideration which will have any weight with honorable members in dealing with this question. The object we have in view is to legislate for the best interests of the colony; and I believe I am furthering those interests in giving my vote against the resolutions before the House.

Mr. WALSH: I consider, sir, that I may, with some degree of modesty, claim the attention of this House under present circumstances. I had most patiently waited, this evening, trusting that this matter would be generally discussed—a matter that seems to have created a great deal of feeling outside of the House; and, consequently, I thought it would have been responded to as fully inside. I am sorry that there has been such reluctance on the part of the Government and their supporters. It is a question that appears to me to be of such magnitude that—as they seem to fancy that they have all the argument on their side, sir—ought to be fully discussed; and I did hope, sir, that, at any rate, it would have been fully dwelt upon, and that new members like myself would not have had, at this early stage of the debate, to speak at all. It would give me very great pleasure could I support the Government this evening. I acknowledge that I am not at all satisfied with the way in which immigration has been carried on under the auspices of Mr. Jordan. I am not aware that he has done such an extraordinary amount of duty, and done it so well, that he

should be deified in such a way in this House; nor am I aware that he has done anything that any other ordinary mortal could not have done. I consider that he has not been the promoter of such extraordinary good to this colony—that he has not exhibited such an extraordinary aptitude for business—as to justify the views that most honorable members seem to take. I should have been glad to have joined the Government this evening, in some expression that would have informed Mr. Jordan that in returning to the colony last year, and in writing such letters as he has written to a responsible Minister, he has presumed upon his position—popular man though he be. I should have been delighted to have joined them in writing to him in this strain—“That we do not permit our subordinates, either in this country or at home, either our most useless or our most useful officers, to write such letters as you dare to do.” I am sorry the Government did not take that position. I am sorry to hear all these flaunting letters which have been brought before the House. I am sorry that the Colonial Secretary goes out of his way unnecessarily to applaud Mr. Jordan; which he can have done for no other reason than for the purpose of getting a few votes for the Government this evening. It is beneath his position, and, under the circumstances, he should not have done so. It is unworthy of the head of the Government. I confess, sir, I am disappointed with the explanation of the Colonial Secretary; I think it was beside the charge made against the Government. His explanation on behalf of the Government, so far as I heard it, was not, in my opinion, sufficient to justify their departure from the report of the select committee which was brought up last session, and from the Act which they united with the House to give their sanction to. I consider that in no way has the charge brought forward by the mover of the resolutions been met. I cannot see that in any part of the Immigration Act the Government possesses the power to carry out any other system of immigration, or that they are justified in adopting or resorting to any other system of immigration, than that under the Agent-General of this colony. The Act seems to me so clear, that I cannot understand how any man can attempt to argue otherwise, or to shew otherwise;—if I can read, it is as plain as it is possible for an Act to be on the subject. We must remember that it was prompted, that it was especially framed to meet an emergency somewhat similar to what we see in our present position. It was framed to define distinctly and clearly what are the duties of the Agent-General, the duties of the Government, and what are the expectations which the immigrants might have who came to this colony under it. The third clause of the Act provides—

“It shall be the duty of the Agent-General for Emigration and he is hereby authorised and required to make all necessary provision for the

selection of emigrants and their conveyance to the colony and to receive and account for all moneys paid into the Queensland Emigration office in London on account of such assisted passages as are hereinafter mentioned and to issue such land order warrants as are hereinafter specified and to make all contracts and issue all notices and to do all things relating to emigration to Queensland that the Governor in Council may from time to time direct in pursuance of the provisions of this Act."

Well, sir, in the answer given by the honorable the Colonial Secretary the other evening to the honorable member for the Burnett, Mr. Mackenzie, he admitted distinctly that money had been sent home for other purposes than those provided for by this Act, clearly shewing that there were grounds—though I do not say justification—for what I must consider this very improper letter of the Agent-General, dated within a week after he left Brisbane. Now, I cannot see that on this immigration question there has been any expediency, any necessity shewn why so explicit an expression of the House should be departed from. And I certainly have not heard anything this evening to lead me to think that there was any necessity why it should be departed from almost before the ink with which the Act is printed was dry. If, sir, as the Colonial Secretary argued, our Agent-General has such feelings that they can be easily worked upon by such sharp parties as the Black Ball line firm, I ask him, as the Minister principally in charge of the immigration of this colony, how he could have sanctioned such a trust to such a person? If, as his argument this evening led us to suppose, Mr. Jordan is utterly unable to cope with such a company as we employ to bring the immigrants here, I ask on what grounds has he bestowed the laudation that we heard upon him? His arguments in favor of employing the Imperial Commissioners were, I admit, good; but I do not admit that they justify the contravention of this Act. If the Agent-General or the Black Ball ships are not to be entrusted with carrying to this colony modest girls, then something should be done—some Act should be passed—to justify the Government in adopting other means for introducing girls to this colony by which their morality and modesty would not be shocked. It is a very poor argument that because this line, of which he spoke so favorably a long time past, cannot do the work properly—that, because the captains of the ships are not to be entrusted with the care of girls—an Act of Parliament should be rudely violated; that a personal whim of some sort—a piece of resentment against the Agent-General, should be indulged in. The Colonial Secretary professes to be a great admirer of the land order system. I cannot see at the present moment, what there is to admire in it at all. It seems to me to have arrived at a nullity. Under

the provisions of the recent Act, for the majority of the immigrants that land on our shores, we shall have to pay for in hard cash. Under the system that has been established, for the last twelve months and during the next twelve months, the proportion will be something like two to seven, or three to ten, for whom we shall have to pay in hard cash. If the land order system is such a beneficial one—if it is so suitable for this colony—if it is such an incentive to people leaving England to come here—why is it not carried out to a greater extent? Under this Act, I maintain that the land order system is inoperative, that it cannot be indulged in: but we are bound to receive our immigrants under the Agent-General, and principally by the Black Ball line, to which we have to pay some stipulated sum of money; and we only nominally issue land orders. If such is the case, and if the Government are satisfied that the Emigration Commissioners send out a better class of people to this colony than anyone else, and can be employed to do so on an extensive scale, why, I ask, do they not come forward and announce at once that they have no confidence in Mr. Jordan or in the Act? Why violate the Act, and submit members of this House to the degradation of consenting to the violation of an Act which they themselves have passed? Let them come forward and ask us to repeal it; and, whatever they do, let them do it constitutionally. My attention has been called this evening to one inconsistency in the Colonial Secretary. I have no doubt, if he has the opportunity, he will be able to explain it away to his admirers in the same way that he explained the charge brought against him by the honorable member for the Burnett, Mr. Mackenzie. It has been intimated to me that this firm, of which Mr. Jordan is now the apostle—if not, the victim—was once greatly favored by the Colonial Secretary, who supported the employment of their ships; that, two or three years ago, he was the greatest admirer of the company; and in the evidence he gave, two years ago, in this House, I find that, to a considerable extent, that is so. We need not a Jordan to defend it, when it appears we have the Colonial Secretary. If the Colonial Secretary cannot get on with what he calls an impertinent subordinate, it does appear strange that, since his anger against that man has been raised, he should find all these faults in the company. I know nothing about the Black Ball line—I only see, by the evidence on the table, that the Colonial Secretary, a few years ago, was in its favor, and, now that he discovers to a very great extent that the firm are sharpers, their ships are dens of iniquity, and that the present apostle of the firm is a deluded creature. There is an inconsistency here, and I should have been pleased, if I had risen at a later period this evening, that it was cleared away, so that I could

give my opinion upon some better information than I now possess. I do not believe this is a question, as do many honorable members on the other side, as to whether immigration shall continue or cease—whether Queensland is to prosper or decay—I do not believe anything of the sort. I believe that there are as good fish in the sea as ever were caught, and that if Mr. Jordan does carry out his threat, and does return to this colony by the next mail, as good a man will be found to be our emigration agent, and perhaps a better. But, whatever the conduct of this man, it does not justify a departure from an Act of the Legislature. If I could see that there was a single clause, or any authority whatever, to authorise the expenditure of this money, I should, this evening, vote with the Government. But, after inquiring with assiduity, and to the best of my ability, I am forced to this conclusion—that this Government care no more about an Act of Parliament, when they have a passion to gratify or an object to gain, than I care about the piece of paper I hold in my hand. It is a most serious question for the people's representatives to consider. It is useless coming down, some of them hundreds of miles, to this Assembly, if their acts are to be set aside when their backs are turned—if those measures that they took such trouble and care with, and such pride in, are to be as nought with the Government, and they have to discover besides that the public purse has been unduly used. I say it is a very serious thing, Mr. Speaker, if we have a Government of such persuasive powers, or such powers of attraction or otherwise, that they can get honorable members to forget their duties and to shut their ears in order to keep the Government in office. I say it is a matter of the greatest importance to us. Even the most humble member here feels reverently that he guards the Acts of the Parliament—that he allows no transgression of them, by the meanest individual, and more especially by the Government. I say he had better remain at home than do so. He had better not seek the high position cast upon him, if he can come down here and testify by his conduct that he submits to acts which I hold are not only illegal, but unconstitutional. I do trust that every honorable member, this evening, however anxious he may be to keep the present Government in power—and I am one; for if their sense of public morality only equalled my anxiety for their welfare, they would have a very long tenure of office, and they would escape those attacks which we, on this side, who are apparently the monopolists of public morality, feel it our duty to make upon them—I say, I do trust that every honorable member will consider this question seriously and impartially. It is my conviction, sir, that however anxious we may be to keep the Government in power, we have a greater care upon us; and that is, to keep the constitu-

tion from being ruthlessly assailed. And I call upon those honorable members who seem to have no other duty in the House than to side with the Government—those silent members—I call upon them for once to shew that they are soldiers of the constitution, and not serfs of the Ministry; that they are prepared to wear the garb of soldiers, and not—I say it respectfully, sir, though it is forced from me—the plush of servility. Whatever may be their hopes, whatever their expectations—whether the Government will, this session or another, terminate their existence as squatters—I call upon them to shew that they are worthy of the respect of members on this side of the House; and, if they cannot speak on questions like this, that they can at least think rightly on them. I believe, sir, many grave questions may yet come before this House, which will demand something like common agreement with all those who wish well to this colony. I believe there are questions looming in the future pregnant with the greatest importance to this colony, which will require the examination, the attention, the support of this House. I appeal to honorable members on the other side—I appeal to the Government—and I appeal to members on this side—to allow this question, as it is one so deeply affecting the constitution and the country, the gravest consideration; but, especially, I appeal to honorable members opposite, to shew that they can exercise and be guided by their own judgment. I appeal to them to shew that, on such a constitutional question, they deserve, not only the support of their friends, the Government, but the support and the respect of the Opposition. It is such awkward questions as these, on which the Government are so well able to surround themselves with servile followers, that sunders so far the north from the south—the Opposition from the Government. It is because, on questions like these, we never see the supporters of the Government able to reason at all, or act in any other way but in echo to what some member of the Government has said; and it destroys all confidence—I admit, it destroys all confidence in my breast in the Government—when, on questions like this, I see it so clearly;—when, instead of the Colonial Secretary getting up and acknowledging that the Act had been upset—

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Oh, no!

MR. WALSH: Instead of saying candidly, I don't like Mr. Jordan, and I will not allow him to dictate to me, and I will not allow this House to dictate to me; he relies on his supporters. It would be much better to make a statement of that kind, and to ask us to put in force some Act which he, as head of the immigration department, can consistently carry out, than to do as he has done. Under this present position, the Premier of the colony is fighting against the Agent-General

at home, and the Agent-General is fighting against everybody who does not believe in him; how then can we hope for the supply of immigration to be kept up, or the increase of wealth that we may expect therefrom? We shall never get this happy state of things until honorable members on the other side of the House who usually vote with the Government, will take a stand, and avow plainly that they will no longer support a Government who are not bound by the Acts of this Parliament. I do not quite agree with the remarks made by the honorable member for Port Curtis, on one point. I do not admit with him that under the present Immigration Act, or under the system that is now carried out, the population arriving in this colony is a mere exchange for waste lands. I wish I could see it. I wish I could see that the waste lands of the colony were employed for the purpose of bringing population to our shores. I cannot tacitly agree with the remarks he made on the subject. I believe that by this time next year we shall feel how difficult our immigration regulations are; when, for the first time, we shall be called upon to pay down a large sum for shippers' land orders, which I see will burden us. Then the Ministry will have to come down, and devise some other and less costly plan for landing immigrants in this colony. I believe, if the price of land was reduced materially—if the monopoly that the Black Ball line now enjoys was done away with—if the shipowners of England were informed that they could send emigrants to this colony in the same way as they can send any merchandise—that so long as it was of a certain quality, so long would they find a market,—that then there would be no occasion to keep up the expensive agency, or for such unpleasant correspondence as has been tabled this session. I do not see why inducements could not be held out to shippers at home to get them to send to this colony emigrants of the exact sort we require. I believe if they were told that they could get the land orders for a certain amount, on condition that they would send out to the colony emigrants of a certain class, and none other, they would be the best emigration agents; and that we should get rid of our cumbrous machinery, and that we should save much by it. For these reasons, sir, I will vote for the motion: I am open to conviction—unless I am persuaded, before the debate is over, that the Act has not been infringed.

