

Queensland



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[Hansard]

Legislative Assembly

WEDNESDAY, 5 MAY 1869

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 5 May, 1869.

Address in Reply to Opening Speech.

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO OPENING
SPEECH.

The adjourned debate on the following motion (*Mr. Jordan*), was resumed:—

“That the Address in reply to His Excellency the Governor’s Opening Speech, as read by the Clerk, be now adopted by the House.”

Mr. MILES said he thought it was intimated, yesterday, that no amendment would be moved on the Address in reply to His Excellency’s Speech, but he was not quite sure whether he would be doing his duty in allowing it to pass without moving an amendment. He believed that he had just cause for so doing, from certain members of the Government, with reference to a recent appointment, the notification of which appeared in the *Gazette* recently. He would, however, allude to that matter after he had expressed his views of the opening Speech. He trusted the honorable the Colonial Secretary would be in a position to justify the course which he had taken in that matter. He was afraid the honorable gentleman would find himself in a fix, and that he would not be able to explain his conduct; though, for his own credit as a member of the House, and for the credit of the Government, he (*Mr. Miles*) trusted he would be able to do so. He found the Speech, like all others of a similar nature—though it contained a great deal, there was not much in it. He observed, and he regretted it exceedingly, that the Premier did not think it desirable to introduce a measure to amend the Land Act of 1868. No allusion whatever was made to that measure; and he thought the Government had done wrong in not bringing forward a Bill to abandon that obnoxious law. He found that the Bills enumerated in the Speech had been before the House in the previous session;—he believed they were the same. It was rather unusual, at this early stage—in speaking to the question before the House—for honorable members to have the opportunity to discuss the nature of the particular measures named in the Government programme. The first was the Gold Fields Bill; but he was not in a position to discuss the merits or demerits of that measure. The House would agree with him, that it was a

measure which was absolutely necessary. From the numerous cases which had been brought before the courts of the colony, he took it that there was something radically wrong in the management of the gold fields; and he was glad to find that the Government were about to relieve the miners from the difficulties they had to contend with. If the Bill was a proper one to give security for the investment of capital—although he never was a miner, himself, he knew that was necessary—and the introduction of machinery for the purpose of extracting the gold from quartz, it would conduce to the general prosperity of the colony; and, whatever assistance he could render he should gladly give the Government. The next measure on the programme was the Additional Members Bill. If that was similar to the one introduced a few weeks ago, he should oppose it. To call it an Additional Members Bill, was an error. It made a redistribution of one electorate and passed over all the others. He was not aware of the reason why the Government had taken such a course: it was a very invidious one. The Government should introduce a thorough Redistribution of Electorates Bill. He next came to the Pastoral Occupation Bill. He regretted exceedingly that, in spite of the great sound of trumpets with which it had been heralded, he found it made no concession whatever to the pastoral tenants. True, it proposed to give twenty-one years' leases; but he was not aware whether that would be any advantage at all, when honorable members came to consider that, as appeared by the statement of the honorable member for Clermont, the whole of the outside squatters in the North were insolvent.

MR. DE SATGE: One-third of them.

MR. MILES: He regretted exceedingly to hear such a statement made in the House; for he feared it was true—if not quite, nearly so. The same might be said of the western outside squatters—indeed, of the southern, too, and of the squatters all over the colony. However, he should be able to express his views more fully when the Bill was under consideration. Unless a clause was introduced allowing the pastoral lessees to call for a re-valuation of their runs, he contended that the measure would not be worth anything: it would be a farce. By-the-bye, he must be very careful how he designated it; he might call it by a name that would be unparliamentary. He was very much surprised at what he had heard from the honorable gentleman who had charge of the Bill, last session—that it would do everything for the squatters; whereas it would do nothing for them, so far as he could see. The honorable gentleman knew very well that he could not give indefeasible leases for twenty-one years; and, if he could, he ought not to do so. He (Mr. Miles) was always opposed to twenty-one years' leases and to fourteen years' leases. They were of no benefit; and he could assure the honorable gentleman that the day was

passed when capitalists would advance on pastoral property. That long leases would remove the difficulties of the outside squatters, was a myth. He was aware that a large number of his constituents thought otherwise; but he sat in the House to express his own views, and, he maintained that the proposed twenty-one years' leases were a farce. Another thing to be considered in support of his view, was, that there were rising towns in the interior; and, he asked—Were the lands in their vicinity to be bound up for twenty-one years? He saw no provision in the Bill for their interests in the future. The House heard a great deal about the town of Clermont. He was sure the honorable member for Clermont, himself, would be opposed to the whole land in the neighborhood of that town being tied up for twenty-one years.

MR. DE SATGE: Hear, hear.

MR. MILES: He would object to it. There was one rising town in his own district—the town of Roma. He should like to see some small farmers settled there; and they would take up the land, if they got it. On those grounds, he was afraid he should not be able to give a very strong support to the measure. Parties residing on the extreme borders of the colony, who had taken up their runs under the New South Wales Government, and whose fourteen years' leases expired some time ago, should have their runs re-valued. They paid, now, an enormous rent—double what they ought to pay—and no consideration was shown to them, as there ought to be, because of their long distances from, and the expense of carriage to, market, and because of the inferior country they occupied. The next measure, he found, was an Immigration Bill. He durst say that he should correctly express his views on that question, if he repeated what the honorable member for Ipswich, Mr. Thompson, had said. He felt it his duty to oppose that Bill in every shape or form, more particularly the proposal to send an agent, home, he did not care whom. He was informed that the agent was to be the present Colonial Secretary—

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: No.

MR. MILES: Of course, he must take the honorable member's statement for what it was worth. He should like to go a little further and say, that it was not worth much. However, if the Government were ready to do their duty to the country by introducing a Bill to amend the Land Act of 1868, they would thereby effect more good than all the legislation on immigration, or immigration agents sent from the colony, had done. What had they seen? A number of people came here under the auspices of the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, and the unfortunates were swindled. He had no doubt whatever, that it would suit the inhabitants of Brisbane, that numbers of immigrants should be introduced. What for? So that they might swell the public-houses.

There were men knocking about the interior, in shoals, who could not get work, and, therefore, it was preposterous that the country should be saddled with an immigration agent—an Agent-General, by-the-bye—in England, to send out more people. It was to be hoped that the Government would, before they asked the House to sanction any Immigration Bill, properly provide for the people whom they were going to introduce, so that they might settle in the colony. He had no doubt that the person, whoever he might be, who should be sent home, would tell the people at home that there was a land law in the colony which would give them free selection before survey, and all that; but he (Mr. Miles) should be glad to know what the Government had done to carry out the intention of that law. He could inform the House that he made a selection on the 12th August last, and that up to this time the commissioner for the district could not find time to go out and survey it. Honorable members might laugh, but it was no laughing matter.

Mr. LAMB begged to say that he did not laugh at the honorable member for Maranoa. He laughed because the Minister for Lands had gone out of the House. He only wished the honorable gentleman would get up and explain.

Mr. MILES: He did not know why the honorable gentleman did so: he thought it might be because he was receiving only half-pay. Possibly, he did not like to hear the truth, and therefore kept out of the way. He (Mr. Miles) thought he had a perfect right to express his opinion upon the department over which the honorable gentleman presided; and he had a right to be heard. The honorable gentleman was treating the House with great discourtesy to leave the House, for the smoking-room, when an honorable member was speaking of his department; and it was surprising that the head of the Government sat still and allowed his subordinate to act in such a way. The Premier once said that he expected due obedience from his colleagues, and confidence; and that he required them to respect his position as head of the Ministry. He (Mr. Miles) wished to remark that the best thing the House could do would be to pass a land law that would give encouragement to capitalists to come to the colony. That would be a measure a great deal more suitable to the interests of Queensland than any Immigration Bill, to bring out people to starve. He felt very great disappointment with the honorable member for Rockhampton, who was the father of the Land Act. Before the prorogation of 1868, that honorable member pointed out to the Secretary for Lands that the measure having become law, a large land revenue was certain to be realised;—if it did not come in, otherwise, the land was to be put up to auction. He (Mr. Miles) should like to know how much land had been put up to auction, particularly on the Darling Downs.

He knew of a small quantity put up, at Clifton, at a very high price. What was the reason that the Government did not part with more land? He knew of individuals who applied six months ago for land to be sold by auction, and it was not done yet. It would be remembered that, a short time ago, he brought forward a motion with reference to the detention of the Warrego mails; and that, on the occasion, he made a statement to the effect that the honorable the Colonial Secretary had employed Captain Sadleir as his agent, and that he had got himself returned at an election through Captain Sadleir's retirement—that gentleman being a candidate—on the condition of his getting an appointment as a police magistrate. The honorable gentleman, in reply to that statement, distinctly said that the statement was untrue. He should like to look up the honorable member's words in "Hansard."

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: It was quite correct.

Mr. MILES: Well, the House could feel assured that the circumstances were as he stated them, without his quoting the debate. It was a very extraordinary thing that in the first *Gazette* published after that debate took place, the appointment of Captain Sadleir, as police magistrate at Taroom, appeared—about ten days or a fortnight afterwards. It was contrary to the rules of the House, and would be unparliamentary in him (Mr. Miles) to say that the statement made by the Colonial Secretary, then, was untrue; but, if the rules of the House allowed him, he should have no hesitation in making use of those words. He sympathised with the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, but what could he expect from a Ministry constituted as the present was?

The Hon. R. PRING: Contemptible.

Mr. MILES: Still, the House were told, night after night, that Ministers all rowed in the same boat—that they agreed. All he could say, was, that if he were at the head of the Government, and one of his colleagues had made such a statement as the Colonial Secretary had made, he should hold him accountable for it. He should like to go a little further, and ask the Premier, if the appointment had his sanction? If so, all he could say, was, that he looked upon the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government as worse than the Colonial Secretary. He doubted it, because hitherto, he had rather a good opinion of the Premier; he had always found him discreet. He told him now, as he did on a previous occasion, that he would only be doing his duty, to *Gazette* his colleague, the Colonial Secretary, out of office. He was sure the Premier would be more and more convinced of that, the longer the Colonial Secretary was in his Government: he would find him out, however, by-and-bye. What could he expect from the Colonial Secretary, after the way in which he had treated his late colleagues? He (Mr. Miles)

was sorry to have to speak so; nevertheless, what he said was fact. He should not be doing his duty, if he did not expose the Colonial Secretary. He remembered meeting the honorable member going out to Warrego, in the flourishing town of Roma—he met him coming out of the telegraph office—and learning that he was Secretary for Works and Gold Fields, he had a conversation with the honorable gentleman on the occasion; and he regarded it as the greatest mistake the Government ever committed, to take that honorable gentleman in.

The Hon. R. PRING: Hear hear;—so it was.

Mr. MILES: He thought he had shewn that as it was with the late Government, so it was with the present Premier. There was no doubt that before the session closed, the Premier would have to turn him out—send him about his business. Perhaps he would obtain another colleague. He must hold the reins tighter than he did, or he would be in a difficulty. He was always regarded as a very able gentleman, but he must take care. It might be—he (Mr. Miles) knew the Government were in the habit of recalling notices in one *Gazette* by the issue of another, and they might yet revoke the appointment to which he had referred; nevertheless, it was a matter that required to be adjusted. It was a very serious charge which he brought against the Government; and, perhaps, before many days were over, he would propose a vote of censure—to feel the pulse of the House on that case. It would be in the recollection of honorable members, that the present Government came into office as an economical Government; they were going to make reductions in the expenditure of the country, which the preceding Government had failed to do. No doubt, they were willing to endeavor to do all they could. Probably, through the defalcations in the public service, they would be materially assisted in the work. But some of the gentlemen whose offices had been abolished ought to have had the appointment that was given to Captain Sadleir. He was prepared to give the Government every assistance in his power to be economical. The taxation was unbearable, and he should give the Government every assistance to reduce that, as well as to cut down the expenditure. But he was bound to protect the Civil Service in every possible way that he could. He had the honor to introduce resolutions to the House bearing that way, on a former occasion; but he supposed he should be told that they were available only for the session—that they were exploded and gone. He might say, however, that he was glad to see the honorable member for Port Curtis had put a motion on the paper which would prevent the Government acting improperly in making appointments. The Government had no right, while reductions were going on, to make fresh appointments. As he before said, the unfortunate country had to “pay the piper.” He did not envy the

position of the gentleman who now filled the office of Colonial Secretary, with his constituents. He said to Captain Sadleir—“If you retire in my favor, I will make you a police magistrate.” That was how it was done. The individual, as all the squatters were, in the west, was needy: he jumped at the offer. The House were bound to make it known that those persons whose offices had been abolished should have had the first offer. He was told that the parties in that position were unsuited for the office of police magistrate. Why? Did the honorable the Colonial Secretary know anything about the qualifications of Captain Sadleir? If so, what were they? Did he know anything about Captain Sadleir? If not, he (Mr. Miles) would tell him that he ought to have made himself acquainted with his antecedents before making the appointment. He regretted to rake up the private character of any gentleman who was one of his constituents; but he had a right, as a representative of the country, to expect and to demand that the Government should exercise the greatest care and discrimination in making important appointments, which did not appear to be the case. They would have a repetition of what took place in the North some few months back. How could anything else be expected when parties were thrust into responsible positions, such as that of police magistrate, under anything but creditable circumstances. He found that this Mr. John Sadleir was gazetted as a magistrate on the 29th January, 1866; he thought he was justified in saying that one of the present Ministers knew something about him then. How Mr. Sadleir got into the commission of the peace was best known to that Minister. In a subsequent *Gazette*, he found that the commission was cancelled, and another commission came out for Thomas John Sadleir. The Minister for Lands, he believed, would be able to give the House some information on the subject, and enlighten the House. Altogether, it was not a very pleasant thing to speak as he had to speak against a Government for such a course of procedure; so, he should say nothing more about Captain Sadleir's appointment. He warned the Government not to think that, because no amendment was moved on the Address, they had the confidence of the House. It was the peculiar position of the country and the state of public business that induced him to support them. He feared that it was utterly impossible for a Government, composed of such materials, to do the business of the country; but they could not expect to have the confidence of the House. He was most astonished at the Premier, and he should be sorry to lose the good opinion he long entertained of him;—if that honorable gentleman sanctioned the appointment of Captain Sadleir, under the circumstances, he was to be blamed. Where was Mr. Barron, an excellent officer of the Government, who was dis-

pensed with simply to reduce expenditure? Why did he not get the office? It vexed him to think the country had a Government who were guilty of such gross injustice, and who, because a man obliged a Minister, gave him a lucrative appointment. He did not think he should let such an act of mal-administration drop; but that he should bring forward a substantive motion about it, to get a decisive expression of opinion from the House.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he thought, after what had fallen from the honorable member for Maranoa, he should be wanting in respect to the House, to his colleagues, and to himself, if he did not attempt to justify the appointment to which that honorable member had alluded at such length. The honorable member, in noticing that subject, might have made use of less harsh language, at all events, as regarded himself (the Colonial Secretary); but, at the same time, he could not help thanking him for the opportunity which was now afforded him of explaining, as best he could, the position in which he stood, as a Minister of the Crown, with reference to that appointment. It would be in the recollection of honorable members that during last session—on the 14th April—the honorable member for Clermont gave notice of a question, which he put the following day:—

“(1.) Whether the Government are aware that there are no magistrates in or around Taroom, to undertake the usual police court business at that township, since the suspension of the late police magistrate there?”

“(2.) Whether it is the intention of the Government to appoint a successor to Mr. Cave, the late police magistrate at Taroom?”

His (the Colonial Secretary's) answer to that was—

“(1.) The Government have not been very recently made aware of the scarcity of resident magistrates in the police district of Taroom; the want shall be supplied.

“(2.) It is the intention of the Government, very shortly, to appoint a successor to Mr. Cave, late police magistrate at Taroom, should the House pass the necessary supply.”

On the following day he received in his office a deputation of two gentlemen largely and intimately connected with that district, who pointed out to him the imperative necessity of appointing magistrates in that neighborhood. After consulting with his honorable colleague, the Premier, he sent a telegram to a gentleman in the neighborhood of Taroom, asking him if he would undertake the duties of magistrate of the territory.

HONORABLE MEMBERS: Name, name.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: The gentleman was Mr. Dunn, superintendent of Mr. Yaldwyn's station, about ten miles from Taroom. Two days afterwards, the Commissioner of Police placed in his hands a telegram he had received from Mr. Brown, chief inspector at Roma, stating that there had been

a prisoner detained at Taroom on a charge of forgery since March 5, and that no magistrate could be got to attend, though witnesses had attended three times. Mr. Dunn having replied in the affirmative to the telegram sent to him, he was at once appointed. Now, he might here mention that owing to bad seasons and pecuniary difficulties, a great number of gentlemen—he knew of three, at all events—who were residents, to within a very late period, in the district of Taroom, had been obliged to succumb to misfortune, and had left the neighborhood. It was in consequence of that, more than of any other circumstance, that Taroom had been without magistrates. On receiving the telegram above referred to, he went immediately to the Attorney-General, and laid the matter before him, saying, they must lose no time in appointing a police magistrate at Taroom. They then went through a list of civil servants who were likely to lose their appointments in consequence of the retrenchment the Government considered to be necessary. He was not, of course, going to parade before the House the names of all the gentlemen he referred to; but before he left the Attorney-General's office he sent for a person who was receiving a large salary of upwards of £400 a-year, and who was about to lose his appointment. That gentleman was asked if he would accept of the office of police magistrate at Taroom; and he at once said he would. But there were certain conditions with which it would be necessary for the gentleman accepting the office to comply, and with those conditions the gentleman he referred to was not in a position to comply.

Mr. WALSH: Name, name.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No. He would not mention the name, but this much he might say—that the gentleman's name would appear in the *Gazette* on Saturday next, and that under no very favorable circumstances. Names had been mentioned of gentlemen who might have been appointed, and amongst them the name of Mr. Barron had been mentioned. Now, Mr. Barron was at present in receipt of a salary of £475 a year, and as the salary of the police magistrate at Taroom was only £300, he felt quite satisfied that Mr. Barron would not have accepted the appointment. He might, however, state that the services of Mr. Barron would be retained in a far more valuable appointment than that of police magistrate of Taroom.

Mr. PALMER: I expected so.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: As he had already stated, his honorable colleague the Attorney-General, and he, went over the names of a number of gentlemen who were about to leave the service at present; and he could most candidly state that they could not arrive at a decision as to any one who might be sent to Taroom. They felt they could not expect that a married man with a large family could go to Taroom. It was then, at his sug-

gestion, that Captain Sadleir was nominated and appointed. Now he would explain to the House the circumstances under which that appointment took place. When he found that there was no gentleman in the Civil Service capable at the time of accepting the appointment, he suggested the name of Captain Sadleir; and he told the Attorney-General, as he was now to tell the House, the circumstances under which he incurred a debt of obligation and gratitude that gentleman. He regretted very much that the honorable member for the Maranoa should have brought up again that vexed question of his (the Colonial Secretary's) election for the Warrego. He had, on a previous occasion, denied the correctness of the remarks made by the honorable member with reference to that subject, and he might remind the House of the scenes which might occur if honorable gentlemen were to have their words misconstrued and doubted in the way his had been. When the honorable member for the Maranoa brought forward the question of the stoppage of the western mails, he made an explanation of the circumstances, and showed that the honorable member was in error; and why should the honorable member now persist in saying that he (the Colonial Secretary) had made a mistake—to use no stronger term. He would positively declare, in the face of the Assembly, that the circumstances under which he met Captain Sadleir at Charleville, on the occasion of the Warrego election, were simply these: He had never spoken to Captain Sadleir until the day before the day of nomination, when that gentleman came up to him, and said, he was sorry he was in the field, as their politics were the same, but that he was bound to go to the poll. Next day Captain Sadleir went into the court-house at Charleville, with his proposer and seconder, and with colors flying; and was duly nominated, as were also Mr. Pritchard and himself; and it was not until afterwards that Captain Sadleir, to the utter astonishment of his mover and seconder, and also of his supporters, said he would retire in his (the Colonial Secretary's) favor. But he thought the honorable member for the Maranoa must have been somewhat riled by a letter which appeared in the *Brisbane Courier*, on the 23rd of March, and signed T. J. Sadleir. In that letter Captain Sadleir said—

“Mr. Miles has also ‘been informed,’ (not ‘credibly’ it seems this time), that ‘I sold my birthright for a mess of pottage.’ Some four months ago I heard that the honorable member for the Maranoa had discovered a ‘mare’s nest’ of this kind, but I gave him credit for sense enough to avoid it. Since then, however, it appears to have been in process of incubation. Making an abortive attempt at vitality the previous week, it was crushed by the highest authority in the House, collapsed, and only by seven days careful nursing was it eventually (and most appropriately) brought forth on the 1st April. The assertion that my retirement from

the Warrego election in September last, was the result of a bargain with Mr. Hodgson, is utterly false. Before the nomination, I had decided to retire if Mr. Pritchard was nominated, and I did so, much to the disgust of Mr. Pritchard’s agent and chief supporter, who had a ‘little game’ of his own to play, and who, I have little doubt, is the *credible informer* before referred to.”

Honorable members would see that in this letter, Captain Sadleir, with whom he had had no correspondence since the day of nomination, except with respect to his appointment, carried out, almost word for word, the statement he (the Colonial Secretary) made in the House a few weeks ago, and which he still kept to. Indeed he almost used the same expressions. Now, he did not hesitate to tell the House this—that after the election was over he shook hands with Captain Sadleir, and assured him that if ever it was in his power to do him a good turn, he would do it, and he had stuck to his word: and any man of honor or good feeling would have done as he had done. He was anxious to take the whole of the blame, if any blame there was, as to the appointment of Captain Sadleir; and if the honorable member for the Maranoa tabled his motion on the subject, as he said he proposed to do, as a vote of censure against the Government, and if he obtained a majority in favor of that motion, the honorable member would not find him occupy a seat in the House, as Colonial Secretary, one moment afterwards. Captain Sadleir possessed very high testimonials, and they had been fully entered into and considered by the Executive. One of those only was it necessary he should read to the House for the satisfaction of honorable members. It was an extract from General H. C. Van Courtlandt’s certificate, and was as follows:—

“He was also acting as staff officer for sometime, in addition to his duties of Commandant of Rajah Dowahir Singh’s Troops; conducted several reconnaissances, and was actively engaged, almost daily, against the enemy during the whole of the hottest season of the year, commanding cavalry as well as infantry.”