Mr. McLEAN said that he had listened with great attention to the speeches made by honorable members since the debate commenced; and he certainly must admit that he was not at first quite clear how the Government would get out of the difficulty of explaining away all the allegations set forth by the honorable mover of the resolutions, now under consideration; but after hearing the Colonial Secretary's explanation, in which he gave

the history of the immigration of this country since it commenced, and of the laws and regulations that guided the Government, and of the meeting that influenced the Government, and of the deputation that persuaded the Government in carrying out the arrangements, the House ought to be very thankful, as he was, for the successful manner in which the system had been worked. He thought any one who was not at all desirous to upset the Government must admit that the convincing speech which the honorable the Colonial Secretary had made to the House ought to be sufficient for any one who was open to conviction. He was sure that the honorable member for the Burnett at the present moment thought with him, although he would not admit it.

Mr. MACKENZIE: No, no.

Mr. McLEAN: He had the honor to be a member of the committee which took evidence on immigration last year, and the honorable mover of the resolutions was the chairman; and he knew that during the time the committee had the subject under consideration, it was also discussed how the Government were to carry on the required immigration, to keep us going in the colony. Our agent at home had left his post without orders—no one was there to represent the Government—and immigration must cease, unless the Government took some steps to carry it on; and he knew that the honorable member who had moved the resolutions was as clamorous as any member of the House to push the Government forward to do something that should prevent us from being entirely without immigration altogether. And, in the face of the votes that were passed in two consecutive sessions of this House, granting £100,000 in each year for the purposes of immigration, he could not see how any honorable member on the other side of the House could get up in the way that they did, and with their affrontery say that only land orders were to pay for immigration to this country. He could not think how it was possible for honorable members to say that they knew anything about the immigration system, of the Government of the country, or of the acts of the House, when they went on in such a way. They must entirely ignore the intelligence of other members of the House. They must fancy they were dictators, and that they ought to guide the House. He was sure that the honorable member for Maryborough, who last addressed the House, must, from the dictatorial way in which he spoke, have a poor opinion of the intelligence of the House; for he assumed to himself, though the youngest member in the House, to know all the Acts of Queensland far better than anyone else, even including the honorable the Speaker. He believed the honorable member, from the way he spoke, and from the way he rated the understrapper, who acted as agent for the colony,

was of opinion that the Government should give no instructions. From the way he rated him, and shewed that he was unable to carry out the functions he was appointed to carry out—from the way he rated the honorable the Colonial Secretary, and other honorable members—and from the way he rated all those who had the control of the public business of the country—one might fancy that the honorable member thought he could himself do better than anyone else. But it was a happy thing for the country that those who had the Government of the country in their hands, and the people who had the election of representatives for that House, who had the electing of those who should carry on the business of the country—it was a happy thing for the country that they had not the same opinion of the honorable member that the honorable member had of himself. From the way the honorable member commenced to rate the Agent-General for Emigration, he thought the honorable member must have been under the impression that there was very little in the resolution before the House; because, he believed, the honorable member had repeatedly stated that nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that a ministerial crisis would be occasioned by Mr. Jordan being dissatisfied with the immigration system of the Imperial Commissioners supplanting the system of immigration in existence under the auspices of the Black Ball line. The honorable the Colonial Secretary represented the matter fairly before the House, when he stated that if Mr. Jordan were an unprejudiced servant of the country, trying to promote its best interests; and if he had a proper idea of what he was appointed to perform in the mother country, he would, instead of being jealous of the Commissioners, be glad that they took upon them the responsibility of selecting ships, and organising the best mode of sending them to this country. He believed every dispassionate person in the House must also believe that there must be some other influence besides good common sense, that induced Mr. Jordan to be jealous of the Emigration Commissioners. He was sure that the Board who had the control of such enormous influence and power in guarding emigrants against the mismanagement of shipowners, and the control of emigration from the mother country, could well afford to allow Mr. Jordan to say as much as he liked about them. He was sure the spirit Mr. Jordan exhibited towards the Imperial Commissioners shewed his little-mindedness more than anything else could, and shewed that he was jealous of such an organisation to assist him in promoting immigration to the colony. As to the relative economy of the two systems, it must be admitted that if they had to pay for immigration, it would be more to the advantage of the country to get able-bodied industrious

men to come here by the Commissioners' ships, at a charge of £12 16s. or £12 19s. per head, than to pay the Black Ball line £15 a-head. The honorable member for Port Curtis urged, in all his arguments, that the Government were wrong, and that Mr. Jordan was right: and the only reason the honorable member had for preferring to bring the business of the country to a stand still by a ministerial crisis was, that the Government, he considered, had no power by the Act passed last year, to send one sixpence home to carry on immigration through the Commissioners. He believed the honorable member read the records of the House, and he believed also that he had a good memory, and recollected what took place in the House, and that the honorable member was much more conversant than he (Mr. McLean) was with what took place: but, notwithstanding that, he would take the liberty of reminding the honorable member that he could not forget there were two votes—one for £100,000 in 1863, and another for £100,000 in 1864, which latter vote was intended to supplement the land order system. He believed they could not find anything in the records of the House by which the Government were prevented from employing the Commissioners to send out immigrants; and, if there was anything to be found in the records of the House to that effect, he confessed he would go with the Opposition at once; for, if there was any record to that effect, the Government had no right whatever to use such money. He believed, however, that no such record could be found, and that no restrictive instructions were given to the Government. He believed that, in place of the Opposition gaining any ground by the proceedings of that evening, they would find most assuredly that they had only succeeded in shewing how incapable they were to organise and carry on an opposition; for the way in which they carried on opposition was as absurd as could be. He thought it came with a very bad grace from the honorable member for the Burnett to bring this motion forward after the way he addressed the Government a short time ago, and insisted that the whole of the immigration to the colony should be carried on through the Commissioners. During the time they were taking evidence on the subject of immigration last year, and when the last Immigration Bill was before the House, it was well known to every honorable member in the House, and to every member of the community who chose to read the reports of the proceedings in the House, that at that time it was the intention of the Government to supplement immigration to the colony through the Imperial Commissioners; and he could not see how, in the name of common sense, the honorable members who had lately spoken on this subject could find any reasonable grounds for their opposition to the mode in which

the Government had carried on immigration to the colony; and for saying that they would acquiesce in such an extreme, vile, and unfair course as to agree with the resolutions of the honorable member for the Burnett. For his part, he could not agree to them, and therefore would vote against them.

Mr. BLAKENEY said, that since he had had the honor of a seat in that House, he had never heard honorable members diverge so much from the point of debate as on the present occasion. He would now draw the attention of honorable members to what the motion really was. The question was—"That the continued remittance of money to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners is at variance with the Act 28th Victoria, No. 17, and is a misappropriation of funds voted by this House for the purposes of the said Act." That was the real question before the House. He had heard the honorable member who had just sat down lavish, in the way he usually did, fulsome praise on the idols he worshipped, and who sat on the bench before him; and he would ask that honorable member to say whether the honorable member at the head of the Government for once in his lucid appeal and argumentative explanation, alluded to the real question. No; but they had a long dissertation from the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, as to the relative value of the system under the Imperial Commissioners and the system carried out by the Black Ball line of vessels. With the same facility as the chameleon could change its skin, the honorable the Colonial Secretary could change his views to suit his convenience. He recollected that when his late excellent colleague, Mr. Raff, had a seat in that House, and when that gentleman brought forward a motion with reference to the Black Ball line, he recollected the manner in which the honorable the Colonial Secretary struggled for the Black Ball line, and declared that it would be unjust and unfair to break the engagement with them, and to take from them the monopoly they enjoyed. On that occasion the honorable the Colonial Secretary praised the Black Ball Company as much as he now ran them down. But that was beside the question. He had waited for a considerable time expecting to hear his honorable and learned friend the Attorney-General rise and speak to this question, but he had waited in vain. The honorable the Colonial Secretary did not allude to any part of the Immigration Act, but went into generalities; and the honorable member no doubt, knew well that when one felt he was committing an offence, the best way to cover his retreat was, to go into generalities. The next honorable member whom he heard say anything in favor of the Government, was the honorable member for East Moreton (Mr. R. Cribb), who always sat on the Opposition side of the House but voted with the Government. If the resolution before the House was to

the effect that the Government should not be allowed to appropriate any more money out of the vote under the Immigration Act for bringing out immigrants under the Imperial Commissioners, that honorable member would vote for it; but, it was too stinging a motion, and partook something of the nature of a vote of censure, and if it should be carried it might disturb honorable members in the seats they had so long enjoyed, and therefore the honorable member would not vote for it. Now, after the digression, he would come to the question. The first point raised in connection with this matter was through a question put the other day by his honorable colleague, Mr. Pugh, as to whether any money had been sent by the last post; and the answer was that it was sent, or was to be sent, by that post. Now, that was so lately, that the money if sent must have been taken out of this vote. Then came the question of the honorable member for the Burnett, who had moved these resolutions. That honorable member asked under what clause of the Act of 1864 any money had been sent to the Imperial Commissioners for the purposes of immigration. That question referred to the £10,000 remitted by the last mail. The answer to the question was that the Government did not consider the Immigration Act of 1864 either empowered or prohibited the sending of money to the Imperial Commissioners. Now he would be glad to know if the honorable the Attorney-General would stand up in his place and say that the Government had a right to spend money they were not empowered by an Act of Parliament to spend.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: No, I won't.

Mr. BLAKENEY: He would now shew that the Act did not empower the Government to spend any portion of money in the way they had done. He would endeavor to shew—which had been avoided all through the argument by the honorable the Colonial Secretary and every one of his admirers—that the Government had not acted in pursuance of this Act of Parliament. The third clause of the Act said:—

"It shall be the duty of the Agent-General for Emigration and he is hereby authorised and required to make all necessary provision for the selection of emigrants and their conveyance to the colony and to receive and account for all moneys placed into the Queensland Emigration Office in London on account of such assisted passages as are hereinafter mentioned and to issue such land order warrants as are hereinafter specified and to make all contracts and issue all notices and to do all things relating to emigration to Queensland that the Governor in Council may from time to time direct in pursuance of the provisions of this Act."

Now, was there one word in that clause that said anything about the Imperial Commissioners acting with Mr. Jordan? No, there was not. He next came to the 17th clause.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Hear, hear.

Mr. BLAKENEY: Yes, "hear, hear." The clause was short and sweet, and he would quote it. It was as follows:—

"For the purposes of defraying the expenses authorised by this Act it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to issue debentures to an amount not exceeding one hundred thousand pounds in each year."

Now, did that clause give the Government power, directly or indirectly, by implication or otherwise, to spend a single shilling of the £100,000 raised under the Act, except through the Agent-General for Immigration.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: There never was a sixpence raised under the Act.

Mr. BLAKENEY: His honorable and learned friend said there never had been a sixpence raised under the Act. Well, it might be so. However, he would now refer to the letters written by the honorable the Colonial Secretary to Mr. Jordan, and which were dated within two days after the Act was passed. The honorable gentleman would bear in mind, and there were many in that House who did not forget the sensation that was created in the colony, and in that House, on the unexpected return of Mr. Jordan. Honorable members would not forget that occasion in a hurry. He was sorry he could not lay his hand on the draft Bill that was introduced by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, which was so changed and altered at the suggestion of the Immigration Agent, that, in the end, nothing remained of the original Bill but the preamble.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I did not introduce the Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Who moved the amendments?

Mr. BLAKENEY: The honorable the Colonial Secretary introduced the amendments at the dictation of Mr. Jordan, and, in the end, nothing was left but the skeleton of the original Bill. Now, that Bill was passed on the 14th of August, 1864, and, on the 16th of August, the honorable the Colonial Secretary wrote to Mr. S. Walcott, the Secretary to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners—two days after the Act was passed—and he wrote thus:—

"The Government of Queensland has determined to reserve a portion of the amount authorised to be raised by loan, under clause 17 of the Immigration Act, to defray the cost of immigrants despatched under Her Majesty's Commissioners; and sums of money will, from time to time, be transmitted to you for that purpose."