That, he thought, was a complete answer to the honorable member for the Maranoa; and now he might with every confidence say that Captain Sadleir was a man of integrity, a man of honor, a brave soldier, a man who had bled for his country, and who, with other officers, had been the means of wresting the Indian Empire from the hands of mutinous Sepoys in 1856 and 1857. With regard to the statement made by the honorable member for the Maranoa, that Captain Sadleir had been gazetted a magistrate in 1866, but that his name did not appear on a subsequent list, he believed that if the honorable member had sifted for the truth of this matter he would have found that the omission was altogether owing to Captain Sadleir’s own neglect—in not coming down to Brisbane, on the

occasion of his appointment, to be sworn in: and, therefore, it was, he ceased to be a magistrate of the territory, and that his name did not appear in a subsequent list of magistrates. Like several others in the far west, Captain Sadleir had had to succumb to circumstances, and was possibly not now in very affluent circumstances. Captain Sadleir had accepted the appointment offered him, and he (the Colonial Secretary) believed he would prove a valuable addition to the Civil Service of the colony. He firmly believed that Captain Sadleir was a thoroughly competent and good man, and had he not honestly and conscientiously thought so, he would not have recommended his name to the favorable consideration of his colleagues. So fully convinced was he of Captain Sadleir's honesty, ability, and integrity, that he was prepared to become his surety; for, in consequence of what had taken place during the last few months, the Government had wisely determined to grant no new appointments to any persons unless they could provide the necessary sureties. It was stated in a former debate, and touched upon again last night, that the Government ought to make all fresh appointments from the ranks of the Civil Service. He quite agreed that they should do so where they possibly could, but they could not always do it; for that day even, the name of an officer in the service, charged with peculation, had been brought before the Cabinet—a gentleman whose name had not hitherto been dreamed of. Now, surrounded as the Government were with those difficulties, and others which were cropping up day by day, it was not so easy for them to fill up appointments entirely out of the ranks of the Civil Service. A great deal had been said about the patronage shown in the particular instance alluded to by the honorable member for the Maranoa; but the House should recollect that that was the first appointment which the present Ministry had made during their six months' tenure of office. He had a list of the appointments made by the late Government during their tenure of office, from August, 1867, to November, 1868. He would not read the list at length, but would merely state, that in the Colonial Secretary's department, there were nineteen appointments made.

MR. PALMER: But those nineteen appointments were all good ones.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: That was a matter he would not enter into, for he would be very sorry to dilate upon any appointment made by the late Ministry. The Government had been particularly careful not to introduce any fresh blood into the Civil Service; but there were occasions when they were obliged to exercise their own discretion, and, at present, he did not think they had acted indiscreetly. He would not enter upon the matters referred to in the Address, as he would have an opportunity of doing so when the different measures alluded to were intro-

duced. He was sorry to hear the remarks made by the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Forbes, the previous evening, about the Darling Downs legislation, and his allusion to the fact of there being two Darling Downs squatters in the Government. He could assure the honorable member that he was mistaken in supposing that the presence of two Darling Downs squatters in the Ministry would in any way prevent the districts in the far west from receiving the consideration due to them at the hands of the Government. All he could say was that the Darling Downs districts had been well cared for; and, as regarded the far west, so long as he had a seat in the House he would take care of the interests of that district, for he could not forget the high honor the electors of the Warrego had bestowed upon him in twice returning him to that House as their representative; and he was sure that, if they had not believed in him, they would not have returned him. As to the Speech, he maintained that it was comprehensive, truthful, and liberal, and that it dealt with the past, the present, and the future. It had been said that the Address was not in accordance with the common rule—that it was not such as addresses usually were. Well, that might be so, but he maintained that it was an address of which the colony might well be proud; and he believed that no address had ever gone to England that would inspire so much confidence as the Address they were now considering.

THE HON. R. PRING said the concluding remark of the honorable member for the Warrego, who had just sat down, certainly filled him with astonishment, for he could not see how the people at home would be inspired by a document which he, after several hours' attention, could make neither head nor tail of. It was generally admitted that speeches from the Throne were framed so that the action of those who composed them should not be known, and the present Address did not differ from others in that respect. As no amendment was likely to be proposed, it would not be necessary for him to make more than a few remarks in reference to the late policy of the Government, or the policy they might think fit to carry out during the present session. As he understood, it was generally admitted that it was absolutely necessary the business of the session should be carried through with as little delay as possible; and, therefore, the House allowed the Ministry to carry on the business almost without comment. Consequently, as regarded the past policy of the Government, the House had nothing to complain of; and as to what was to be their future policy, the Speech did not afford much information. It appeared, however, to be very harmless, and therefore no amendment to the Address would likely be proposed. But he wished to make a few remarks on the Speech itself, to guard himself against the possibility of being supposed

to assent to all it contained. There were things in it which he could not assent to. The second paragraph, which referred to the various Bills to be introduced, did not give them any very great hopes of much legislation. There were to be some old Bills taken up, which had been spoken of for a very long time; and, if his information was correct, the Bill for the regulation of the Gold Fields was nothing more than a transcript of the old Act, with one or two alterations, and was not likely to pass the House, for it was not likely to meet with the approval of any one. That was not the sort of legislation the subject required, and which he would have been prepared to give it some twelve months ago, had not his design been overruled by his colleagues—no doubt for good and sufficient reasons, at the time. If he had had his way, he would have introduced a new Bill based on very different principles; and if he should ever have the opportunity again, he would carry out his views, and endeavor to place the gold-mining laws on a satisfactory footing. Instead of an Additional Members Bill, he would like to see a Redistribution Bill introduced. When the late Premier talked of bringing in an Additional Members Bill, he remembered that he was somewhat taunted by members who now occupied the ministerial side of the House. The late Premier replied that some kind of legislation was required, but that he thought there was not then time to bring in a Redistribution Bill, and that it would be better to introduce a temporary measure to afford such immediate relief as might be necessary. But the present Ministry were in a different position altogether. They had been in office for some six months, with but little to do, and he, therefore, maintained that a Redistribution Bill ought to have been laid on the table. What the late Premier, Sir R. Mackenzie, intended doing, and was not allowed to do, the present Government had failed to do. He supposed it would be contended that an Additional Members Bill ought to be introduced first, in order that a larger number of members might be present to consider the redistribution of electorates, but that was not a sound argument at all. He thought the House, as at present constituted, was in a better position to consider the redistribution of electorates than it would be if the number of members was increased; and he might also take that opportunity to warn the Government that it would as much require a two-thirds majority to carry the Additional Members Bill, as it would to pass a Redistribution Bill.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: We never doubted it.

THE HON. R. PRING: Well, he was glad to hear that the honorable member agreed with him in that. As to the proposed Immigration Bill, it was unnecessary to say anything about it till it was introduced; but he would at once assure the Government that he, for one, would object to any immigration agent being sent home; for he believed that

the gentleman who at present acted in that capacity performed the duties well enough. They did not now require that any one should go running through England preaching about Queensland. It might have been right enough some six years since, but it was not necessary now. He believed the people of England were as well acquainted with Queensland now as they could be made acquainted with it by any immigration agent that might go home. The increased facilities of postal communication afforded the fullest opportunities for immigrants in the colony to communicate with their friends at home in England; and also in Scotland and Ireland. The duties that were formerly required of an Agent-General were not required now; and the only agent that was required now was one who would manage the accounts and carry out the instructions of the Colonial Government; and those duties could not be better done than they had been done, by the gentleman who had been attending to them for some time past. He would therefore stipulate that, if any Bill should be brought in providing for an agent, it should only be for such an agent as they had at present. If they were to be economical and to retrench, let them begin in the right way; and not by cutting off a few shillings here and spending pounds elsewhere. The proposed Insolvency Bill was no doubt the one prepared by members of the mercantile community, and previously submitted to him. The subject was an interesting one, and would no doubt receive a proper amount of consideration. He was perfectly satisfied that the electoral law did require amendment, and he thought it was very questionable whether the revision of the electoral lists should be left to local magistrates; for, however honestly they might discharge their duties, still, if they held any political principles at all, they laid themselves open to some unpleasantness from those whose claims to be on the roll were not allowed. He was of opinion that the revision of the rolls should either be made by the district court judges, or by persons properly qualified to perform the duties, and who had no political interests to serve. When there was a proper revision of the rolls, they would hear no more complaints about the election of members and the qualification of electors. Any Bill that might be introduced on the subject would require a very great deal of consideration, and, in dealing with it, honorable members should be very careful to see that a good measure was passed this time. He now came to a paragraph in the Speech which he, in part, dissented from; and that was the paragraph relating to public works. He would not object to a certain amount being voted by the House, or to a Loan Bill, to raise a sufficient amount of money to complete works in course of construction; but he would not, as long as he was a member of the House, and while the Ministry preached economy and cut down every little office, sanction the expenditure of any money for any of the economical extensions

referred to in the Speech, and which meant, no doubt, the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane, or from Westwood to the Dawson. He would not support any additional outlay of that description until the Ministry could show clearly they could afford it. The House might be told that those economical extensions would have the effect of making works, already constructed, reproductive. The Minister for Works should, however, prove that to the House. He should show that the expenditure of a certain amount of money, on economical extensions, would be reproductive, that the taxation would not be increased, and that the revenue would not be burdened. If that had been done, he probably might not have been called on to make the remarks he had made. He dissented from the paragraph in which assistance was asked to complete certain local works upon which a heavy expenditure had already been made. It was a paragraph which would utterly take-in the House, to use a common expression, if they believed it. What he supposed it meant was, that honorable members would be solicited to vote twenty or twenty-five thousand to complete certain local works on which a heavy expenditure had been already incurred. Suppose the House voted that amount on account of the Brisbane bridge, what possible security would they have that the burden would ultimately be borne by the district receiving the advantage? Was it not a notorious fact, that ever since there had been a corporation in Brisbane they had not only spent all their own money, but also all that had been advanced to them, and had run into debt besides; and now they actually came to the House and asked for more. How was the corporation to pay back the money? The citizens were already taxed as heavily as they could bear; and money could not therefore be got by local taxation to pay the money back. Yet it was asked that the country should be taxed in order to provide the corporation with the means of completing the Brisbane bridge. Now, he would not consent to that. He would let the Brisbane bridge go before he would consent to such a course; and he was sorry now that he ever voted in favor of such a work. As to the Polynesian labor question, perhaps the honorable member for Clermont would be able to furnish the House with some information on the subject. For his own part, he could not, and he could not imagine what sort of advice they were to be asked for about it. The next paragraph in this Speech, that was to inspire the English people with confidence in the colony, spoke of honorable members devoting their most earnest attention to all the subjects mentioned in the previous portion of the Speech; and about their wisdom and disinterested solicitude for the welfare of the whole community; suggesting valuable additions to legislation, and so on; and after that came the paragraph about the Estimates, which stated that the Estimates would be framed with due

regard to the efficiency of the public service. Now, he very much doubted the correctness of that statement; and he did not believe that the Estimates that were passed last session were framed with due consideration for the efficiency of the public service; and if the Estimates for this session should be framed on the same principle he thought he would be able to show that the public service would be very much damaged; and he now ventured to say that when the Supplementary Estimates, that would have to be cast for 1868 and 1869, were brought up, it would be found that there was very little difference between the Estimates for 1867 and those for 1868 and 1869. He should be glad to see any reductions made that could be made; but was the abolition of the district court at Gayndah a specimen of the way in which the Government proposed to carry out their principles of retrenchment? Was that a specimen of the way in which they were to show a due regard for the efficiency of the public service? He never heard of such a proceeding as that before. Why, at the time the *Gazette*, discontinuing the sittings of the court was issued, the judge was on his way to the town to try several cases which were awaiting him. If the Government intended to abolish the sittings of the court—and he did not mean to say they were wrong in doing so—they should, at any rate, have waited until the issues ready for trial had been decided.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The *Gazette* was issued at the request of the learned judge himself.

The Hon. R. PRING: That was nothing to him; and a judge was nothing to him. The question was, whether the public service required it or not? If he had been in office, he would not have allowed a judge to dictate to him. Perhaps the judge was stopped at his own request, because he did not like to go to Gayndah. The plaintiffs and defendants and witnesses in the case were there; but there was no judge there to try the cases. He saw by the late Estimates that it was intended to take away the police magistrate from Gayndah. Now, why was that to be the case? When the district court was abolished, it would be necessary to increase the jurisdiction of the court of petty sessions, which, of course, would throw more work on the police magistrate, and render one more urgently necessary there than ever. It might be said that the magistrates might do the work themselves; but if so, why should that not be said in the case of Taroom also? Now, the magistrates were very good people, but, they were all squatters, and in many of the cases that would come before them they would indirectly have a personal interest. If ever there was a township in the colony where a police magistrate was required at the present time, it was Gayndah; and if, in a fit of economy, the police magistrate was to be done away with, in order that the Government might save his salary of £400, all he

would say was that the people of the Burnett district would suffer by the reductions in the public service. He altogether disapproved of the reductions that had been made in the police force, and he was satisfied that before the end of the present session everything that had been done in that way, in support of the economical views of the Ministry, would have to be altered. What did the House think of there being only three constables for Gympie and the surrounding district, where there had recently been three murders and one mail robbery committed; and that prisoners had to be taken from Gympie to Maryborough by only two policemen? Now, that was all the doing of the present Colonial Secretary, who went to the Gympie gold fields and thought so much of them. If reductions were so greatly required, the Government should rather cut off the police altogether than reduce the force to an extent that would render it utterly powerless. If life and property were to be protected, and peace and order maintained, there must be a sufficient number of police. Only that day, and in the streets of Brisbane, he witnessed a sight that forcibly illustrated the insufficiency of the police force even in the city. He saw a drunken man, taken by a policeman, with the view of being taken to the Immigration Dépôt. The man became refractory, and assaulted the policeman, and injured him severely. Now, the policeman might have halloed and whistled for long enough before he would have found another policeman to come to his assistance, for there was not another to be seen. Well, the policeman got so mauled that he was obliged to take his baton and hammer the prisoner in self-defence, till he could no longer resist. Now, that scene was witnessed by several people in the street, but none of them would go to the assistance of the policeman, because they were naturally afraid of being mauled too by the drunken man. Now, it was a disgrace that such a thing as that should take place in a city in mid-day. Not in Brisbane alone, but all over the colony, the police force was greatly deficient. The Government had actually cut down the only branch of the service that it was absolutely necessary to maintain. For his own part, he would rather have gone into the Colonial Secretary's Office, and have cut down every clerk in it, and left him to do the work himself; and in the Land Office too; and in the Post Office, and cut off some of those lazy clerks who seemed to be always hanging about in each other's way, and have left the others to do twelve hours' work a day; and into every other department, rather than have cut down the police force. Now, the Colonial Secretary knew that if the soldiers were sent away, as they had been sent away, it would be necessary to put policemen in their place to guard St. Helena and Government House; and yet, therefore, when they ought to have

increased the force, they actually reduced it. It was most impolitic to reduce the police force at the time it was done, for there was no class of people so easily led into crime as those adventurous spirits that came from the other colonies, and who would not hesitate to attempt fresh acts of outrage, if they should discover that detection was not likely to follow speedily. They ought, therefore, to be very careful and not reduce the force, especially at the present time. If they spent a little more on the police, they would save it in not having to prosecute, and in not having to maintain so many prisoners at St. Helena. Just let honorable members think how much it took to keep a man at St. Helena for fifteen years; or, even in gaol for a few months, and they could not help coming to his opinion, that by having an efficient police force, they would be gainers rather than losers. He spoke warmly on this matter, because his profession led him to see what he might say was the anticipated state of crime in the colony; and if the reductions in the police force were carried out, no doubt, those anticipations would be realised. He trusted the House would assert its position, and demand that there should be a sufficient increase made by the Supplementary Estimates, unless the Government satisfied the House that they would put on a number of police that would be sufficient to maintain order and peace throughout the colony. Now, from what he had said, honorable members would see why he did not agree with the paragraph in the Speech, which stated that the Estimates had been framed with a due regard to the efficiency of the public service. If the Estimates were framed, as the last Estimates were framed, they would not be framed with a due regard to the efficiency of the public service; and, therefore, he maintained, the paragraph about the Estimates was not true. Now, again he would like to know, if the efficiency of the public service was to be considered in an economical point of view, why it was that Dr. Kemball, who was to be superannuated, was not appointed police magistrate at Taroom, instead of Captain Sadleir. The Colonial Secretary had told the House that the office of police magistrate was offered to a gentleman in the Civil Service who accepted it, but could not comply with the conditions required, before it was offered to Mr. Sadleir. The honorable gentleman declined to inform the House who the gentleman was. Well, he would inform the House who it was. The gentleman to whom it was offered was Mr. J. Wiseman Wilkie, and the Attorney-General and the Colonial Secretary knew, when they offered it to him, that he could not fulfil the conditions required. He knew it was offered to Mr. Wilkie, because Mr. Wilkie told him. Without going into the charges that had been made by an honorable member against Mr. Sadleir, he must repeat that he thought the services of those officers, whose offices were to be abolished, should have

been secured before any new appointment was made. Now, he could inform the House that a more able magistrate than Dr. Kemball was scarcely to be found in the colony. The Attorney-General might laugh, but he was now speaking of what had come under his own notice, and that under circumstances where Dr. Kemball's character and legal ability came before a judge and jury; and he had no hesitation in saying that Dr. Kemball was as fit to dispense justice as all the Sadleirs in the colony. He was one of the most able magistrates in the colony, and his intellect was perfectly clear, and he was well fitted still to discharge the duties of police magistrate. Instead of that, however, he would retire from the service on his superannuation allowance, which would be rather heavy on account of his length of service. But the Colonial Secretary had to serve a friend, and that was friend Sadleir; who, to the astonishment of his proposer and seconder, withdrew in favor of the Colonial Secretary. Of course there was no previous arrangement—no previous understanding, only, perhaps, friend Sadleir held his hands behind his back and said nothing, but trusted to favors to be received. Now, to tell him that such an appointment was a thing to be boasted of was not according to his views of what was dignified on the part of a Minister of the Crown. The idea of a member of Parliament, who was also a member of the Executive, rushing up to a candidate for election, who had retired in his favor, and shaking hands with him, and telling him he would give him the first gift that he had to bestow.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: No, no.

THE HON. R. PRING: Well, what did the honorable the Colonial Secretary mean when he rushed up to Captain Sadleir and said to him "my dear boy, I will do you a good turn when it is in my power." That was what the Colonial Secretary did: and he told the House that the appointment was a good one,—that it was one of the best that could be made. The Colonial Secretary told the House that he assured Captain Sadleir that he always kept his word; and now he wanted to make the House believe that because he had kept his word to Captain Sadleir the appointment was a good one. But he failed to see that that was a conclusive argument. Now, there was another question he would like to ask the Colonial Secretary, and it was this—How many clerks of petty sessions would have been glad of the appointment? How often had honorable members heard it urged, as a duty on the part of the Government, to promote clerks of petty sessions who might have been qualifying themselves for the magistracy for years; and what could afford clerks of petty sessions more encouragement to qualify themselves in every way than the prospect of such promotion. It was the best encouragement that could be given to them; and there was no better means of qualification for the magistracy than the clerks of petty

sessions enjoyed—sitting as they did under the bench for years, and being daily trained to the duties of the magistracy. He could see by the action of the Government, in respect to this very appointment, that they intended to follow the policy which they accused the late Ministry of pursuing—that of shoving in their own friends in the Civil Service, whether they were fit for it or not. The appointment of Captain Sadleir was a disgrace to the Government collectively; and he could only account for the Premier's acceding to it by believing that, in a Cabinet such as that over which he presided, it was necessary to pursue a give-and-take policy, and that the Colonial Secretary must be accommodated for a certain period at least. Perhaps the next appointment would be for the accommodation of the Minister for Lands; and the next after that for the Minister for Works. He must confess that he had his doubts as to the reduction of expenditure. He hoped, however, his doubts would be removed; and that it would be found, that where reduction was effected, it was done in an efficient manner; because, otherwise, there would be no saving, for if they struck off £1,000 to-day, and had to put on more in six months afterwards to remedy disasters, there was more ill than good done. He therefore hoped the House would be careful to see that, if economy was to be practised, it was practised in the right way. In another paragraph they were told that it would be necessary to raise money to meet Treasury Bills falling due at the end of the present year. Now, if that was the case, he thought it would have been said that while the Treasury Bills were about to be paid, provision would be made for the purpose by the issue of new bills. Now, were they in a position to pay those Treasury Bills without having to issue new ones—just as a bill of exchange would be renewed. He would like to know if the money was to be taken to take up the bills, or if the Government proposed to issue fresh Treasury Bills for a certain amount? Then they were told that the House would be asked for a sufficient sum to provide for the due security of the savings bank fund. Now, the only way in which he thought that could be effectually done, was by the course proposed by the late Premier, Sir R. Mackenzie: and that was by depositing an amount of debentures to the credit of the savings bank equivalent to the amount of deposits, so that if a sudden call should be made for deposits the debentures might be at once sold. But what would be the good of raising money for the purpose and keeping it in the bank useless, while they would have to pay interest for it. Still money would have to be raised, they were told, to complete those public works which were in course of construction. Now, he must say, that he was the more anxious about this portion of the Address—though he did not see there was much objection to the proposition—because of what took place in the old House. They

were told, on the occasion he now referred to, that the Warwick railway would not exceed a certain sum, and a loan for the amount was authorised; but now, after several years had elapsed, they were told that they were to be asked for more for the completion of that line. That showed that they must be careful, if they would not run the risk of being subjected to more taxation. He saw by the Speech that the Government had taken a very proper view of the cotton bonus—though he was not sure that the Premier had taken that view when he took office. At any rate, he knew that some of the members of the Ministry did not previously hold the views expressed in the Address on the subject. He was glad to see they took the view he did as to the bonus—that it should be continued, but on a sliding scale. Then came the very necessary paragraph for a wind-up, but it was one he could not understand. The paragraph asserted that public and private extravagance had been curbed. Now, looking at the *exposés* that had taken place within the last few weeks, he was not so sure about that. He had felt it necessary to make those remarks because he would be sorry that it should be thought he took no interest in the business of the country, as he was not now in office; and because there were some things in the Speech that he could not agree with. While he made those remarks, he did not wish the Government to suppose that, because he was in the previous Government, he was now to sit on the Opposition benches and hamper, as they did, the Government of which he was a member.