Now, in that paragraph there was a distinct determination enunciated by the head of the Government to violate the 17th clause of the Act. Would any honorable member say that, under that Act, in which the Imperial Commissioners were never mentioned, that the Government had the power of allocating £20,000 or £30,000 to the Commissioners, instead of the Colonial Immigration Agent? If the Government had power, nevertheless,

to do so, then Parliament was useless, and the time of honorable members in attending there was thrown away; and the appeal of his honorable friend for Maryborough was in vain, if they were to be met with sneers and taunts, and the silence of the Government, who, counting on their blind supporters, concluded that no matter what they did it would be declared by a majority of the House that they were right. No matter what the Government did, they would be voted right; but honorable members on the Opposition side of the House felt they had a duty to perform, and they were determined to perform it. His honorable friend who brought forward this motion, could not, in his wildest imagination, have thought that he could carry it, looking at the supporters the Ministry had. But honorable members who sat on the Opposition side of the House thought it right that they should support this motion; and he would ask honorable members who usually supported the Government if they would continue to support a Government that openly violated the strict letter and spirit of an Act of Parliament? Now, what were the resolutions that were come to by the committee which sat in 1863, relative to immigration? A great deal was said about the committee, but honorable members must bear in mind that there was no law extant authorising the Government to expend one shilling of the money through the Emigration Commissioners. It was only done in this way: certain sums of money were asked annually to be voted for immigration purposes, and the mode of expending it was left to the Government; and uniformly, as was done by Victoria and the other Australian colonies, the Imperial Commissioners were resorted to. He wished it to be distinctly understood, that he was not there to find fault with one system or another; he was not there to cry up one or cry down another system. His argument was, that they should keep to constitutional law, as to sums entrusted to the Government for expenditure; and he believed that the money entrusted to the Government for expenditure for immigration was faithfully and properly expended, and, at that time, they had the opportunity of choosing through whom they should bring out immigrants. But once the Act of Parliament became law, the Government were restricted—and, as it was provided by the 17th clause of the Act that the money raised under the Act should be spent by the Agent-General only, the Government had no right to spend a shilling of it through the Commissioners. Now, what occurred in 1863, in the committee to which allusion had been made? The committee, in the 18th clause of their report, said:—

"Your committee must admit the necessity for placing all immigration to the colony under the direct control of the Commissioner for the colony, and of adopting the regulations of Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners."

Now, that was the recommendation of a committee appointed by the House—that the funds to be raised for immigration purposes should be solely administered by the Agent-General of the colony. Was he, then, to be told that that was not the recommendation in pursuance of which the 17th clause of the Act was carried out? The amendments proposed on the Bill by the honorable the Colonial Secretary embodied suggestions that were made by the Agent-General for the proper carrying out of the Act. Where, he again asked, was then the authority to the Government to send any portion of the money to the Imperial Commissioners so late as last month? That was a very serious question, and he hoped the House would not allow itself to be hoodwinked or led astray by the unfortunate occurrences that might have taken place in the Black Ball line of ships—occurrences that might take place on board of the best ships. That was not the question before the House. The question was simply this—had the Government expended the money legally or not? and he trusted that every honorable member who might follow him in the course of the debate would keep to that point. He should be most happy, if any honorable member of the Government, or any honorable member who thought with them, would shew to the House that the Act passed in August, 1864, was not in pursuance of the report of the committee, which was adopted by the House, and upon the 18th clause of which the 17th clause of the Act was based.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No; there was no reference to that.

Mr. BLAKENEY: He maintained that the 17th clause of the Act passed in 1864 was in pursuance of the 18th clause of the report of the committee that sat in 1863. The 18th clause of the report was as follows:—

“Your committee must admit the necessity for placing all immigration to the colony under the direct control of the Commissioner for the colony, and of adopting the regulations of Her Majesty’s Emigration Commissioners.”

That was the recommendation of the committee, which was adopted by the whole House; and would any honorable member say that the clause in the Act was not in pursuance of that recommendation? If not, let them hear no more of the intentions of the committee, or of what conversations occurred on those matters; for there was the strict clause on the subject in an Act of Parliament. He had, himself, regretted that Mr. Jordan had been sent back as their agent, because he felt it was impossible that the Colonial Secretary and he could work together. But it was felt, no doubt, by the Government that he was too troublesome a customer here, and that the sooner he was sent back, to be out of the way, the better. Mr. Jordan, in his letter, denied that he had any conversation with the Colonial Secretary on the subject of sending home money to the

Imperial Commissioners, till the night before he left. He had no knowledge of it whatever till then, and as soon as he arrived at Melbourne, he took the earliest opportunity of writing to the honorable the Colonial Secretary about it. The House knew how sensitive Mr. Jordan was, and they could see, therefore, that by thwarting him there might be a little revenge obtained; but a man of his enthusiastic and warm feelings, and who was anxious to a degree beyond any man he ever met, to carry out the recommendation of the committee, felt such instructions—and that in the teeth of the recommendation of the committee, and of an Act of Parliament, which, along with the Government, he prepared—he felt it was an interference with him that was unjustifiable, and that in its effects upon immigration to the colony would be most injurious. Few there were in business in this city who did not feel and complain of the falling off in immigration, and of the state of monetary affairs in the city, as compared with what it was in 1862 and 1863, when the immigration system of Mr. Jordan was in full swing. A better class of people came out then than came out by the Commissioners’ ships. Many of them were men of wealth, but those who came out by the Commissioners’ ships had only their labor. In most cases the passengers by Mr. Jordan’s ships brought with them, in the aggregate, from £10,000 to £20,000.

An honorable MEMBER: No, no.

Mr. BLAKENEY: He said “Yes, yes,” for he had it from the bank authorities that such was the case; and it was also the opinion generally entertained by the public. At the present time, there was great stringency in the money market in Brisbane, and that circumstance was on all hands attributed to the stoppage of immigration. Instead of having two systems that were liable to come into collision, and in consequence arrest the stream of immigration to the colony, it would be better to have only one system, and if they were to have the Commissioners *cui bono* Mr. Jordan, and *vice versa*. Let them have one system or the other, but not two, especially as they found that the two could not be carried on harmoniously. If the Government should be backed up by a large majority against this motion, he hoped they would not accept of that as a reason why they should continue to act in the unjustifiable way they had been acting, and to send more money to the Imperial Commissioners, for if they did he trusted, that some other and definite course would be taken by the House to determine that there should be but one system of immigration to the colony.

The SECRETARY FOR LANDS AND WORKS said: Though I am unable usually to compliment the honorable member for North Brisbane (Mr. Blakeney) in keeping to the subject before the House, and though I do not agree with him in what he has said, I must admit that he has, to a greater extent

than honorable members who went before him, presented to the House the nature of the motion of the honorable member for the Burnett. There is one point in the observations of the honorable member which it may be as well I should clear up before proceeding further. The honorable member, in his speech, alleged that the Act of last session was founded on the report of the committee of 1863.

MR. BLAKENEY: I only said the 17th clause.

THE SECRETARY FOR LANDS AND WORKS: Now, I think there is no honorable member better able to contradict that statement than the honorable member for the Burnett himself; because, as a member of the committee, my recollection leads me to state that the Bill that was adopted by the House was laid on the table along with the report of the committee of 1863. So it was utterly impossible that any one clause of the Bill could have been founded on the report of the committee of 1863. We have had a lecture to-night from the honorable member for Maryborough on the political morality of the Government, and the duty the House owes to the country, and as to the manner in which that duty ought to be vindicated by the votes of honorable members. The honorable member was certainly not very particular in the language he made use of. He thought nothing of hurling imputations against the Government, and he expected, as honorable members on the other side of the House usually do expect, that the Government would sit still and bear, and say nothing. But I think the House does not require to be told that besides the duty the House owes to the country, there is a duty that it owes to the Government also—at any rate to this extent, that the Government ought not to be misrepresented by honorable members on the opposite side with impunity; and, therefore, it is for the House to vindicate the position of the Government, if the position they have taken is a legitimate one. The honorable member for the Burnett, and the honorable member for Port Curtis, who followed him, seemed to make this debate a discussion as to the relative qualities of the land order system and the conveying qualities of the Black Ball line of vessels over the immigration system of the Imperial Commissioners, and the ships they employ. Now, it appears to me that these are questions altogether beside the matter, and that the issue in this case is limited very much to the resolution, as it was put by the honorable member for the Burnett. I am myself satisfied that immigrants of a suitable character are brought out under Mr. Jordan's system, and also under the system of the Imperial Commissioners; and so far as the ships were concerned, he believed the same line of vessels carried for both. The honorable member for the Burnett's resolution, is to the effect that the Government have com-

mitted a misappropriation of the funds voted by the House for the purposes of the Act 28 Victoria, No. 17, but the honorable member himself very carefully abstained from offering any evidence to the House to shew that the Government had misappropriated any money whatever. I paid the utmost attention, as I always do, to the observations of the honorable member, but I failed to discover that that honorable member, or the honorable member for Port Curtis attempted, for one moment, to shew that the Government had sent to England any money under the Act 28 Victoria, No. 17. Now to get at the point, it is necessary that I should invite honorable members to go back a little. The honorable member at the head of the Government very properly referred to a deputation that waited upon him from a public meeting that was held in this city of Brisbane, at which meeting a resolution was come to condemnatory of the Black Ball line. It was asserted at the meeting that characters of the most immoral description were brought out by these vessels, that every description of immorality was permitted on board during the passage, and that it was necessary for the safety and welfare of the morality of the colony that the Imperial Commissioners should be empowered to carry out immigration to this colony. Now, as was observed by the honorable member for Port Curtis, he formed one of the deputation that waited on my honorable colleague on the subject of this meeting, and he was told that £10,000 had gone home to the Imperial Commissioners for the purposes of immigration. The honorable member never appeared to inquire, nor did he state in his observations, from what source, or under what Bill, the £10,000 was raised. It will, however, be my duty to shew that I refer to the circumstance, because it had a very material bearing in this House when the report of the immigration committee of last year was brought up. On that occasion I find the Colonial Secretary said—

“ I do not think the honorable member for the Burnett has done justice to Her Majesty's Commissioners in stating that they were jealous of Mr. Jordan and his success. I think, that from the constitution of that Board and the position of its members, it was impossible for them to entertain any such feeling. With regard to one particular feature of the immigration to this colony, I may state that Mr. Jordan has never been able to succeed as the Commissioners have done in carrying out their system—except in one instance neither Mr. Jordan nor the shippers have been successful in sending out ships with that strict regard to decency and morality, which has been secured in the ships sailing under the authority of the Commissioners.”

Now, sir, I simply refer to that circumstance to shew that, even so late as the debate upon the report of the Immigration Committee, the question of immigration under the Imperial Commissioners was recognized, and was

upon that occasion, and in the course of the debate, recognized by every honorable member who addressed the House on the subject. I believe, on that occasion, I took the part of Mr. Jordan very materially. I stated that his evidence had very much shaken my faith in the system of emigration conducted by the Imperial Commissioners. Now, sir, that is what took place when the report of the Immigration Committee was brought up; and upon that report was founded the Immigration Act of 1864. Before I come to that Act, I must invite the attention of the House to the Loan Act which appears in the statutes. And if honorable members will turn to them, they will find "An Act to authorise the raising of loans on the security of the consolidated revenue of the colony for the execution of certain public works," and that is dated 22nd September, 1863, twelve months before the Immigration Act was passed. And, unless the honorable member is prepared to argue that the Act had a retrospective effect, and could set aside the Loan Act of 1863, he can have no case whatever against the Government. In order, sir, to put this as clearly as possible before the House, what I say is this, that the sum of money which the honorable member for the Burnett alleges the Government have misappropriated, is money voted under an Act of 1863, passed twelve months before Mr. Jordan came to the colony, and before the Act of 1864 was in existence. That I am perfectly prepared to prove. I hold in my hand a return from the Colonial Treasurer, in which it is clearly shewn that out of the £100,000 voted by this House, £70,000 were voted for the purpose of reducing the loan caused by immigration, and the remaining £30,000 to be devoted to purposes of immigration, and the £10,000 referred to by my honorable colleague, the Colonial Secretary, in his interview with the honorable member for Port Curtis, was a portion of that sum. ("No, no," from the Opposition benches.) And, sir, it was from that source that the money sent to England two days afterwards—after the Immigration Act of 1864 was passed—was derived. Now, sir, the 17th clause of that Act is as follows, and I only ask honorable members to look at this matter from a reasonable point of view:—

"That for the purpose of defraying the expenses authorised by this Act it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to issue debentures to an amount not exceeding one hundred thousand pounds in each year."

It can surely never be contended that the Act passed in 1864 could set aside the Act of 1863, by which this money was authorised. That, sir, is the answer which the Government give to the charge of misappropriation. They have sent home no money under the Act of 1864; the money they remitted was under the Act of 1863. ("No, no.") It is all very well to say "No, no," but I assert that it is so.

Mr. MACKENZIE: Put it into figures.