Mr. G. THORN said he should not have spoken upon this question, had it not been for several attempts which had been made by honorable members on the Government side of the House to stifle the discussion. It was true that the honorable member at the head of the Government, after a while, had given way; but the effort he had made, last evening, to prevent the debate from being then brought to a close, had done good service, as it had afforded the House an opportunity of listening to the eloquent speech of the honorable member for the Burnett, the Honorable R. Pring. Honorable members had, doubtless, been much interested in that speech, and they would probably have to listen to one of equal interest from the honorable member for Maryborough, both honorable members having been absent from the House on the previous day. The Speech which had lately been placed before the House did not, in his opinion, contrast at all favorably with that prepared by the late Government. The late Ministry had made no provision for unnecessary works of any kind. From the beginning to the end of their term of office they had preached economy, and if time had been allowed them they would have carried out that principle. But what did he find as the policy of the present Government?—a course

of extravagance unparalleled, considering the state of the country, in the history of any colonial Ministry. It was proposed to enter upon public works of all sorts, and in all directions. Yet it was only a day or two before that he had been informed by a supporter of the Government that the completion of the line of railway from Allora to Warwick was the only work they proposed. But a number of other works were mentioned in the Speech. And here he must take the opportunity of pointing out to the honorable member for Clermont that he had fallen into a great error in supposing that the only line the Government proposed to construct was one to the head of the Dawson waters. The paragraph which the honorable member had so interpreted only referred to the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane. In addition to that, there was this job of the Brisbane bridge, which was inserted insidiously in order to obtain the support of the House. He felt sure that the good sense of honorable members would be exerted to prevent any of these so-called economical extensions, except the completion of the line to Warwick. He had been somewhat astonished at the speech of the honorable member who moved the adoption of the Address; it made him think that the speech was intended as a bait. He had also been surprised to see the honorable member for Clermont so easily entrapped, and he only hoped he would find out his mistake before long. In scanning the Speech, the first measure which struck him was a Bill to provide for additional members to the Legislative Assembly. He presumed that would be a similar Bill to the Bill brought in by the Government last session, and, if that were the case, he should assure them that it would receive his most strenuous opposition. A strong argument against this Bill—which, he believed, had been framed by the honorable member for South Brisbane, for no one else could have framed such an insidious measure—was the preponderance it gave to the metropolitan constituencies. If that measure were passed, and he knew it would be vain to attempt to appease the ire of the northern members; nothing would satisfy them but separation, for they would never get their deserts in that House. Supposing that three additional members were given to the North and three to the South, what would be the result?—why, when separation took place, the districts in and around the metropolis—the sea-coast districts—would have half the number of members returned to this Assembly, to say nothing of the members they would probably send to represent western districts. Seeing that to be the case, the North would be naturally dissatisfied, and separation would be the result. There was another matter to which he should like to refer, which was the proposed Pastoral Occupation Bill; and here he must observe, that if the dictum of the honorable member for Clermont was to be

taken, and most of the northern members were insolvent, he could not see of what use it was to bring in a measure for their relief. It would only have the effect of prolonging their agonies for a short time, for it was impossible that the mere paltry rental they paid to the Government could have been the cause of their embarrassments. He thought that, under these circumstances, the sooner they abandoned the country, and made way for smaller settlers, the better—for wool-growing could not now be undertaken, with any prospect of success, at a distance of two hundred or three hundred miles from the coast. There was another measure proposed to which he should offer the most strenuous opposition, and that was the Bill to provide for immigration. The only district which was crying out for immigrants was the Brisbane district. There had been plenty of instances of persons going to Brisbane, spending their money there, and afterwards finding their way, some of them, to the Woogaroo Asylum, and others to New South Wales. It was no use to disguise the fact that Queensland could not compete with the other colonies in the labor market, who managed their affairs so much better, and fostered other industries—not only cotton and sugar, but manufactures of all kinds. He was quite sure that if the Government wished to have this colony peopled, they would have to give some kind of protection to capitalists who were prepared to embark in these undertakings—to give them, in fact, the same privileges as they could obtain, at the present moment, in Victoria. An extension of the cotton bonuses was also proposed. He would not say it was a trick, on the part of the Colonial Treasurer, to put off the discussion for fourteen days; but it certainly looked very suspicious, especially as the day fixed was the day of the races. He would suggest to the honorable member an alteration in the date. Cotton-growing was an industry which ought to be fostered; it was progressing pretty favorably at present, and he was quite sure that, besides sugar-growing, it would be the only interest of importance in this colony for some time, as wool-growing was virtually done. He was delighted to think that the cotton industry had been so well supported in the district he had the honor to represent, and, if the bonuses were continued, he believed it would eventually be the means of making Queensland the first colony in the Australian group. Sugar-growing was also steadily establishing itself, and that was also entirely due to the protection it had received, and that would be continued until there was sufficient sugar grown to leave a surplus after meeting the demand for consumption in the colony: then it would be worthless. The cotton bonus was to be continued for another two years; but he thought it was rather a sudden jump from fourpence to twopence. He hoped another penny would be added before it ceased entirely. In his

opinion, the only real good measure promised in the Government programme was one to simplify the electoral law. The honorable members for Ipswich and Burnett had taken exception to magistrates having anything to do with the electoral rolls. But it must be remembered that not only did the magistrates express conflicting opinions, but even the judges of the district court were occasionally opposed to each other. A case had lately occurred where Judge Sheppard and Judge Blakeney had expressed totally opposite opinions. Magistrates would no doubt lean more or less to one side when on the bench. It was the same at home. A constitutional barrister would have a leaning towards the constitutional side, and a liberal barrister, to the liberal side. And that would be the case as long as the world lasted; and the only remedy would be to make the Act so plain that no one could misinterpret it. In his opinion, the Act would work well enough if the courts of examination were struck out. In another paragraph, the House were invited "to consider the project of a law for establishing local governments." He should like very much to know what that project was. It did not appear whether it was a Government measure or not. He should also like to know what the Government meant by the term "certain economical extensions." These were very vague and general expressions which might mean a great deal, or might mean nothing at all. He had no doubt, however, that the "certain local works upon which a heavy expenditure has already been made," referred to the Brisbane bridge. That was one of the works the Government intended to undertake in addition to the Brisbane and Ipswich railway. He wished to know whether they really intended to construct this line, and whether, if they did so, they proposed to adopt the system pursued in South Australia, of guaranteeing a certain amount of interest to a private company, or to take the matter in their own hands. He knew it was the opinion of the Colonial Treasurer that it would be madness for a private company to take it up, and also that it would prove the most profitable line of all. But that he denied. It had always been found that water carriage contended successfully with railways. If Brisbane had been a seaport, the case might have been different; and if the railway were extended at all, it should be taken down to the port, so that produce could be carried direct to the shipping. That would be the proper course, supposing the finances of the colony to be in a condition to afford it. He could again assure the honorable member for Clermont that the Government had no intention of making a railway to the Dawson, and that they only contemplated the line from Ipswich to the metropolis. And with regard to the necessity for this line, he had often heard the honorable member for Drayton and Toowoomba say

that agriculture would not pay on the Downs unless this extension were made. But it had not yet been shown that produce in Toowoomba was cheaper than in Brisbane. The contrary was the case, which was proved by the fact that produce of all kinds was sent from Brisbane to Toowoomba, instead of *vice versa*. He maintained that the coast districts were the only agricultural districts in the colony, and until produce was grown on the Downs which could not be raised under the range, it would be folly to talk about the project of extending the line to Brisbane; and as the House was at present constituted, he thought there was very little chance of carrying it out—it would be scouted at once. Then, again, with regard to the “local expenditure being borne by local revenue,” that was only intended as a sop, especially to northern members. A great deal had been said about defalcations in the several Government departments, but he did not attach much importance to that, as no doubt the Government had obtained sureties in every case, and the revenue would not suffer. If they had not, they were deserving of great censure, as it was easy enough to obtain sureties, or to secure themselves by means of the Provident or Guarantee Society. There was, therefore, no excuse whatever for any losses of that nature. A great deal had also been said about Mr. Sadleir’s appointment at Taroom. He believed that gentleman would make an admirable magistrate, but that did not justify the Government in appointing him. He knew another gentleman, Mr. Bussell, formerly clerk of petty sessions at Nanango, who was formally gazetted as police magistrate at Condamine. But after he had been at Condamine for a fortnight, he was removed, and placed in a worse position than that he had held at Nanango. That gentleman, he thought, should have had the appointment at Taroom offered to him. He must say he concurred in the remark made by the honorable member for the Burnett, Hon. R. Pring, that the prospect of promotion was an incentive to good conduct on the part of the civil servants. He also endorsed the opinion of that honorable member, that the clerks of petty sessions knew as much law as the police magistrates, and he thought the new appointments should be made from that class of officers. He thought, therefore, that Mr. Bussell had not been well treated by the Government. Then, as to the district courts, he did not think it was wise to abolish them. The abolition of these courts would only entail a greater expense upon the Government, for the transportation of witnesses from one place to the other. In reference to the police force, he also agreed with that honorable member. In the district he represented, the town was unprovided with a sufficient force. The amount of litigation, and the work attending the revision of the rolls, had been enormous. He had

been informed that, at one time, there was an inspector, two sergeants, and an acting sergeant. Now, there was only one sergeant, who was also lockup-keeper, as well as inspector of slaughterhouses, throughout the district; in fact, it was impossible for him to attend to his numerous duties. That officer was getting old, and he believed had served within three months of the time when he would be entitled to a pension. Perhaps there was a desire to get rid of him. At any rate, his duties were altogether too much for one man to perform, and he (Mr. Thorn) thought his case was a grievance which ought to be remedied. There was one other matter, in reference to which he would detain the House a short time, and that was the preparation of the electoral rolls. In the district between Ipswich and the Pine Mountain, which contained a population of 2,000 souls, there were only thirteen electors registered. There were many similar cases, to which he would not now refer. Before sitting down, he should like to ask for some explanation from a member of the Government with regard to the fresh works proposed to be carried out. He should much like to know what the Colonial Treasurer meant by the “economical extensions” to which the speech referred. Those works would involve extra taxation, and the amount of that taxation would depend, in a great measure, upon the course which he (Mr. Thorn) and other honorable members pursued. He had been sent down to advocate economy in the public expenditure, and unless he saw an intention on the part of the occupants of the Treasury benches to practise that economy, he should be unable to give them any support. At present, he could not say whether he should support them or not. The speech was very ambiguous, and unless the Government afforded some further explanation upon the points to which he had called their attention, he feared he should be unable to give them an independent support.

MR. FITZGERALD: Sir, it is in no unfriendly spirit towards the present Government, that I now rise to make a few remarks, nor do I wish to take up the time of the House by making a long speech upon these questions, which I think will be much better discussed in detail at a subsequent period of the session, when they will come before us as substantive motions. In this respect I think, sir, we have made a great mistake. No positive amendment has been made upon the Address in reply, and there is no object in prolonging this debate. There will be opportunities of discussing these several matters over and over again when they are brought on in their regular order for the decision of this House, and then we can in a more satisfactory way express either our approval or disapproval. Since the delivery of the Speech which is now before us, I have been twitted by many friends with having been completely sold, and deceived by the members of the present Ministry, more especially by

those who are not new members of it; and certainly, after reading the Speech, I cannot but express my great surprise that no allusion has been made in it to the one great question which has been so long urged upon the Parliament by the members of northern constituencies—I am not, now, pleading for local government or Provincial Councils—that measure of justice which has so long pressed for settlement—an adjustment of accounts between the northern and southern portions of the colony, and an arrangement of the taxation of the country, more especially with reference to the extra burdens which the North has borne for the last three years, and is bearing still. It has been shewn, sir, and the statement has never been contradicted, that in 1867 we were pillaged—I can use no other term—of £54,000 more than we had any right to pay for our share of the cost of Government, without taking into consideration, that, as the new and younger district of the colony, we ought to have received assistance rather than injustice from the hands of our elder brethren. Not only have we paid the expenses which justly devolved upon us, but we have been compelled to contribute £54,000 for the benefit of the older portion of the colony. Well then, in 1868 we showed that this sum of £54,000 had been increased to £59,000, and before I left on my last trip to the North, the honorable member for Rockhampton, and I, showed the honorable Colonial Treasurer that, according to the scheme of revenue and expenditure put forth by the late—that is to say, the Mackenzie Government—for 1869, it was calculated we should have to pay £70,000 in excess of that sum, and in utter recognition of all our just demands. Now sir, while honorable members, and especially members representing the southern districts, are expressing their opinion that a Pastoral Relief Bill, a Bill to provide immigration, and other measures mentioned in the Speech, are so necessary, you will not be surprised at my calling attention to this excessive and unjust taxation, under which we have been suffering for the last three years, and I think it must be admitted that all these matters sink into insignificance with us, before this flagrant injustice. The inhabitants of the southern portion of the colony have no right to do us this injustice, or to bring any pressure upon the Government to carry out measures for their benefit while this wrong remains unredressed. We are, therefore, very naturally surprised that no reference has been made in the Speech to this important question. I shall not, sir, now enter into details, because there will be an opportunity, on some future occasion, of bringing the whole of this matter before the House; but I hope the Colonial Treasurer, or some other member of the Government, will take it in hand, and will, to-night, express their desire to bring it to a satisfactory settlement without putting it off any longer. We have been expecting a settlement for the last three years,