The SECRETARY FOR LANDS AND WORKS: If the honorable member wanted to convict the Government of having made false statements to this House he should have called for papers. He makes assertions, but he brings forward no facts in support of them, while I, in reply, refer him to Acts of Parliament, which prove beyond contradiction, the source from which the money was authorised. Sir, from what has taken place to-night in this House, and-out of doors, it will be seen that the Government have been accused of one of the most unconstitutional acts of which a government can be guilty, namely, the setting aside an Act of Parliament, trampling legislation under their feet, and adopting a system of immigration not recognized at any time by the laws of this colony. Now, sir, I think I have given a clear and distinct answer to the charge. The Government have never misappropriated one farthing of money under the Immigration Act; they have never taken one farthing under that Bill, and, therefore, they cannot have put any money, authorised by the Act of 1864, into the hands of the Imperial Emigration Commissioners. And, sir, I trust this House, by the resolution which will be arrived at to-night, will vindicate the Government from the aspersions which have been hurled at them by the honorable members on the Opposition benches—aspersions which, I regret to say, are continually hurled at the Government, without much scruple, by those honorable members. However, sir, I give them the benefit of the doubt, and I am willing to believe that these resolutions have been brought forward by the honorable member for the Burnett, under a false impression as to the real facts of the case; because, I do not believe that he would have made himself a party to anything which involved an attack upon the Government, unless he believed he was acting upon sufficient grounds. But the resolution before the House is supported by nothing in the shape of evidence. It has been flatly contradicted by the Government; and the arguments they have placed before the House are unanswerable. I do trust, therefore, that the majority of the members of this House will, to-night, uphold the position which the Government ought to occupy, and have occupied, in the opinion of honorable members. I shall not, sir, detain the House any longer, by commenting upon the different observations which have fallen from several honorable members who have supported this resolution. I think the debate has extended to a sufficient length. I have endeavored, in the few remarks I have made, to keep as closely to the point as possible; I think I have done so, and that I have succeeded in vindicating the position which we have taken in this matter; and I will, in conclusion, express a hope that the House will do justice to the Government.

Mr. LILLEY: Sir, I have listened carefully to the debate, as far as it has proceeded, and

if I have understood it aright, the House has come to the conclusion that the Government have not committed the sin which has been imputed to them. But, sir, I think one good object will be gained by the debate,—it will have the effect of preventing the Government from taking a false step, which I very much fear they contemplated, and would have taken, if the attention of the House had not been drawn to the matter. I am quite sure the honorable and learned Attorney-General will not attempt to say that the Immigration Act of last session would justify the appropriation by the Government of any moneys authorised to be raised under it, in order to send them home to the Imperial Commissioners for immigration purposes. I am quite sure of that; he would bring his legal knowledge and experience to support what is unquestionably English and common sense—that whatever sums were raised under the Immigration Act to be devoted to the purposes of immigration, should be so applied under the auspices of our Emigration Agent. But, sir, I fear the legal interpretation of the Act has not always been in the mind of the Government. Because, in the letter written by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, dated 16th September, 1864, to the Imperial Commissioners, he says, in section 5:—

“The Government of Queensland has determined to reserve a portion of the amount authorised to be raised by loan, under clause 17 of the Immigration Act, to defray the cost of emigrants despatched under Her Majesty’s Commissioners, and sums of money will from time to time be transmitted to you for that purpose.”

Well, now, by the admission made by the honorable and learned Attorney-General as to the reading of that Act, by the arguments adduced by the honorable member for Lands and Works, by the good understanding of every honorable member of this House, we must admit, that that would have been a misappropriation of the funds to be raised under the authority of the Immigration Act. However, if the Government will satisfy my mind—and I confess that to a great extent they have—and there has been no misappropriation of public moneys—then, when these resolutions are put to the House, I am constrained to say that I shall be obliged to vote for the Government, no matter what my political opinions may be, or what my opinion as to the previous political conduct of the Government may have been. And, sir, I shall not be ashamed to support the Government upon this question if they convince me—as I repeat they have to a certain extent—that no misappropriation of the public money has been made. For, as the honorable Secretary for Lands and Works has observed, the character of the Government is the property of the country and the property of this House, and it is desirable to sustain it in the eyes of the world. For my part I should be the last to impeach the

character of the Government. I regret to see that we have had this evening, unfortunately, a great deal of extraneous matter imported into the debate, which would have been conducted much better without it. It is impossible that this House can fail to see that the heart of the honorable member at the head of the Government is not in the land order system of immigration, under the direction of our present Agent-General for Immigration. I think we must see that the honorable member refers, and very plainly, too, to the intention of the Government to remit money to the Imperial Commissioners. At the same time, I think he must admit that the country leans strongly towards the land order system as conducted by our Emigration Agent. And, sir, I believe the honorable member would give his support to that system if he could work with the Agent for Emigration. But I am bound to state, from a perusal of the correspondence from which I have quoted, and from the previous conduct of the honorable member at the head of the Government in reference to Mr. Jordan, that they do not pull very well together; and, perhaps, I may go further, and say I am convinced that is the case. As I believe immigration to be the life-blood of the country, I think it would be to the advantage of this colony to continue the land order system. Now, sir, I have a great respect for the honorable member at the head of the Government. I believe he is as good a man as we are likely to obtain. I do not put the most implicit faith in his honesty, and, as to Mr. Jordan, perhaps I put still less in his; and when I see these two gentlemen flatly contradicting each other, I may possibly believe in neither. It is not for me to say where they are wrong in their contradictions, or to express any opinion on the subject; the question before the House has nothing to do with either of those gentlemen. The question of immigration is one that affects the true interests of the colony, and I really believe that these repeated differences between the honorable Colonial Secretary and Mr. Jordan, and the frequent discussions in the House on the subject of immigration in any form, have imperilled the success of the system. I have felt this upon many occasions, but the immigration question was in the hands of men of high standing and position, and I have not entered much into the discussions which have taken place, because I rested my decision upon their judgment. Sir, I should deeply regret that it should go forth to-night that this had been made a party question; I believe, at all events I hope, it will not. I hope honorable members on either side of the House will not consider it in that light. I believe the Government have not felt that there has been an attack upon their existence as a Government, and I trust that on this side of the House no honorable member has entered upon the consideration of this question in the hope of seeing

the honorable gentlemen who occupy the Government benches change their places, and form an opposition. Not that I should especially regret such an occurrence, because I believe, if there were a change of Government, it might be for the good of the country. For it might be desirable that other honorable members should have an opportunity of qualifying themselves for office; and it would not be to the interest of Queensland to say that there were only four men in the colony capable of holding the reins of government. As I said before, if the Ministry can convince me that no misappropriation has taken place of the funds voted for immigration, under the Act of 1864, I shall vote for them upon this occasion. If not, they certainly cannot rest their defence upon that Act, which certainly does not justify the remittance of any money to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Sir, I am happy to say that I am enabled for once to agree with my honorable and learned friend the member for Fortitude Valley. I think he laid the question very fairly before this House, when he stated that the Government would not be justified, under the 17th clause of the Immigration Act of 1864, in sending home any money to the Imperial Commissioners for the purposes of immigration. It appears to me, sir, that he has taken a right view of the question; and although he has taken upon himself the onus of informing the House that the money which, it is asserted, has been misappropriated, was never authorised under that Act, he must be well aware that it was expended under the authority of the Loan Act of 1863, which received the royal assent twelve months before the Select Committee on Immigration took the question into consideration. I can only wonder, sir, that the honorable member for the Burnett, when he tabled this motion, was not more careful than to assail the Government with such a term as misappropriation. That is a very ugly term, and I may say that I have known the State to take very great care of persons who have been charged with such an offence. And, sir, when I saw that motion tabled, I entertained some fear that my honorable colleagues, the Colonial Secretary, the Minister for Lands and Works, the Colonial Treasurer, and I, should be equally well taken care of—that is if the motion proved successful. I think while, on the one hand, the honorable member for the Burnett may have brought forward this motion without any intention to convey a censure upon the Government—for I am willing to believe that my honorable colleague, the Secretary for Lands and Works, did him justice when he said that the honorable member was actuated by a sense of duty and not by any factious motives, and I am willing to think so; on the other hand, I must say that the honorable the Colonial Secretary has clearly and ably vindicated the action of the Government. Sir, I would

belong to no Government who could be guilty of misappropriating any portion of the public funds. The question is, whether those funds have been misappropriated or not? Now, I think a charge of this nature should be supported by something like evidence. It may be very well for the honorable member for the Burnett to table such a motion, and for every honorable member to express his opinion upon it. But honorable members must recollect that there are other people—other colonies—who may not so readily understand the imputations cast upon the conduct of the Government. And there is also the Home Government, who may have some difficulty in comprehending this unfounded charge against the Government of this colony. I say, sir, it is a very serious charge, but I do not think, after the very able speech of my honorable colleague, the Minister for Lands and Works, I should have addressed this House at all, if I had not thought my arguments must shew conclusively that the Government neither expressed an opinion, or had any intention of doing that with which they have been charged. Sir, there has been no misappropriation of the funds voted for immigration. In 1863, there was a supposed deficit of £70,000 caused by the land orders being returned to the Treasury as money, which the Colonial Treasurer brought under the notice of the House; and a Loan Bill was introduced during that year, and among other things, a sum of £100,000 was set down for immigration purposes, £70,000 of which was to cover the deficit, leaving a balance of £30,000. That Bill received the royal assent on the 22nd September, 1863. Of that balance of £30,000, £20,000 was sent home in 1863 and 1864, and the remaining £10,000 was sent in 1865, under the authority of the Loan Act of 1863, and not under the Immigration Act of 1864, as the honorable member for North Brisbane (Mr. Blakeney) who knows nothing about it, would have the House to believe. The last £10,000 is, no doubt, the sum referred to by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley as mentioned in the letter to Mr. Walcott from the honorable the Colonial Secretary, which was dated 17th September, 1864; it was the balance of a sum set apart for general purposes of immigration, and was, therefore, legitimately applied.

Mr. PUGH said he thought the honorable member for the Burnett must be a man of very sanguine temperament, if he expected his resolution to be carried. He (Mr. Pugh) had come down to the House with an amendment, which he intended to move at the close of his speech. In drawing up that amendment, he had not taken the advice of those with whom he usually acted; he had, however, shewn it to them, and some had approved and others disapproved of it. He did not think the object which the honorable member for the Burnett had in view would be gained by the motion before the House, because

there could be no question that it implied a direct vote of censure on the Government, by the use of the term misappropriation, which the honorable and learned Attorney-General had rightly designated an ugly term; and if it were carried, it would be rather a surpassing act of impudence on the part of the Government to remain any longer in office. He did not, however, wish to place the question upon any other issue than the real one—that in which the country was most interested. It was known that there were two antagonistic systems of immigration at work at the same time. That was the real pith of the matter. As the honorable Minister for Lands and Works had informed the House, the money which it had been said was misappropriated was authorised by the Loan Act of 1863. But the letter addressed to the Imperial Commissioners by the honorable member at the head of the Government, in which he stated their intention of sending home from time to time certain sums for emigration purposes, was written after the Immigration Act was passed. It appeared, therefore, that, although the Government did not actually misappropriate any of the money, they had the intention of doing so. The honorable Colonial Secretary admitted, in his reply to the honorable member for the Burnett, that the Act of 1864 neither prohibited the Government from sending home money to the Imperial Commissioners, nor empowered them to do so. Then, under what authority had the Government acted? That was a point which had not been cleared up, and although the Government might have been justified, the fact did not appear on the face of that clause in the letter written by the Colonial Secretary, which clearly shewed that the Government proposed to remit funds for emigration purposes to Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners, and that they did not consider such a course was at all in opposition to the continuance of the land order system. If the Government had been in a position to prove that they were authorised to remit that money to the Commissioners under the Immigration Act of 1864, he would not have brought forward his amendment. But it had been admitted, over and over again, not only by the direct answer of the honorable member at the head of the Government, but in the course of the debate, by the supporters of the Government, that the said Act did not empower them to do so. Therefore he affirmed that the House should step in and say whether the two systems should be enforced at the same time, or not. The honorable member at the head of the Government had given, as an argument why the immigration under the Imperial Commissioners should be continued, the following reasons:—First, that the discipline maintained on board the ships belonging to the Black Ball line was not as strict as it ought to be, and that certain virtuous females who were anxious to emigrate could not avail

themselves of that line; and, secondly, that the land order system was a more expensive mode of introducing immigrants. Now, it appeared to him that, if order could be maintained on board the ships employed by the Emigration Commissioners, it could also be maintained in the vessels of the Black Ball line. That was one point which was urged by the honorable Colonial Secretary. The honorable gentleman said that the Imperial Commissioners had a large staff of respectable surgeon-superintendents, of staid character, to place in charge of their vessels; but that only went to prove that the surgeon-superintendents in Mr. Jordan's ships were not so well paid and so well selected as those employed by the Commissioners. It happened some years ago, that certain emigrant vessels arrived in this colony, and that certain honorable members of the House were passengers in them. One honorable member then present, was surgeon-superintendent of one of those vessels, the "Fortitude," and he would defy any one to imagine a stricter control than was exercised over the arrangements of that vessel. He mentioned that fact, to shew that proper discipline could be maintained in one ship as well as another, and it was simply ridiculous to say that it was impossible to preserve order. It was true there was now an agreement with the shipowners, Messrs. James Baines and Co., in which certain improvements in the arrangements were specified, and which they were bound to carry out. Very possibly the arrangements were not always strictly carried out, and he said that, in order that it might not occur again. For, he felt quite sure that the irregularities which had occurred, had not been sanctioned by the owners of the Black Ball line. When the "Sunda" arrived in the colony, her passengers intended to have made complaints in reference to the management of the ship, to the health officer, or the officer appointed by the Government to visit the ship. One of the officers of the "Sunda," which he could not say, told the passengers that if they made any complaints they would be detained for several days in the bay; and as they did not desire to incur any such detention at the close of a long voyage, they held their tongues. When Dr. Purdie, the officer sent to inspect the ship, asked them if they had any complaints to make, none were brought forward. It might be said that the passengers ought to have made those complaints; but it was not found that they were desirous of doing so. There was, however, a distinct attempt to mislead on the part of one of the officers of the ship. Why should there be any detention in such a case? The Government could not be desirous of supporting any such conduct.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: It was not brought under the notice of the Government.

MR. PUGH: Perhaps not, at the same time he should like to see the report of the health

officer, and he thought it would be seen by it that the Government emigration inspectors did not do their duty when the vessel left a port of departure. The proper classification of the passengers was, no doubt, a very important matter, and until it were properly carried out, there would be complaints. To say that it could not be carried out was absurd, and he thought, if he understood the provisions of the agreement, the Government were bound to see that the firm of Messrs James Baines and Co. provided vessels furnished with proper accommodation. The Government had pledged themselves not to enter into any contract with any other firm for the conveyance of steerage passengers, and if they conformed to their portion of the agreement, the ship-owners ought to be compelled to adhere to theirs. He next came to the question of expense, and the only evidence on that point was that which was given before the select committee of 1864. £13 had been quoted as the cost of conveying those immigrants; but, taking the records of the House as an authority, it would be found the cost of conveying immigrants introduced into this colony by the Imperial Emigration Commissioners was £15 14s. per head; and added to that was a sum of £2 17s. for gratuities given to surgeons and masters of vessels, which might fairly and justly be added to the cost of conveyance,—that was what was suggested in Mr. Jordan's evidence of last session, which had not been overthrown by the arguments adduced by the Government or their supporters. There was another point to which he would like to refer, and that was that there was an indubitable evil in the co-existence of two distinct systems of immigration, as set forth in the amendment he had to move: and that was borne out by the evidence given before the committee of last session, and by the letter written by the honorable Colonial Secretary, in the course of his correspondence with Mr. Jordan. It had been stated by that honorable member, that both Mr. Jordan and Mr. Taylor were fully aware, and it was stated to them, upon several occasions, that the Government intended to continue their remittances to Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners. It would seem that there was some contradiction upon that point, for Mr. Jordan deemed it vital to the success of the land order system that no further immigration should be conducted under the auspices of the Imperial Commissioners; and if Mr. Jordan knew, before he left the colony, that further funds were to be remitted to the Commissioners for sending out emigrants to the colony, he (Mr. Pugh) could only wonder that he went home at all. And he believed that gentleman's argument against the continuance of the two systems of immigration simultaneously were unanswerable. Now, if we could not have the advantages supposed to be derived from the immigration under the Commissioners—for in passing the

Act of 1864, the plain understanding was to prevent the sending of money to the Commissioners—he took it, that the 10th and 11th clauses of the Act, by which the Governor in Council was authorised to give free and assisted passages, under the control of, or approved by, the Agent-General for Emigration, would answer all the purposes desired. Under those two clauses Mr. Jordan would be able to fill up the ships and keep up the supply of immigration which this colony required. There was simply a difference of opinion as to the meaning of the words of the Act;—he presumed that the words meant what they said, although the House knew that words were often used to mystify, as in the case of ministerial replies. If the words of the Act meant what they said, the Government had no right, he maintained, to appropriate any money for immigration without its being under the control of the Agent-General. It had been stated that the Government ships had never been complained of; but he knew that at the time the "Charlie Palmer" arrived there were various complaints made against her. There had, also, been complaints made against other Government ships, and, as he had previously remarked, it was the fault of the Government themselves; and it arose from the niggardly manner in which the system had been carried out, that better discipline had not been maintained under the agreement with Messrs. Mackay, Baines, and Company. They had a perfect right to see that proper order and discipline was maintained. The fault could not be laid down to the system or to the Agent-General: that was a bad argument to use for the case set up by the Government. The honorable member concluded by moving that the question be amended by the omission of all the words, commencing with the word "at" in the first resolution, with a view to the insertion in their place of the words, "in the opinion of this House, calculated seriously to interfere with the operation of the Act 28 Victoria, No. 17, and to imperil the land order system, by presenting to the British public two antagonistic schemes of emigration to this colony. (2.) That the circumstances of this colony do not call for, or necessitate the maintenance of, any other system of immigration than that provided for in the Act of 1864, and it is, therefore, in the opinion of this House, desirable that the Government should refrain from transmitting funds to the Imperial Commissioners, until such a proceeding shall have been specifically sanctioned by the Legislature."

Question put—"That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question."

Mr. MACKENZIE said, that having now an opportunity of speaking to the amendment, he would take advantage of it to make a few remarks on the line of argument taken up by the three members of the Government who had spoken; and which was to the

effect that the Government had not used the money voted for immigration purposes in 1864, but had confined themselves to the former vote of £100,000 provided for by Loan Act of 1863. The Attorney-General had complimented him by saying that he (Mr. Mackenzie) must be more careful in what he brought forward, and must take care to study this question. The compliment might be returned; for that honorable member had merely followed his leader, and certainly had not studied the question he had been talking about. He (Mr. Mackenzie) had stated distinctly, again and again, that when the Colonial Secretary moved that the £100,000 should be borrowed on loan in 1863, he said that £70,000 was required to make up a deficiency in the revenue caused by the large receipts of land orders in payment of land purchased instead of cash; and that the other £30,000 was to take up the land orders accumulating in the hands of the shippers. The House had been told that the Government had spent no money but that £30,000. On looking at the Auditor-General's Report, he found that the balance paid off from loan account was £70,643; and the amount sent home, by the admission of the Government themselves, was £30,000. That came to £100,643. Would the Colonial Secretary inform the House where he got the £643?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Oh! it is reduced to £643.

Mr. MACKENZIE: If he took it from the fund for immigration for this year, £100,000, that was clearly a misappropriation. The argument of the Government was a subterfuge. I refer to the fifth clause of the letter, which has been quoted over and over again—

“The Government of Queensland has determined to reserve a portion of the amount authorised to be raised by loan, under clause 17 of the Immigration Act, to defray the cost of emigrants despatched under Her Majesty's Commissioners.”

Would the Colonial Secretary inform the House whether he had reserved the amount, and what it was?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No, not yet. It is proposed to do so.

Mr. MACKENZIE: But you intend to do it.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: It has not been done.

Mr. MACKENZIE: But you have spent £643, and you intend to do it.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: When we get the authority for it.

Mr. MACKENZIE: You have dipped your hands into it to the tune of £643.

The SECRETARY FOR LANDS AND WORKS: We'll make you a present of that.

Mr. MACKENZIE: With these remarks, he would not stand in the way of other honorable members, but would postpone further observations until he replied on the debate.

The SPEAKER informed the honorable member for the Burnett that having addressed

the House after the amendment, he had no right to reply.

The COLONIAL TREASURER: I think, sir, if any honorable member but one on the other side of the House had moved an amendment, this evening, on the original motion, it would have been an amendment intending a vote of want of confidence in Her Majesty's Opposition. It seems to me that the tendency of the whole argument, and the effect of the debate, this evening, is to shew clearly that the honorable members who compose the Opposition in this House have not exercised that watchfulness and that discretion at the time the Loan Act of 1864 was framed which honorable members on that side of the House assume to themselves on every occasion. Moreover, they assume to themselves the function of keeping the Government and the House in their proper position and right! Sir, if that is the case, clearly, in this instance, honorable members on the other side have been wanting in their duty in not watching with that carefulness to which an honorable member for North Brisbane particularly alluded when he said that, by the Act, the Government had no chance of making regulations, and that there was no doubt as to what were the intentions of the Act. Clearly, this amendment is for nothing else than to wipe away the doubts which exist in the eye of that honorable member (Mr. Pugh) as to the intention and meaning of the Act.

Mr. PUGH: No; not that.

The COLONIAL TREASURER: That is wherein it differs from the original motion before the House. If the honorable member, instead of moving it, allowed the original motion to meet with the vote it so richly deserves, and to-morrow would bring down a substantive motion, embodying the views set out in his amendment, such a course would be convenient, if not commendable. But to bring it forward now is an unfair way of getting rid of an awkward motion—as the one before the House was intended to be for the Government—and, I may say, using the words of an honorable member who spoke just now, it is a subterfuge. As it may be thought to include something worthy of consideration by the House and the country, I shall state that the amendment is not one that at this juncture we should pass; because, it seems to me that if the land order system which has been so fully debated to-night, has the full confidence of the country—and I believe it has the confidence of the majority of this House—if it is as good a system as the honorable member thinks it is, why should he or any honorable members on the other side for a moment think that that system would fail under competition. It is not the fate of anything that is good or fair in itself to fear competition; and I feel that it is not consonant with the opinions that are generally expressed by honorable members on the other side, that anything so good in

itself as that system is, should fear the wholesome and fair competition which it is well for this colony should exist. A further reason why the amendment should not be allowed to interfere with the decision of the House on the original motion, and why the motion should not be passed, is that until the amendment was put forward by the honorable member, Mr. Pugh, there was not a single argument advanced why the Imperial Commissioners' system should not exist with the other system. I think it fair to assume that a system, based upon the principle that the imperial system is based upon—worked according to the same arrangements, the only difference being in the head of the department, the ships being owned by the same parties—should not be in antagonism with the Queensland system; and I think, without going further into the subject at this late hour of the evening, that it would be well for the honorable member for North Brisbane to withdraw his amendment, and to bring it forward on another occasion as a substantive motion. It would be the most convenient course, without getting the House into a fresh debate, after the original motion has been so fully debated.

Mr. WALSH said, he rose again at this early part of the debate in its changed aspect, to find himself in a very unpleasant dilemma. He reiterated the statement made in the early part of the evening, that he was still most anxious to understand this matter correctly. He had endeavored to understand the figures that had been advanced by the different members of the Government, and by other honorable members on the same side of the House. He did not understand, from the explanation made by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, that that honorable gentleman at all relied for justification upon the fact that there was an old grant made by the House for immigration purposes, and that from that he had defrayed the expenses incurred by the special immigration under the Commissioners. He really thought, from his reply to the question put by the honorable member for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie) the other evening, and from his remarks this evening, that he had no subterfuge to fall back upon;—he thought the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government was perfectly prepared to justify his acts, which were now impugned, by his explicit statement that the Act of last session neither rejected nor required the services of the Emigration Commissioners. He was fully inclined, in fact, to believe that the honorable gentleman was disposed to rely on the old grant of this House; and he certainly thought that that important, that distinct, that forced Act of the last session would have been considered sufficient by the Government—or ought to have been considered sufficient—not only to repeal, as it expressly did, former immigration laws, but to render expenditure of a sum of money under the Commissioners no longer

permissible. He was surprised at the honorable member's explanation of the source from which the money came—of the reasons which induced the Government to compete with Mr. Jordan. From the remarks of the honorable the Colonial Secretary, he (Mr. Walsh) judged that the sum of £100,000 voted the session before last was expended, and more than expended. From his figures, if he did not misunderstand them—and he did not wish to do so, as the honorable member was very sensitive, and very rightly so—he was led to believe, that though £100,000 had been voted, quite that sum had been expended, and had been exceeded by £600 or £700, as the honorable member for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie) had explained. The Minister for Lands and Works rather ingeniously shewed the way in which the moneys had been expended—£70,000 in one way and £30,000 in another. That was certainly the last he (Mr. Walsh) thought he should hear or read of the £100,000. He had been accused of not reading the debates of the House and the Acts of the Parliament, and not understanding them. He admitted he had not read them attentively. If he had, he should have been better able to understand them than he was at inopportune moments. His reason for rising now was, that he believed the statements made respecting the expenditure of that £100,000 were garbled. He had been accused, too, of imputing motives. When he explained what he had been able to learn from the records of the House—he believed he could call "Hansard" a record?—he would ask whether he had not been frequently justified in making the imputations he had made on the Government of this colony? He found that in the debate which took place on the financial statement last session, the honorable member for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie) made certain remarks—he begged the attention of the House to them—which were only preparatory to others which he (Mr. Walsh) might not possibly understand; and, if the Colonial Secretary was not a greater man than he (Mr. Walsh) thought he was, and if the Minister for Lands and Works was not a far clearer man at figures than he seemed to be, they would find a difficulty in explaining what followed, which, also, would likely place the honorable members who usually sided with the Government in a very difficult position that evening. Mr. Mackenzie was reported to have thus spoken—

"Therefore, the argument that we were spending money on immigration, without any commensurate return, was decidedly a wrong one."

He presumed the honorable member was speaking in reply to some statement that had been made in previous debate—

"£100,000 had been voted for immigration purposes last year, and the honorable the Colonial Secretary had stated that the whole of that sum was wanted for taking up land orders."