and we cannot submit to any further delay. I say, there is no allusion in the Speech to our claim—nothing to give us any idea that such is the intention of the Government. On the contrary, an ordinary reading of the Speech would lead us to believe that the Estimates for next year will be brought forward in exactly the same state as those for the present year were. It is impossible that we can submit to this unsatisfactory state of things. If the Government and the members of the House are not inclined to do us justice, and are not capable of putting the affairs of the colony on such a basis as will do justice to all, then let them say honestly: “We cannot give you what you ask—we cannot see how to do it, but we will do this—we will join you in an address to the Queen for separation.” Let them take up one position or the other, and we shall understand them, for we are decided to have this matter settled. We cannot wait until next year. We must have some definite explanation of the intentions of the Government. There is no doubt that a proviso has been put forth to initiate a system of local self-government, but in the vague way in which it is announced, it may mean anything. But that is a question of law, while this is a simple question of right, and not a new project to be decided upon; and, I really think, that those gentlemen who twitted me with having been sold by the Government, have some reason in their statements, for there is no arrangement made, or apparently contemplated, to do us justice, or to give us those powers of managing our own affairs which we must have. It is altogether unreasonable, sir, that the whole management of the government of the country should be kept in one place. In the southern districts, we see bridges and other improvements in different places, impediments to traffic removed, and expenditure incurred, and we have no power to interfere. The case is very different in the North, and it is very difficult for members of the Government, who have their subordinate officers, and can do everything they like in these districts, to realize the state of things in the country north of Maryborough. I believe the honorable member for Maryborough is not altogether content, and I expect we shall have something from him about the wants of the district he represents. But north of Maryborough, to the confines of the colony, there is but one feeling of disgust at a Government, who, not only pillage the inhabitants of that portion of the colony of their money, but obstruct their every effort to progress. A Government indeed! It is a word they have spewed out of their mouths. Instead of rendering assistance to those districts, the Government have literally obstructed them. As I have already said, members of the Government living in town little know the state of things with which settlers living north of Maryborough have to contend with. Their towns cut off from the country by impassable

swamps or bridgeless rivers, while they have no means of remedying these evils, because their revenue is taken from them to pay for the construction of works in another part of the colony, from which they can never derive any benefit whatever. However, as I said just now, we can discuss these questions over and over again when the proper time comes, and I will not, therefore, exhaust the patience of honorable members. I really think the honorable member for Clermont was entirely mistaken in supposing that the Government intend making a line to the Dawson by their proposition to make "certain economical extensions." The meaning of the paragraph is quite clear. It refers to "public works now in progress, which will, in a few months, be approaching completion." Now, there is no railway in progress to the Dawson, and it can, therefore, only refer to the Southern and Western line, and clearly points to an extension from the Ipswich end to Brisbane. As to "economical extensions," I am surprised that a Government who preaches economy should, at a time when the revenue is barely meeting the expenditure, attempt to saddle the colony with a further outlay. I see by the published returns for the last quarter, that while the expenditure on the railways is put down at £62,000, they are expected to yield £80,000; but, judging by the last quarter's receipts, they will probably only give £72,000. This would show a balance of £10,000, which would go as a part payment of the interest due upon them. But I doubt very much whether that is the true state of the case. I question whether the material used for repairs is included in this calculation, or whether they are put down to the loan account; and when these works are completed, I think it will be found that these repairs amount to a very considerable sum. I am totally opposed to these extensions of railways, the cost of which is ultimately to be defrayed by local revenue. What does that mean? It is too vague a term to have any application whatever. If it means anything, it means that those districts who have no interest in them are, in the meantime, to share the expenses they entail. Now, sir, I have been surprised at seeing nothing in the Speech in relation to the customs duties. I presume the Colonial Treasurer is aware that the additional customs duties will expire on the 31st December next, and whether he means to let the period lapse, and cease these obnoxious duties or not, is a matter of doubt. I think we ought to know whether they are to be continued or not. I hope some member of the Government will give the House some explanation on these questions, particularly the financial question, that will enable me to support them, which I have every desire to do. But, sir, as I said before, those who accused me of having been sold, have some grounds for that accusation; at the same time, I cannot believe it is true, or

that gentlemen who owe their present position to promises which induced certain honorable members of this House to turn out the Mackenzie Ministry,—that they can altogether break those promises, which were fairly made, and had not been abrogated by any subsequent changes. One of those promises which was always admitted to be a fair and just thing, was a financial statement of accounts between the North and South. I have heard members of the present Government say, in the Parliament of 1868, that they would consent to this settlement, and that was put forth in such a way, that they came into power. And, sir, I am not going to believe they will repudiate these promises, now they have taken office, because I believe them to be honorable men. I still desire to think so, and I hope I shall be assured that the remarks made to me—to the effect that I have been deceived—have not been caused by any intentional act on their part. I trust, sir, they will give me sufficient reason, by a fair explanation, to accord them my support.

Mr. HAY said he was willing to give his support to the extraordinary Government he saw before him, because he thought they had shewn a disposition to legislate for the good of the country; yet, when he was in the House before, he should as soon have thought of summer and winter at the same time as a union between Brisbane and the Downs. At the same time, he must say that the district he represented had been most shamefully used. The Government had first removed the district court, and now they proposed to take away the police magistrate. He believed it was possible to do without police magistrates in the large towns, but they could not be dispensed with in the country districts, because of the difficulty of getting a bench in those places. The position the Government had taken with regard to the Burnett and other districts, in this matter, was one which had done serious injury to the people in those districts, by lowering their opinion of justice, and it must be remembered that, in the country districts, it was especially necessary that the law should be respected. He had intended to lay the matter before the Colonial Secretary, but had not yet had an opportunity of doing so. Referring to Nanango, he informed the House that a bench could not often be formed, in the absence of a police magistrate, owing to the distance the other magistrates had to travel to and from the court. A man had been kept in the lock-up, for six weeks, because of the impossibility of getting a bench to hear his case, in the absence of the police magistrate, who could not attend through a flood. While the police magistrate at Nanango was struck off, the Government had not hesitated to tax the colony for a fifth minister in the Assembly. It might be that he was taken in as the fifth wheel of the state coach, but he might prove to be a drag upon it. If the newspapers were to be believed, something

was yet to be made known—their popularity in the country was not great. He did not say that reports were always to be credited, but they were sometimes proved to be reliable. He gave the Government credit for the numerous Bills they had placed before the House so early in the session. It was the first time, since he had a seat in Parliament, that he had seen so many put forward so early. But the Government should not have his support to raise one penny by loan, to throw away, as had been done by the honorable gentleman who was now Minister for Works, when he was at the head of a former Government. The railways of the colony never could pay. There were such things as cooked accounts. However, there was one thing he would support the Government in, which was, to guarantee a cheap system of railways, carried out on the same system as had been adopted in South Australia;—that was to say, if any person or company undertook to construct a line or lines, at £2,000 or £3,000 a mile, the Government should give them a guarantee of five per cent. on the outlay. The House would then know what they were doing; but he hoped they would never vote a sixpence to be spent by the Government in making railways themselves. He remembered opposing the construction of the line from Toowoomba to Warwick, and sitting up through the night till six o'clock in the morning; but it was carried, and resulted in such a waste of public money that the interest would not be returned in twenty years. With reference to a remark of the honorable member for Maranoa, who seemed to think that his constituents should have something tangible from the Government, and that unless it was so, they would not be able to carry on much longer at sheep-farming, he (Mr. Haly) also thought that squatting was in a very delicate state; and especially when the colony had such a country as South America to compete with. He had read an article during the day on the increase of sheep in South America during the past few years, and the increase was something astounding. Queensland squatters might as well try to stem the tide, as to interrupt the export of wool from that country to England. Long leases would not help them to stand against that rivalry. He hoped to see the day when Queensland would export as much cotton as wool; and he could assure the Government that they would have his hearty co-operation in passing their resolutions for continuing the cotton bonus. He believed that cotton was the salvation of this country. South America would beat Queensland out of the wool market by the cheapness of her lands—sixpence an acre—one acre of which would run more sheep than fifteen acres in Australia. If that was the case, the settlers in this colony ought to be able to buy their lands at a penny farthing an acre. They must have facilities to fence

in and improve their runs, and to improve their sheep; or the result would prove that in South America was an enemy that would ruin this colony. He did not want to see cotton take the place of wool, but he hoped to see it produced in as great quantity. He had nothing further to detain the House with; and he would conclude by expressing a hope that the Government would have some feeling for the squatters, and get through the business as quickly as possible, for they could not afford to be absent from their stations, their attention to their private affairs being now an imperative necessity. He, for one, could not afford to be absent long. There had been great difficulty to get a representative for his district; and he should not have come to the House only that he had no idea of Burnett being represented by any Tom, Dick, or Harry who might turn up. Could he have seen some man come forward in whom he felt confidence, he should gladly have kept out of the field. And, if Mr. Raff had come forward, he would have gladly supported him for the Burnett.