The £100,000 thus referred to was the £100,000 so ingeniously introduced this evening. The honorable member for the Burnett went on to say—

“On looking over the correspondence which had taken place on the subject, however, it was found that a large portion of that vote had been applied, not to the purpose for which it was asked and much needed, but for the purpose of re-establishing the old system of immigration”—

showing then, as now, a hankering on the part of the Government for the old system, in the face of an Act of Parliament, and in the face of this House.

—“preparatory to doing away with the land order system altogether. The honorable Colonial Secretary had, therefore, to use a strong but perfectly truthful phrase, been guilty of obtaining money under false pretences.”

That was the remark made this time last year by a member of the Opposition. The House could now hear what the Colonial Secretary said in defence of the expenditure of the £100,000 at that time, by which he clearly shewed that the vote had been absolutely expended. Now, there was no controverting that fact, and all the ingenuity of the Government, and all the blindness of their followers, would not alter it. The Colonial Secretary said, page 176 of “Hansard” :—

“He rose for the purpose of explaining away two or three unfounded charges made against him by the honorable member for the Burnett.”

That was so like this evening.

“That honorable gentleman, like other honorable members on his side of the House, appeared to be never tired of making those accusations. He had certainly commenced his speech by very fairly addressing the House, but so soon as he got to the Estimates, he could not refrain from commenting at length upon those old bug-bears—the Civil Service and immigration”—

and so forth. He should miss that part: he durst say it was very unpleasant for the honorable member (the Colonial Secretary):—

“With reference to the expenditure of the £100,000, he could state that the Colonial Treasurer had paid £70,000 as a portion of the deficit, and £10,000 had been advanced on land orders, the remaining £20,000 being paid to the Imperial Emigration Commissioners.”

That shewed how the £100,000 had been disposed of. Were honorable members always to receive these statements about this never ending £100,000—this cruise of oil that never dried up?—was it to be brought forward year after year to shield the Government from the charge of an unlicensed expenditure, and an unlawful contravention of the will of the Legislature, and a violation of the law? Now, after that, was it possible for honorable members to go on blindly submitting to the accusations brought against them for doubting the words of the Government? One told them that they were hankering for office, another told them that they had an unconquerable anxiety to be in

opposition; they were told that there was no honesty, no morality, no forbearance amongst them on his (Mr. Walsh's) side of the House. They were expected to digest such statements as they had heard from the Government during the debate, and that they were to be blamed for not correctly reading the debates of the House. Was that the way they were to be taunted, after he found that the records of the debates were records of the inconsistency and immorality of the Government? He next alluded to the words of the honorable member for the Eastern Downs. He admitted the propriety of that honorable member lecturing him. His close connection with the Government—his high position in the colony—his antecedents—entitled that honorable member to give him a lecture, when he (Mr. Walsh) appeared in opposition to the Government. But he appealed to that honorable member, as he was powerful to be merciful. He had not the same means at his disposal as that honorable member, to ingratiate himself with the Government; he had not the same hopes from them, that he should sit down close behind them; he had nothing to tie him to them, and to keep him for ever following them. He had, unfortunately, no very great stake in the colony, such as the honorable member had; and, again, he implored him, when he condescended to criticise honorable members on the Opposition side, to be merciful. The honorable member held a high position in the colony, which few occupied, and the words that fell from him were weighty words, and he was looked up to by a great number of people who had commensurate ideas of his exalted importance; and, with all the power of influence that he possessed over others and with the Government, he (Mr. Walsh) exhorted him to be merciful, if not argumentative. In the work which he had been taunted with not reading, he had found the conviction of the Government.

Mr. BLAKENBY thought that honorable members must feel very much indebted to the honorable member for Maryborough, for discovering in the “Hansard” the little passage he had quoted from the speech of the honorable the Colonial Secretary twelve months ago, but which that honorable gentleman seemed to have forgotten. Every one of the members of the Ministry who had spoken on the present occasion had adopted a different line of defence. When he questioned the honorable the Colonial Secretary on the subject at an earlier period of the evening, that honorable gentleman had the manliness to admit that his memory was at fault respecting it, but the honorable the Secretary for Lands and Works subsequently made a statement which had been proved to be incorrect. There was the refutation in “Hansard.” Honorable members would not now be able to say that they did not say such a thing, or that they said such another thing. He believed that every honorable

member admitted the extreme accuracy of the reports in "Hansard," and they ought to be correct, seeing that every honorable member now had an opportunity afforded him of revising the report of his speech before it was finally printed off. The honorable the Attorney-General concurred in his view, that under the Act of last session the Government were not empowered to transmit any portion of the money that might be raised to the Immigration Commissioners; and he, therefore, still maintained that the amount in question was wrongly sent home.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY did not consider that the statement he brought forward was at all shaken, nor did he see that there was anything substantially wrong in the statements that had been made by his honorable colleagues. He had taken the trouble to get a statement from the Treasury as to the way in which the money raised by loans had been applied. By the statement, it appeared that out of the £27,000 borrowed in 1861, the sum of £26,000 was applied to wipe off a debt, that they might commence afresh; and that out of the £100,000 borrowed in 1863, the sum of £30,000 was remitted to the Imperial Commissioners. He was willing to admit, that as to the sum of £640 or so, he might be in error, as he had always treated the item as £70,000. But he still maintained that not more than £30,000 was sent to the Commissioners since the loan was raised. There was still a sum of £630 to remit, and if the Government remitted that amount it was now no debt. He did not admit that he was correctly reported in "Hansard," in the passage quoted, but he denied the statement; and as a proof that the reports in the first volume of "Hansard" were not correct, the Parliament had gone to greater expense to have them correct this year. However, he maintained, there was nothing wrong in the statement that only £30,000 was remitted to the Commissioners, and that there was £637 still available for the Government to remit.

Mr. BLAKENEY: There was £10,000 for land orders.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: He denied that the Government took that out of the £100,000. The Government having £30,000 to spend, spent it by sending it to the Commissioners. He stated to the honorable member that a large proportion of the vote would be sent to the Commissioners, and he maintained that £30,000 was not a large proportion of it. If the Government without fresh authority from the House advanced any further sum, they would do what they had no authority to do, but they had not done so yet.

Mr. MACKENZIE: What he said was that £70,643 was paid by the Treasurer, and £30,000 and £10,000 could not also be paid without exceeding the sum of £100,000.

Mr. WALSH explained that he would not have made the statement he had made if he had thought the honorable the Colonial Secretary would have a thrown a doubt upon the report he quoted from "Hansard."

Mr. DOUGLAS: The honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, if he did not misunderstand him, stated that if it were true that any votes had gone from the last vote of £100,000, it was an unauthorised expenditure.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No; what he said was, that if the Government remitted more than the £30,000, which was the balance of the £100,000, without fresh authority, they would be guilty of a misappropriation of public money.

Mr. DOUGLAS: That was what he understood the honorable member to say, and he would ask the honorable member therefore, to say what was the meaning of the following passage in his letter to Mr. Walcott, of date the 16th September, 1864:—

"The 10th clause continues in force the present rates under which assisted passages are granted; and the 11th clause authorises the granting of free passages to suitable persons. The approval of the Emigration Agent (a misprint for Agent-General for Emigration), mentioned in these clauses, refers, of course, only to such emigrants as he may select and despatch, and will, in no manner, interfere with the operations of your Board."

He looked upon that as a simple declaration that the honorable gentleman was determined to misappropriate a further sum, according to his own admission. Those were instructions to the Immigration Agent, governing him as to his future conduct. They did not apply to past transactions, but to those in prospect, and, therefore, distinctly and decidedly, the honorable gentleman declared his determination to misappropriate those funds. The resolution conveyed the opinion that the continued remittance of money to the Imperial Commissioners was at variance with the provisions of the Act 28 Victoria, No. 17, and was a misappropriation of the funds voted under that Act. Now, taking that in connection with what the honorable gentleman had admitted would be a misappropriation, he held they were justified in stating that the continued sending of money to the Commissioners was a misappropriation. If the Government had spent that money, and it was partly admitted that they had, he wished to be informed as to how they were to carry out their system in future?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: By asking the House for more.

Mr. DOUGLAS: The letter he had referred to was written on the 16th of September, 1864, and in that letter, the Government declared that they were prepared to go on remitting to the Commissioners; and now they said that they did not intend to do so. The honorable gentleman said the Govern-

ment would be justified in proceeding with the system of immigration they believed to be the best, and he asked the House to justify the course he was pursuing by rejecting the motion of the honorable member for the Burnett. Now, was that the line of argument taken by the honorable the Secretary for Lands and Works? What was the tenor of that honorable gentleman's speech, but to lead to the inference that no appropriation was made last year? He believed the honorable the Secretary for Lands and Works was perfectly competent to relieve his honorable colleague from the odium it was sought to cast upon him; but he questioned the honorable gentleman's judiciousness in making such an attempt. The honorable gentleman had narrowed the question down to the position that honorable members on the opposite side of the House desired it to be narrowed down to. It had been conclusively proved that the continuation of remittances would be a misappropriation, and it had been admitted by the Government that it would be so; and from what had been said, the House was justified in believing that such continued remittance was intended, and that, therefore, a misappropriation was intended.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I think the honorable member who last spoke has misrepresented the question before the House; and I rise to defend, not only the remarks made by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, but also those made by the honorable the Secretary for Lands and Works on the original motion. Every honorable member knows that the honorable the Colonial Secretary did not discuss the immigration system under the Imperial Commissioners, which is a system he does not disapprove of; and I would ask the House, if the continued remittances could be made under the Act of 1864 when no money was raised under it for that purpose? I would like to know how the honorable member for the Burnett could call it a continued remittance, when not a single debenture was issued under the Act? The honorable the Secretary for Lands and Works argued on the question before the House, and advocated a certain principle, but it appears to me that the discussion has gone into all kinds of points. If it is desired that the House should decide whether the land order system or the system under the Imperial Commissioners is the best or the worst, or whether the two should go on together, why does not the honorable member for the Burnett bring forward a motion and let that question be discussed? but here we are asked to answer a charge of wrongfully remitting money under a certain Act of Parliament, when I dare any honorable member to show that a single sixpence has been raised under that Act.

Mr. BROOKES said he had listened very attentively to the debate, and he was obliged to confess the opinion he had come to was

that the Ministry were in a very humiliating position. In the course of the debate, a great many points had been gone into, and he must confess it had appeared to him that the longer the debate was continued, the more it would tend to shake the confidence—he did not say of the House—but of the country, in the present Government. There could be no question that the charge of the honorable member for Port Curtis was unanswerable—that the continued remittance of money to the Imperial Commissioners was at variance with the Act.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Would be.

Mr. BROOKES: Yes, "would be." That was one of those points that had been gone into. They found that the Colonial Secretary wrote to Mr. S. Walcott, one of the Commissioners, on the 16th September, 1864; and, in the second paragraph he said that the approval of the Emigration Agent mentioned in the 10th and 11th clauses of the Act of 1864, referred only to such emigrants as he might select and despatch, and would in no manner interfere with the operations of the Board. Now, after having written that, the Colonial Secretary might just admit at once, that he had been undermining the Act of 1864; that it never had his support, and that he had abused his responsible functions, by writing such a letter. If, before writing that letter, he had consulted his honorable colleague, the Attorney-General, he would have got his opinion then, as well as to-night, and he would have seen that his communication to the Commissioners was illegal. As to the question before the House, he wished to say that his vote would not be recorded from any party feelings. It was nothing to him, and those honorable members who acted with him, who were in office, for all that they wanted was that the country should be well managed. The exhibition the Ministry had made that night, however, had done more to shake his confidence, and that of others, in their political integrity, than anything that he remembered to have ever taken place in that House.

The SECRETARY FOR LANDS AND WORKS said, that since he had the honor of a seat in the House, he had heard a good deal of political nonsense; but never on any occasion more than he had heard that night. With regard to the observations of the honorable member for Port Curtis, who at one time was getting into a towering passion,—and perhaps it would have been better that he had got into one and had expended his irascibility,—that honorable member failed to shew, to his satisfaction at least, that either the amendment before the House, or the original resolution—that either the one or the other of those was justified, by anything that had been said that night. He could easily understand the desirableness of the honorable member not to appear in a minority on a question of this kind. He had no doubt that it was the opinion

of certain honorable members that they had nailed the Government thoroughly—and that they were in a position to take office to-morrow. Now, the members of the present Government had not the slightest objection to anything of the kind taking place, but what he objected to was, to have a resolution carried on false statements, and on statements that were unfounded and unsupported. No one knew better than the honorable member for the Burnett that this motion was a mere flash in the pan. The honorable member knew the Government could explain this matter fully, and no honorable gentleman who had given a careful attention to what had taken place, and who had not allowed himself to be led astray by the rhapsodies of the honorable member for Port Curtis, could arrive at any other conclusion than that the Government had given the charge brought against them a most thorough refutation. (Cries of "Oh, oh.") Well, what he stated at the beginning of the evening had been thoroughly borne out by others; and he questioned if £10,000 had been paid beyond the possibility of a doubt. The £10,000 sent to England last was sent in anticipation, and was not for anything done previously by the Commissioners. Now, as to the amendment proposed by the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Pugh, the objection, he took it, to that amendment was that it raised a false issue. The question before the House by the original motion was as to the misappropriation of money, and that in contravention of an Act of last session. Now the amendment gave that question the go-bye, and involved another; for it implied a doubt as to the provisions in the Act of 1864; and indeed he might say that it doubted the interpretation that every one must place on the Act. It amounted to this, that the Government and the House might doubt the meaning that was put by the Government on the Act. Unless that was the case the honorable member was bound to prove that the Government had done something in contravention of the Act; and therefore he maintained that the amendment raised a false issue, and put the Government in a false position before the House. He trusted, therefore, that the amendment would be negatived, and that the decision of the House would be taken on the original motion.

Mr. McLEAN thought the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Pugh, could not expect the supporters of the Government to vote in favor of his amendment, and one of his reasons for thinking so was that the honorable member for Maryborough had accused them of being blind. But one reason why they would vote against both the motion and the amendment was, that if they discontinued immigration through the Commissioners, then in the event of Mr. Jordan again taking it into his head to come back, all immigration would be at a stand-still—and an

honorable member had said that Mr. Jordan was on his way back, and there was a report in town to that effect. Now, if that were the case, and if they were to agree to either the motion or the amendment, it would be equivalent to saying that they were not to introduce any other system of immigration but that by the Black Ball line, or in other words, that under the circumstances, immigration should cease for a time. Now, he asked if any honorable member in the House could give his assent to a proposition that would have such an effect? He had not the least doubt that Mr. Jordan was well qualified to perform the duties of an immigration agent, so far as promoting immigration to the colony was concerned; but he did not think that Mr. Jordan was strong-minded enough to cope with the very sharp gentlemen composing the Black Ball Company. They knew that Mr. Taylor, the gentleman who represented the Black Ball line here, went home in the same ship with Mr. Jordan; and it was hard to say what influence he brought to bear upon Mr. Jordan to write the letter he sent from Melbourne. As to the remarks and imputations by the honorable member for Maryborough respecting his (Mr. McLean's) motives for supporting the Government, he desired to inform the honorable member that he treated them with contempt. That honorable member, who was the youngest member in the House, had made remarks as to his (Mr. McLean's) antecedents; and he must say that it was the first time that he had heard anything of the kind done in that House.

Mr. WALSH explained that he made no allusion to the antecedents of the honorable member, except so far as saying that his antecedents did not justify the honorable member in endeavoring to turn him from what he considered to be his path of duty.

Mr. McLEAN submitted that that was the first time any honorable member had ever heard the expression made use of in that House, and he challenged any honorable member to say anything of him that he needed to be ashamed of. He knew he came to the colony a poor man, and he believed that not many of them came with an overflowing treasury. He believed that no honorable member could have anything worse to say against him, however much he might desire to do so, than that at one time he had to work for his living. If he had all the influence the honorable member imputed to him, he would endeavor to make the best use of it, and he could assure the honorable member that he generally took the opportunity of making the best use of everything that was placed in his way, and he should endeavor to do so on this occasion.

Mr. WALSH rose to say that he had merely alluded to the public antecedents of the honorable member, and it was unfair that honorable members on the other side of the House should put a construction upon his words which they did not convey.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS said it appeared to him that the Government had exonerated themselves from the charge of malpractice or misappropriation, except in so far as related to some £600 or £700. Nevertheless, it was his intention to find fault with the Government; for he thought they were culpable in a very high degree. He thought they were culpable for sending Mr. Jordan back to England. There appeared to have been anything but an unanimous opinion existing between that gentleman and the honorable member at the head of the Government; but, when Mr. Jordan returned to the colony, he was allowed to make terms with the Government, and, that being the case, he went home as a servant of the Government. Mr. Jordan was in receipt of a high salary in England, and he ought to have been content with that—not being asked to do more than a certain amount of work—without attacking the Government. He (Mr. Fitzsimmons) was unable to perceive what dreadful injury would be inflicted on the colony, if two or three ships were chartered for the conveyance of emigrants to this colony, besides those despatched by Mr. Jordan. If no more serious charge were brought against the Government, he should be compelled—although he might be termed a blind follower of the Government—to oppose the resolutions before the House. But he affirmed that he was not a blind follower of the Government, for he should not care if they were turned out of office the next day. He was an independent member, bound by no pledges to his constituents, and resolved to give his vote independently upon all occasions, and, until he found the Government guilty of malpractice or misappropriation, he should support them.

Mr. PUGH begged to say, in explanation, that the object of his amendment had been misrepresented by two honorable members who had taken part in the debate. It was not intended to raise a false issue, but to obtain the opinion of the House upon the real issue underlying the whole question, whether immigration to the colony through the Imperial Commissioners should be continued or not. If the original motion were negatived, the Government would have power to do whatever they liked.

The MINISTER FOR LANDS AND WORKS said he had never stated that the honorable member for North Brisbane (Mr. Pugh) had attempted to raise a false issue, but that his amendment in itself did raise a false issue.

Mr. LILLEY observed, that he did not wish to have his mind hampered by listening to any personal squabbles. He wished to have a clear statement from the Government, such as would enable him to arrive at a thorough conviction on the merits of the case. It was not a matter to be lightly treated. He wished to know, in the first place, whether the Government expressed their opinion in the letter dated 16th Sep-

tember, 1864, written by the honorable Colonial Secretary,—whether, under the fifth paragraph of that letter, they had remitted a portion of the sums voted for immigration to the Imperial Commissioners? For if the Government answered in the affirmative, having due regard to the law and to the authority of the House, he should be obliged to declare by his vote that they had misappropriated the public funds. But if, on the other hand, he were assured that they had no intention of remitting any money to the Commissioners unless they were authorised to do so by a legal appropriation, he should vote in their favor. He had no doubt the honorable member at the head of the Government was right in stating that the £600 or £700 was an overdraft, and if so, why of course the House would indemnify them. An overdraft of such a nature was not a subject for any special censure, and it was not an unusual occurrence in dealing with sums of £100,000. Therefore, if the honorable member at the head of the Government would assure him that the Government had not attempted to throw dust in the eyes of honorable members, or to justify a course of action which was at variance with the law—if they would assure him that no further funds would be remitted to the Imperial Commissioners without the distinct sanction of the Legislature—he should support them by voting against the resolutions.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he rose, with the permission of the House, to make the explanation which had been asked for; and he would state that the Government did not intend to forward any further sums to Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners for the purposes of immigration without the distinct authority of the House. And, further, that the Government would not consider either the Loan Act of 1863, or the Immigration Act of 1864, as sufficient authority without the special sanction of the Legislature.

Mr. SANDEMAN said he had always understood that fair play was the privilege of an Englishman, and the same principle ought to be recognised in every Legislative Assembly. He did not think that principle had characterised the debate. It was sufficient to allude to the many taunts which had been thrown out by certain honorable members against the supporters of the Ministry. He was one of those supporters, and he believed he should be able to give a reason for the faith that was in him. He supported the Ministry because of the general principles which guided them—that was his first reason; and the second was, because he did not see on the Opposition benches four men who were capable of conducting the affairs of the colony, or who were likely to obtain the confidence of the country. He said that without a particle of personal feeling towards any honorable member, and his opinions were confirmed by the discussion which had just taken place. He thought it was a great pity

that the question before the House had been made a party question. It might have been decided with much less bitterness of feeling. For his part he had always been a strong advocate of the land order system of immigration. There was no stronger friend of Mr. Jordan than he had been. Hitherto he had not approved of the system conducted by the Imperial Commissioners, he had given the preference to the land order system. He thought, however, the time had come when that system should be modified. Since the last session he had travelled a great deal through the country, and he had found that great inconvenience existed on account of the scarcity of labor in the outside districts. Notwithstanding all the immigration which had taken place, the rate of wages in those districts was higher than it was three years ago. He had also come to the conclusion that, although a very good class of immigrants had been introduced by Mr. Jordan, there was one element in that class of immigration which was very undesirable, and which had not been alluded to during the debate. He thought it would be an advantage to the country to combine the land order system with that of the Imperial Commissioners. For he had found that the want of labor in the interior districts was attributable in a great measure to the fact that so many of Mr. Jordan's immigrants were unwilling to go into the interior—they preferred hanging about the town to going up the country, where they were wanted. What their reasons were he could not say, possibly it was because they had generally money enough to support them in town for a certain time. He thought, if some immigrants from that class of immigration which had been designated, very improperly, pauper immigration, were introduced into the colony, labor would be obtained of a more suitable character for the outside districts, and a great deal of good would be done. He was glad the debate had taken place, as it had afforded him an opportunity of pointing out the advantage which would accrue in the introduction of that element into the immigration to this colony. He hoped some resolutions would be introduced which would have the effect of eliciting opinions on the subject, and of ascertaining whether the Government had the right to introduce a certain amount of immigration through Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners. With regard to the objection advanced by the honorable member for the Burnett, that there was no authority for what had been done, it had been stated by the honorable the Colonial Secretary that there was nothing to prevent it in the Act. Now, it was rather strange, that in the correspondence which took place with Mr. Jordan, that gentleman should have stated, in the first paragraph of a letter written from Melbourne—

"I believe I have correctly understood that it is the intention of the Government to continue

emigration to the colony through the Imperial Commissioners, and as I believe this must be injurious to the working of our present system, and would not be in accordance with the report of the select committee on the provisions of the Immigration Act, which has just been passed, I beg to submit my own views to the Government on the subject."

It was quite clear that there must have been a doubt in Mr. Jordan's mind, at least, as to the real meaning of the Act, or he would not have taken the trouble to write such a very long letter, as he did on that occasion. He must have had a great deal of doubt about it, and if so, why did he not go into that question before he left the colony? But, unless he were greatly mistaken, Mr. Jordan had been told distinctly, in the presence of the Parliamentary Draftsman, and in the presence of Mr. Taylor, one of the partners in the firm of Mackay, Baines, and Co., that the arrangement with that firm was not to interfere with certain other arrangements with the Imperial Commissioners. That was before Mr. Jordan left the country, and why did he not, therefore, make his complaint before? But the question was now placed before the House on a totally different footing, for the Government had shewn that there was only a small sum overdrawn beyond that which they were empowered to remit to the Imperial Commissioners. He did not think it was necessary to discuss the question any further, especially at that late hour of the evening. It was quite time that some decision should be arrived at. Nothing that could be said further would be likely to affect the result of the debate. In his opinion, the Government had substantiated the statements they had made in reply to the charges brought against them.

MR. TAYLOR accused the honorable member for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie) of hypocrisy, and said that not long ago, at a certain fete called the Caledonian gathering, the honorable member had lauded the Government as the best Government the people could have, and had spoken of them in the very highest terms. Yet, a few days afterwards, he came down to the House and tabled a motion which was a direct vote of censure upon them. The honorable member for Maryborough was also guilty of hypocrisy when he said that he had brought forward no factious opposition, when it was patent to the House that every step he took was factious. He must call the attention of the House to the remarks applied by that honorable member to the supporters of the Government, and he would tell the honorable member, in reply, that the supporters of the Government gave their votes quite as conscientiously as any members in the House. The remarks made by the honorable member were quite uncalled for, and he was quite out of order in making them. The honorable member for North Brisbane (Mr. Blakeney) stated — but the

House generally allowed what he said to pass; he was well known to be a person of rather a jocular turn, and it was hardly worth while to call him to account. With regard to the question before the House, and the charge of misappropriating, he thought it had been pretty well ventilated, and it would be as well for the honorable member for the Burnett to withdraw his motion, otherwise it would be negatived. He hoped some resolution would be introduced in its place, empowering the Government to introduce some other system of immigration to work with the land order system. He was in a position to confirm the statement of the honorable member for the Leichhardt, that in spite of the immigration, wages were higher than ever in the interior, and he could only account for it by supposing that the immigrants were induced by certain individuals to hang about the town instead of going up the country, where their services were required. It must be remembered that there was a large class of persons who did not care about land-jobbing and speculating in town allotments—who did not care about the few hundred pounds which the immigrants brought out with them—who were anxious to benefit the country by introducing a suitable description of labor, and furthering the best interests of the colony.