Mr. WALSH congratulated the House upon the "old familiar sound" of the voice of their youngest member, whom he was glad to see once more in the Assembly Chamber, and such a near neighbor. At the same time, he could not admit all the doctrines he had heard from the honorable member. He alluded particularly to not giving the squatters long leases, and giving the cotton-growers a bonus. It was remarkable, the way in which one was pitted against the other—the outside squatters *versus* the cotton-growers; doubtless, it was done for a certain purpose—for obtaining the votes of the honorable members for West Moreton. It was one of the moves of the present wily Government. But his first remarks must be addressed to the honorable the Colonial Secretary, in reference to that extraordinary defence which he had made on behalf of himself and the Government, upon that extraordinary appointment of Mr. Sadleir. The Colonial Secretary said that he gloried in that appointment. He (Mr. Walsh) said it was a disgrace to the Government, and that was the opinion of the country. Although the Government were not likely to be tried on that indictment, in the present debate, he hoped the matter would be brought before the House on a substantive motion, before another week was over, so that the dignity of the House would be sustained, and the conduct of the Government condemned. He believed that the appointment was unparalleled, and it ought not to go to the country that the House would believe in any Government that could so act. In the statement of the Colonial Secretary, last session, in answer to the honorable member for Maranoa, the honorable gentleman said that no promise had been given to Captain Sadleir; and, after that, the country was lulled into security, and justly believed, that no such appointment

could be made. In his defence, just now, after saying he gloried in it, one of the arguments the Colonial Secretary used in justification of the appointment was, that if blame attached to any one, it was to himself, and that if the House chose to throw any on him he would sacrifice himself. But that was not the way the House carried on the business of the country; because, if Ministers were to be allowed to single out individuals, and thus divide the responsibility of an act in which they were concerned collectively—which the Cabinet sanctioned—a Ministry could never be ejected or dismissed. It was against the Premier that the force of the charge must be directed; because, as head of the Government, and as Attorney-General, he must especially guard against wrong appointments to the magistracy, and more particularly to the paid magistracy. At any rate, it mattered little to the present issue, whether Mr. Sadleir was an unfit man or an efficient one; but, when the Government, professing retrenchment, insisted that old and deserving officers should be dismissed, and in the recess appointed such a person to an important position, a very serious matter arose. Were there no deserving officers below the grade of police magistrate who could be appointed to the office given to Mr. Sadleir? He knew that the Government were cognisant that there were such officers. There were, among clerks of petty sessions, men who had worked themselves up for magisterial duties, if not others, in the public service. He (Mr. Walsh) repeated that the appointment was a most disgusting appointment; and he could not see how any gentleman in the House could tolerate, for one moment, any Government who made it. The honorable member for Maranoa spoke of the Minister for Lands walking out of the chamber: the honorable gentleman was justified; he knew what sort of a defence was to be made by his colleague, and that the further he got away from the sound of the Colonial Secretary's voice the better for his own self-respect. What was that visit of the Colonial Secretary to the Premier's office? He went there to consult his chief about something. He would not mention names; it was not right to mention names. Why? Because the gentleman to whom the Government were going to give the appointment—the responsible office of a magistrate—was now in the hands of the police;—and, that day, the Government knew that he must get into their hands. But, the Colonial Secretary did not object to mention another gentleman's name immediately afterwards—he forgot his reticence, and mentioned Mr. Brown. There was a reason given for appointing Mr. Sadleir—that he was a married man. Perhaps the Colonial Secretary would tell the House whether Mr. Sadleir was really a married man, or how long he had been married. He should give the House the whole history of Mr. Sadleir, and tell them how earnestly he performed his duties as a

squatter, and if he was ever on a bench in his life. Another reason given for the appointment was, that the Colonial Secretary was under a deep debt of obligation to Mr. Sadleir. Was it because the honorable gentleman induced Mr. Sadleir to make—he (Mr. Walsh) would not say what, because Mr. Sadleir was not present to hear him—because Mr. Sadleir retired when he found out that it was a Minister of the Crown he was opposed to in the election for Warrego? A very good reason, he ventured to say; and Captain Sadleir had the wit and ability to understand the man he had to deal with in the shape of a Minister. But, was it because a Minister was under a debt of obligation to an electioneering agent, that the country was to be saddled with the keep of Mr. Sadleir? Then, he (Mr. Walsh) held that the Minister for Lands was perfectly justified in getting out of the way. In answer to the explanation of the Colonial Secretary, he believed that the bargain was not made at the first election for the Warrego; but there was the second election! He believed it was made, then. Captain Sadleir was as willing at the second, as at the first, to do his part. A little manipulation of the telegraph wires—like that affair in the Post Office—and it was done. By-the-way, taking the two things together, and the influence which was working in the Post Office, on the occasion of the detention of the western mails for the Warrego election writ, he could not but remark how easily one wrong led to another. So long as the House left the Government of the country in the hands of such Ministers, so long would such actions bring a stain upon it. The Colonial Secretary said he had stuck to his word in the matter of Mr. Sadleir's appointment. He (Mr. Walsh) wished the honorable gentleman would stick to the unfortunate country as well as he stuck to his friends; and he wished that he would stick to justice for some of the hard-working and underpaid officials, who were striving to advance themselves to promotion in the public service. Then, there was the palaver of the honorable gentleman, that he would become security for his friend. Why, he did not know Captain Sadleir till the election; and did not know him altogether more than a few months. But he (Mr. Walsh) never before understood that a Minister of the Crown could stand surety for a public servant. No insurance office would take his bond of fidelity, under the circumstances. He hoped that the good sense of the House, and their sense of the justice due to the Civil Service, would induce them, before long, to compel the cancellation of that appointment; for he, for one, would not be satisfied if they did not proceed as far as that against the Government. The Colonial Secretary had wound up that extraordinary explanation of his with some more extraordinary rant—something about the good impression which the Opening Speech,

delivered by His Excellency, would create at home. He (Mr. Walsh) did not hesitate to say that the Speech was a concoction of Ministers—of course, nobody held any but them accountable for it—in a scheming under-hand way. In construction it was a disgrace; and he trusted that before it was sent home, if it was intended to be of any benefit to the country, it would, at least, be put into tolerable English, and exhibit a school-boy's knowledge of grammar. It was disgraceful as the production of statesmen, and unworthy of any one; for it was expected that a statesman would be able, if not candid enough, to explain his meaning. He read the Speech with very great dissatisfaction, and, also, with suspicion; and he could not agree with honorable members who, because of its promises, said they were willing to support the Government. He could make no such statement or admission. He did not hesitate to say that from the way the present Government were formed, it was due to the country, to the House, and to his own character, to say that the Government were no credit to Queensland, and that the colony would never have any advantage from them. The Parliament was told, in the second paragraph of the Speech, that—

"The various Bills which will be laid before you, for your legislative action, will provide, amongst other matters, for placing pastoral and gold-mining properties upon a more satisfactory footing."

That was very good; but he believed that had it not been for the constant opposition of those gentlemen, or most of them, who now occupied the Treasury benches, to the late Government, those difficult questions would have been settled long ago. But the pastoral interest seemed to be a kind of hobby with the Government; while there was not a single gentleman amongst them who was really connected with the pastoral interest. Yet it was not extraordinary, when it was explained that the votes of certain honorable members were wanted. He warned those honorable members, that the Government had no intention to pass a measure for the welfare of the pastoral tenants of the country. He had heard them avow that they would root out the squatters—root and branch.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: No.

Mr. WALSH: He had heard it himself. He did not hesitate to say that he believed it was impossible for the Colonial Treasurer to vote for such a Bill. He had heard that honorable gentleman candidly give his opinion on the subject; and, unless he changed every word that he had uttered on the squatting question, in the House and elsewhere, he could not vote for giving long leases to squatters, or for such a measure as was mentioned in the Speech. As in the second clause, so in the third;—the Government were very anxious to get the votes of the squatters—they wished to gull them—they threw out a bait—wishing to make the House believe

that they were really the squatters' friends. There was something here which he (Mr. Walsh) thought would require a reply from the Premier—

"You will be invited to consider the project of a law for establishing local governments; and I trust the plan proposed to you will tend to develop the latent energies and resources of the various portions of the colony, and to advance the best interests of the whole country."

Might he ask the honorable gentleman, who was going to propose that measure?—Because, it was worded so differently from the other paragraphs that he could hardly think the Government were going to do it. If the Government were not, who was? Mention of the Bill had no right to a place in the Governor's Speech. He was anxious upon this subject, and he trusted that the Premier would give some sort of an answer: he was anxious to know, now.—Well, he should believe, what he had suspected, that it ought to have no place in the Speech. The next paragraph clearly pointed to the completion of the Brisbane bridge. He had gathered from honorable members, to-day, that the Government had no chance of carrying that—not even to put upon the country the liability of the present outlay, let alone the finishing of the work. The next paragraph referred to

"The Polynesian labor question, which demands a determinate solution."

For the life of him, he did not know what that meant: whether the House were to hang the Polynesians, or ship them back to their islands. He thought the honorable member who so cleverly moved the Address ought to have been initiated in the "determinate solution." He saw by the Bill of last session one means provided—Polynesian prostitution for this colony. No one could engage so many Polynesian males without so many women. That was one "solution" to be provided. No honorable member could read that Bill without seeing that the women were to be brought here, not in the capacity of wives.

"To all these subjects, and others of an important character that will be placed before you during the session, I am sure you will devote your most earnest attention; and I feel equally confident that your abundant knowledge of the circumstances of the country, your wisdom and disinterested solicitude for the welfare of the whole community, will suggest other valuable additions to our legislation, and will guide you to the settlement of them all upon impartial and secure foundations."

"Abundant knowledge," "wisdom and disinterested solicitude!" Such fulsome flattery was unbecoming in Ministers; and they should not put language of that sort into the Governor's mouth. The Ministry could not pretend to have so much ability as they took credit for; and it was treating the House

with indignity to write such trash, and address it to them. And, again, when business really commenced—

“GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,—

“The Estimates will be completed and laid before you as speedily as possible. They will be framed with due regard to the efficiency of the public service, and to the amount of revenue available for the purpose. The reductions in the expenditure now being carried into effect, will, it is hoped, have the gratifying result—”

and so on. He should like to know what reductions in expenditure were going on. With the exception of a few hundreds of pounds which he and some other honorable members had helped to strike off the Estimates, he was not aware of any great reductions in the public expenditure. But such transactions as that appointment of Mr. Sadleir, would soon more than cover those that had been made. But in connection with that, there was another question—which ought to have been remembered in the Governor's Speech—and that was, the serious defalcations in the public service. Some information should have been given to the House. What he asked, was the retrenchment? That was the question which the House ought to press the Government to answer. Why were the House to be treated in that way?—to have statements made to them that had no foundation in fact? He was afraid, as far as he could see the way things were managed, that there was little hope of retrenchment or reduction. And, again, about the cotton bonus. The honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thorn, was perfectly right in his suspicions, that the thing was put back as far as it possibly could be. While it was undecided, the members for West Moreton, the representatives of cotton constituencies, were bound not to vote against the Government. What did their constituencies care for the country, so long as they got what they wanted. They had now arrived at that state—those public paupers—those public pensioners—that they would put in a claim for the bonus in perpetuity. An Act of Parliament had been passed for the payment of the bonus for a certain period, but, though that period had passed, the bonus was paid ever since; and the present Government were proposing that what should be done only by virtue of an Act of Parliament should be done under a resolution of the House, and this with an Attorney-General as Premier. He (Mr. Walsh) told the honorable gentleman that when the resolution was passed, the Government could not give the cotton bonus; and the Attorney-General knew that. But, were the cotton bonuses never to end? He was anxious to see the bonus proposal of the Government fairly decided, and a Bill brought in. The question should not be held *in terrorum* over certain honorable members; for he felt that, until it was decided, they could not vote freely. Why was not the pity for the cotton growers extended to other classes? There

were two classes, both influential, in the country, put forward for all the sympathy of the House;—the cotton-growers and the outside squatters. Was no sympathy to be felt for, or help to be given to, those squatters whom the Land Act of 1868 had ruined? The only thing which they could offer as security had been taken from them. Had the Government not ability enough or candour enough amongst them, to bring in a Bill to repeal that Act, which, it was known, they condemned. Did the honorable the Secretary for Lands ever go into his office without condemning that Act? Were the House to submit any longer to the Government working an Act which they knew was injurious to the country? The Governor's speech ought to have commenced with a statement that the Land Act did not answer its purpose—that it was a botch from beginning to end—and that it was to be repealed. That was the way the Government might obtain his support for the remainder of their measures. But they went in for the cotton-growers and the outside squatters. Why? Because both parties were well represented in the House, and they wanted their votes. The last paragraph laid it on rather thick—

“By judicious legislation, dispassionately pursued, during the ensuing session, you may largely promote the revival and continued assurance of prosperity.”

He could not conceive of “judicious legislation” pursued in any other style. That gem was solike the illustrative speech of the honorable the Colonial Secretary, who had spoken of Captain Sadleir as judicious and dispassionate—no doubt, he would be, on the bench—that there could be no doubt the honorable gentleman had written it.