Mr. STEPHENS moved the adjournment of the debate, that honorable members might have an opportunity of replying to the charge of hypocrisy which had been made by certain honorable members on the other side of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not know that he should support the motion for adjournment, as he thought it might be well to finish the debate that evening. But he wished to answer some of the remarks which had fallen from the honorable member for Leichhardt. During the last session, while the Select Committee on Immigration were sitting, that honorable member had expressed himself very strongly against the action of the Government with respect to Mr. Jordan, yet he appeared now to approve of all they had done. Honorable members would recollect that when the committee brought up their report a Bill was laid on the table of the House, but that was not the Bill which was actually passed. Objections to several clauses were made by members of the committee and Mr. Jordan; and to his (Mr. Mackenzie's) astonishment, the honorable Colonial Secretary gave way upon all points, and the Bill was passed just as Mr. Jordan wished. He believed that was caused by the pressure brought to bear upon the honorable gentleman by several honorable members on the Government side of the House, at the head of whom was the honorable member for Leichhardt, who threatened to withhold their support from the Government. It had been said that there were only four men in Queensland who were capable of governing the

country. If so, the country was in a very humiliating position. But he would remind honorable members that new blood had been infused into the House—that there were six additional members. Yet it was put forth that there were only four men in the country—

An Honorable MEMBER: No; on that side of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE—Fit to hold the reins of government. He was perfectly aware how the resolution would go; but he warned honorable members who sat on the other side of the House that they were cutting their own throats by the support they were giving to the Government. They all believed with him that the Government had been fairly convicted of the charge brought against them, and that the arguments on his side of the House were the best. The Government had admitted every point; they had confessed that they were committed to a continuance of immigration through the Imperial Commissioners; and yet they turned round and said, "we will not remit any more money to the Commissioners without the sanction of the House." But, before the motion was tabled, they had no idea of asking for any such permission. The Darling Downs squatters were their chief supporters, and no doubt next week resolutions would be tabled in favor of long leases and pre-emptive rights. But they were adopting a very suicidal policy, and he believed—and he hoped his words would be remembered—that in three or four years at the furthest, the Darling Downs squatters would cease to exist.

Mr. SANDEMAN said he wished to say a few words in explanation. He had stated that he did not think there were among the honorable members who occupied the Opposition benches four men who could form such a Government as the country would have confidence in, and he repeated it. In reply to the observations of the honorable member for the Burnett, as to his conduct during the last session, he would observe that he had not changed his views with regard to the advantages of the land order system, but experience had convinced him that it would be desirable to introduce a portion of the immigration to this colony through the Imperial Commissioners. So far he had modified his views; for he thought the country demanded a larger supply of immigrants. He had not last session expressed himself averse to the immigration through the Imperial Commissioners; his remarks on that occasion had chiefly been directed to the arrangements on board the emigrant vessels. But he had since found that the promises made by the owners of the Black Ball line as to the separation of the sexes in their ships had not been carried out. If honorable members were not allowed to alter their opinions in accordance with the changed circumstances of the colony, legislation would come to a stand-still. He contended that he

had not been inconsistent in anything he had done or said in reference to the question of immigration. (Cries of question.)

The SPEAKER: I must remind honorable members that if they desire to speak they must speak on the question of adjournment. I cannot however stop them from speaking to the general question; that has been tried in the House of Commons, but it has never succeeded.

Mr. COXEN said he did not think any good could be gained by adjourning the debate. The subject had been well ventilated, and for the last hour the debate had merged into personal matters, and was getting quite worn out. It was nearly eleven o'clock, and it would be as well to take the sense of the House upon the question.

Mr. DOUGLAS said, that he wished to take advantage of the question of adjournment to make some remarks on certain observations of the honorable member for the Western Downs (Mr. Taylor), who, like other honorable members, had somewhat wandered from the subject under debate, and had incidentally impugned the Speaker's conduct in the House. He thought the House had the most absolute confidence, that if an honorable member was out of order, the Speaker would call him to order; and they were aware that frequently the Speaker extended to them a larger amount of freedom in discussion than their remarks deserved. They had the greatest confidence in the Speaker—in his impartiality and justice; and in all debates, he presided over them with precision and delicacy. The remarks of the honorable member for the Western Downs were unfair to the Speaker, and were uncalled for, either in respect of his position in the House or outside, and were to be deprecated by every honorable member. The Speaker enjoyed the respect of honorable members both within and without the House; and he (Mr. Douglas) felt confident that the majority most thoroughly endorsed the sentiment, that it was unworthy of any honorable member to call in question the ruling of the Chair, or to say that the Speaker's decisions were not justified.

Mr. TAYLOR begged to state that he had not impugned the ruling of the Speaker, in any way whatever. The honorable member for Port Curtis had got up to speak for effect, and endeavored to cast a slur upon him without any cause, and had made a statement at variance with fact. He (Mr. Taylor) denied, distinctly and positively, that he had questioned the Speaker's ruling, or that he desired to do so. Whether that honorable member wished to influence the Speaker's mind or not, he could not say; but he had confidence in the Speaker, that he could see through that honorable member's attempt to cajole the Chair and the House. He had yet to learn that the House or their president required instruction from the leader—if the honorable member for Port Curtis was a leader—of the Opposition; or

that they would be disposed to take his opinions. He had simply risen to draw attention to language made use of by the honorable member for Maryborough, towards the Government, which he thought should not be used in the House; and to say, that if it were again used, he should feel it his duty to call the Speaker's attention to it, as the Speaker considered it was the duty of honorable members to do so when occasion arose. He denied *in toto* that the honorable member for Port Curtis had more respect for the Speaker than he had.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, that his opinion of the remarks of the honorable member for Port Curtis was, that they were perfectly uncalled for, and unworthy of a member of the House, because no such issue was raised, as that honorable member asserted, respecting the decision of their Speaker. The Speaker had the respect and confidence of the House; and his position in the Chair was to rule and direct their deliberations, which he did to their entire satisfaction.

The SPEAKER: I can only say with regard to what the honorable member for the Western Downs has said—that I had stated on some former occasion that it was the duty of honorable members to call my attention to disorderly language—I do not at the moment recollect what I may have said on the particular occasion; but I do say, now, and most emphatically, that it is the duty of honorable members, as much as it is mine, to take notice of any disorder—of course, if it is disorder uttered in the House. I have only one pair of ears; and honorable members may hear when I do not. With regard to what the honorable member for Port Curtis has said about anything that may affect me out of the House, I trust still, old as I am, that I can always take care of myself.

Mr. STEPHENS said he thought it was somewhat hard that honorable members on his side should be called hypocrites, and then denied the right of defending themselves; and as he found that they had availed themselves of that right, he desired to withdraw his motion for adjournment.

Motion by leave withdrawn.

Mr. MILES confessed that before he entered the House this evening, he had not made up his mind as to which side he should vote. He had listened attentively to the debate, and so far as he could see, the Opposition had made a mistake;—instead of getting the substance they had grasped at the shadow. Those honorable members who formed the Opposition were very much in the habit of imputing motives, which he regretted exceedingly. Honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House were accused of being silent, servile followers of the Government. He had not very long had the honor of a seat in the House, but he could give the assurance that every vote he had recorded had been given conscientiously. He had no favor to ask of the House or the Government, and he defied

the honorable member for Maryborough and his foul slanders—

The SPEAKER reminded the honorable member that such language was not in order.

Mr. MILES begged to withdraw the expression. He contended that if the Government had anyone to thank for being in their present position, their thanks were due to the honorable members for Maryborough and Port Curtis, whose conduct had been such as to work distrust in all honorable members who did not sit on the same side with them. Spite of their efforts to get the government of the country, until they mended their ways, there was no chance for them. They came down to the House, night after night, making exhibitions of themselves; one night complimenting and flattering honorable members, and another night accusing the Government of acts which, if only true, would ensure the condemnation of any Government. Did those two honorable members, or their friends, think that the House would ever trust them with the government of the country? If they did they were egregiously mistaken. He had not the slightest hesitation in saying that he would not vote for the motion, believing that the accusation against the Government was unfounded and unjust.

Mr. COXEN said he wished to ascertain from the honorable member for North Brisbane (Mr. Pugh) what was to be gained by his amendment? The House had elicited from the Government, that at the present juncture, there were no funds to be forwarded to the Imperial Commissioners for immigration purposes; and he asked—what was the use of passing a motion to prevent them doing that which it was perfectly impossible they could do? They must come down to the House to ask for the money. There might be doubts in the minds of honorable members as to the reading of the Immigration Act; but it had been explained so clearly to him that nothing could be done in expending the funds of the colony, in appropriating them to the purposes of immigration through the Imperial Commissioners, without the consent of the House, that he was satisfied on the point. He must say that he felt complimented by the honorable member for Maryborough, who had characterised honorable members on the Ministerial side as silent and servile followers of the Government; and it must be gratifying to them, that on the other side there were also servile members, who would vote with them on this question.

Mr. R. CRIBB said, he would not have troubled the House at that late hour of the night—for he should have been much better in bed—

Mr. BLAKENEY: So say all of us.

Mr. R. CRIBB: But for the taunts of the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Blakeney, who had referred to him as the member who sat on one side

of the House and voted on the other. He found that the honorable member had been in twelve divisions; nine times he had sat on the right-hand side of the chair, and three times on the left, where he usually sat. They had been ten times in the same division; six times they had sat together; and four times they had sat on opposite sides. So much for the taunt of the honorable member for North Brisbane, that he had sat on one side of the House and voted on the other. The honorable member had also taunted him with admitting that the Government had been guilty, but that the motion was too strong, too stinging, and therefore that the honorable member for North Brisbane would not vote for it. The honorable member had grossly misrepresented what had been said by him—that the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government had fully answered the charge made against him; and he (Mr. Cribb) maintained that that could be proved by reference to "Hansard."

Mr. MACKENZIE: No, not at all.

Mr. R. CRIBB offered to appeal to the shorthand writer's notes for confirmation, to prove that he had said the statements made by the Colonial Secretary cleared the Government. He believed that he voted as conscientiously as any other honorable member in the House; and that he was as independent of the Government, from whom he never wanted anything. The motion was brought forward as a charge against the Government for what they had done; now it was resolved into the metaphysical view which the honorable member for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie), and the honorable member for Port Curtis, had taken—that it was in the minds of the Government to misappropriate money by sending it to the Imperial Commissioners. What had they found? A "mare's nest." Their charge was now for something the Government intended to do. At the very outside, the sum spent by the Government was £600 or £700; the charge had been that they had spent £100,000.

Mr. HALY said, that as motives had been imputed to honorable members who supported the Government, and as he intended to support them on this question, he wished the House to understand that he would do so conscientiously. He believed the Government had proved that his honorable colleague for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie) had found a "mare's nest;" and they had proved to his satisfaction that they had not used a single farthing of the money voted by the Act of 1864.

Mr. WIENHOLT said it was his intention to oppose the motion and the amendment. He thought it would have been far better of the honorable member for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie), or any other honorable member who sat with him, to have brought forward a vote of thanks to the honorable the Colonial Secretary for the manner in which he had conducted the immigration of this colony.

The honorable gentleman had the confidence of the colony at large in everything he had undertaken; and the majority of the House, he (Mr. Wienholt) was confident, would express the same opinion. The future history of this colony would show fully the good effects Queensland had derived from his acts. So much had been said on the question, and it was so late, that it was quite unnecessary for him to enter into any discussion as to the relations between Mr. Jordan and the Government. He regretted extremely that the honorable member for the Burnett (Mr. Mackenzie) should introduce, in the way he had done, any measure that would come before the House at a future time for consideration; such a course was quite uncalled for, and was a waste of the time of the House. The tenure of the Darling Downs squatters, was a matter quite foreign to the present question. When the time came for the squatters to move off, he should be satisfied and happy to do so, and all the squatters of the Downs were of his opinion. They did not want to hold the lands beyond the time they were required for other legitimate purposes. He was a strong supporter of the Government, and from what he had seen, he was likely to continue one. He did not see a single wrong action that they had committed, and he could conscientiously say that if he saw them commit one, he should oppose them. If he could find a better Government, no matter whether the present Government were right or wrong, he would do what he could to introduce that Government;—but he was perfectly sure he could not find a better.

Mr. PUGH: Perhaps the House would permit him to make a remark or two, previous to withdrawing his amendment. A great deal had been said about "mares' nests"; but the House seemed to be getting into a hornet's nest. He had been asked to withdraw the motion by several honorable members who sat on the same side with him; and, before doing so, he wished to know from the Speaker, if it was competent for him to introduce this, or a similar motion, at a future period of this session.

The SPEAKER: Decidedly so, if the honorable member withdraws his amendment.

The amendment was then, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

The SPEAKER: I should like to say a word or two before putting the question. This has been a very animated debate; and, I think it will bear comparison, no matter what has been said in moments of warmth, with many of the debates in the Legislatures of the other colonies. I should like honorable members to bear in mind that one of the greatest difficulties that I have to contend with is the constant *sotto voce* remarks by which honorable members interrupt the debate; and which really do more harm than anything else.

The question was then put, and negatived, upon division:—

Ayes, 8.		Noes, 20.*	
Mr. Blakeney		Mr. Macalister	
" Brookes		" Herbert	
" Pugh		" Royds	
" Edmondstone		" Watts	
" Douglas		" Davis	
" Stephens		" Coxen	
" Mackenzie	} Tellers.	" Lilley	
" Walsh		" Pring	
		" Bell	
		" R. Cribb	
		" B. Cribb	
		" Dalrymple	
		" Miles	
		" Sandeman	
		" Wienholt	
		Dr. Challinor	
		Mr. Fitzsimmons	
		" Haly	
		" Taylor	
		" McLean	

* No Tellers marked in list.