“In common with the most wealthy countries in the world, we have endured, since 1866, a severe and discouraging depression in trade and commerce.”

He (Mr. Walsh) denied that the late depression was the most severe. It was a notorious fact, too, that England and France—especially France—had been more flourishing during the last two years than at almost any time. There had been no distress, at all, in England, except when winter was coming on. The paragraph was not borne out by facts.

“The sacrifices of those past years have not, however, been made in vain. The courage and good sense of our people enabled them at once to recognise the necessity of them, and to bear up under them.”

That, he did not know: it was a peculiar phrase, certainly; and when the school-boys got hold of the Speech, they would have a good laugh at it. In one clause the Governor was made to speak in glory of himself—

“I am glad to be able, thus early, after the close of the last session, to seek your advice and assistance in Parliament.”

And in another—

"We have to regret great private losses by our citizens, and much public inconvenience and general suffering."

He (Mr. Walsh) was not aware that that would charm the people of England, as the Colonial Secretary thought; but it would be great fun for the school-boys.

"And we may hope that the spirit of economy which has been roused by our reverses, will strengthen the renewal of that prosperity which we humbly trust, under Divine Providence, has now begun."

Was there a gentleman in the House who would say that for any class in the colony, at this moment, prosperity was returning? He appealed to the honorable member for Brisbane, Mr. Fraser, as a mercantile man; if he was aware of it. He appealed to the cotton-growers. The only return of prosperity that he saw was in those who sat on the Ministerial benches, who secured themselves, and fleeced the country. When the House were asked to swallow a Speech like that, he could not regard the Address in reply which had been moved as terminating properly; and, although he was not going to move an amendment on it, he should, he thought, be justified in moving such an addition as the following, and taking the sense of the chamber upon it:—

"That we should bestow our best and earnest attention upon the consideration of the several Bills mentioned in your Excellency's Speech, and use our best endeavors to advance the welfare of the community without having regard to any particular class; but we have, already, our suspicions roused as to the fitness, or real intentions, of your responsible advisers."

That would be most sensible, and it would be understood. The House knew the cry for retrenchment when the present turned the late Ministry out; and they saw the earnest of the intention of the gentlemen now in office to act up to their professions when the honorable member for Eastern Downs was taken in, and the colony put to the expense of an additional £1,000 a year. He had not the least hesitation in assuring the Government that he had not the slightest faith in their fitness, or their sincerity, as regarded the programme they had put forth, or for their present position. If they could get five or six of their Bills passed, they would throw the outside squatters over, and also the cotton-growers. The present Minister for Works had often and often condemned the bonus in very strong language. From their composition, it was impossible they could work together for the good of the country; and he (Mr. Walsh) did not believe there was any unanimity amongst them, notwithstanding all that they had stated. He would much rather see the Premier organise his Ministry from gentlemen who were always prepared to work with him in the House, and he would be gladly sup-

ported if he did so. He strongly doubted coalition Ministries; they must involve a sacrifice of principle both to the public and to the House; and no such combination as the present could eventuate in good to the country. The Minister for Works could not work with his colleagues, and another *Gazette* would come out some day notifying that he was no longer a member of the Ministry. He denied that that honorable gentleman could be Commissioner of Railways in the face of an Act of Parliament, or that the Secretary for Works could hold that position under the contracts made for the necessary works. The honorable gentleman might be gazetted out of office any day; who, then, was to represent the Government in the contracts to which his name might be attached?

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: A corporation.

Mr. WALSH begged pardon. The commissioner was mentioned by name in the contracts. When the Estimates came forward, he (Mr. Walsh) should pursue the same course he had before pursued with regard to the salary of the Secretary for Works. The opinion of the House was not taken on the occasion when it was voted last session; the opinion of the country was against it; and he trusted there would be a strong party in the House next time, to test its righteousness. He had no objection to see the honorable member as a Minister, for he was a hard-working head of a department; but he would rather see him Colonial Secretary or Minister for Lands, as he had done quite enough for the country as Minister for Works, and his present appointment was a deception practised on the country. As he had heard it described not long ago, the honorable gentleman had degenerated into "the representative of those time-honored institutions, Cecil Plains and Eton Vale." Some hope had been held out to the House respecting the condition of the Woogaroo Asylum. The evidence that had been taken lately regarding the management of that institution was, he believed, unparalleled by anything published in the English language;—he doubted whether, in the world, there was a record of so much cruelty and neglect—so much departmental indifference—as was shown in that compilation which was so recently placed before the House. He thought some allusion ought to have been made to it in the Speech, and some hope held out to the country that, simultaneously with the publication, such arrangements were made, as would place beyond possibility a recurrence of the cruelties and crimes, the frightful scenes, which had been disclosed by the commission. With the remarks of the honorable member for the Kennedy, respecting the separation of one portion of the colony from another, he could not agree. Such a project he must entirely disapprove of; and he could not look upon it as the action of a statesman, but only as the action of a selfish few desirous of possessing extensive patronage. He would like to see the Government carried on in such

a way as would do equal justice to all parts of the colony, instead of conferring special advantages on particular localities. While that was the case in one quarter, and while the outlying parts of the colony were being strangled, as it were, honorable members were told that the only remedy for such a state of things was separation. Now, he denied that separation would be any remedy for the evils complained of, for the same things would take place in the new colony as were complained of now. What should be done was, to change the capital of the colony, and to have it in some central position. If that were done, then they would show they had patriotism in them, and that they would not be found working for some particular towns and localities. He did not mean to say that those honorable members were traitors at heart, who advocated separation, but such advocacy was traitorous to the well-being and future prosperity of Queensland nevertheless. He could not help remarking that, when allusion was made to separation by the honorable member for the Kennedy, the honorable the Colonial Treasurer was the first to cheer the observation. Now, he believed it was part of the policy of Brisbane gentlemen to promote separation. He knew it was their policy; and the outlying districts were swindled for the advantage of Brisbane and its neighborhood. As to the ministerial programme, he must say he did not believe in it. The policy of the Government was there put in such a specious way that it seemed to him to be intended chiefly for the purpose of catching votes. He could not believe in the sincerity of the Speech; and he viewed, with great distrust, the Government of the colony remaining in the hands of gentlemen who expressed opinions, on almost every subject, so diametrically opposed, and who had been brought together in such an extraordinary way. Hitherto they were tolerated because they were considered a necessity. They were allowed to exist because some legislation must take place. Now, he must confess that, looking at the ministerial programme as he did, and considering the way it was proposed to be carried out, he much doubted if those gentlemen who supported the Government under the promises they made, would see their hopes carried out; and he was quite prepared to move the addition to the Address which he had mentioned, if he found any considerable support from honorable members on the Opposition side of the House.

Mr. RAMSAY said he quite agreed with the opening remarks of the honorable member for the Kennedy, that it was not desirable for them to take advantage of the latitude afforded them on such an occasion to take up all the details alluded to in the opening Speech. Those matters would have to be considered separately, when they came before the House in their proper order during the session. Still he thought there were exceptions, and that it was desirable that members

should shortly express their opinions on some particular subjects which were brought under their notice in the Speech, because it might have the effect of saving time afterwards, by enabling the Government to form an opinion as to the propriety or otherwise of introducing these subjects to the House. He should not go over all the items in the Speech, but merely wished to allude to the fifth paragraph. It had been very amusing to him to listen to the different constructions which different members had put upon the term "economical extensions." Nearly every speaker had alluded to it, and there were almost as many opinions to to what the meaning was as there had been speakers. One thought it only meant the completion of the line from Allora to Warwick. Another was just as certain that it meant an extension of the Dalby line; a third, that it included an extension of the northern line to the Dawson; a fourth, that it meant the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane; and a fifth, that it included the building of the Brisbane bridge. He would not himself attempt to guess which it was, but he must certainly congratulate the Government on the ingenuity they had displayed, and the happy expressions they had used, in the construction of this paragraph. The old oracles could not have hit on better expressions, or given more possible meanings to a sentence, than there could be given to this sentence. No doubt it would answer the purpose of the Government very well; because, if any popular measure was asked for, they would be able to turn round and say that that was the very thing they wished, and which was hinted at in the expression "economical extensions." He did not, however, mean to congratulate the Government merely on the turn of a sentence; but what he desired particularly to say was, that a very strong case indeed would have to be made out before he would agree to any expenditure for carrying out any works whatever. He did not mean to express himself dogmatically; but he would repeat that a very strong case must be made out before he would agree to any expenditure, except such as was absolutely necessary for carrying on the ordinary business of the Government, whether it was for railways, bridges, or any other purpose. It might be that the Brisbane bridge was included in the local works on which a large expenditure had already been made, and which required to be completed—he was inclined to think that it was—but, if so, it would be hardly fair for the Government to ask the House to take that in hand during the present session. It would be very well to see the Brisbane bridge built, but he did not think the corporation of Brisbane could be annoyed at the House refusing to entertain the question this session. Unfortunately, when the first discussion on the subject of the Brisbane bridge took place, "Hansard" was not in existence; but the second debate on the subject, which

took place in 1864, was in the "Hansard" for that year: and he found by it, that the corporation was then warned by the honorable gentleman who now held the office of Secretary for Public Lands, that they would not be able to carry out their contracts. On that occasion the honorable gentleman, Mr. Taylor, delivered a speech which might now be looked upon as a true prophecy. He said—

"He had no doubt but that the corporation would fail to carry on the bridge, but he would allow them to proceed with it, and the inevitable result would be, that the people of Brisbane would never be able to obtain another sixpence from the Government for any purpose whatever. It was probable that the bridge would reach the middle of the river, when the Government would have to take it up and finish it, in order to remove the obstruction to the navigation."

If those words had been uttered five years afterwards, instead of five years before, the honorable gentleman would not have had to alter a single word in order that they might express what was strictly true. There had been something said about oracles; but it appeared that they had a real live oracle and a prophet amongst them. He did not blame the corporation for not believing the honorable member at the time, because they did not then know that he was a prophet. He read the honorable member's speech on that occasion, and he came to the conclusion that any one who had access to the evidence then given must come to the conclusion that the corporation would have great difficulty in carrying on the undertaking. He was sorry that such had proved to be the case, for he would like to see the bridge completed; but he did not think the corporation could complain if the Legislature did not at present come to their assistance. If things took a favorable turn, and there was money to spare, he, for one, would be very happy to assist the corporation in getting the work done; for he considered the bridge across the Brisbane was not to be viewed as altogether a merely local work, but as a portion of the highway from Brisbane to the western district. He had now nearly said all he wanted to say; for he rose with no other object but to express his determination not to agree to the passing of any money for public works unless where a very strong case was made out. He intended to adhere to that determination, and he did not think that anything was likely to occur to cause him to alter it. He should be glad to hear other honorable members express a similar opinion, as their doing so might result in a saving of time by preventing the Government bringing in measures that would not be passed. He was glad to see the notice in paragraph nine of the Speech, to the effect that the Government intended bringing in a measure to provide for the due security of the savings banks funds. He thought it was very desirable the Government should do so, and he hoped that a

sufficient and satisfactory measure would be passed.

Dr. O'DOHERTY said he would briefly support the Address brought up in answer to the opening Speech, because he thought the Speech foreshadowed a policy which the country should be satisfied with, and which should also satisfy the House. It was a policy that might be described in two words, namely, progress and retrenchment. It was such a policy that the country had been asking from the House for years past. He confessed that he felt some little surprise at the mode in which the Speech had been treated by some honorable members, and especially by the honorable member for Rockhampton, Mr. Archer, who distinctly threatened the Government that unless they consented to carry out his particular views, he would not allow the business of the country to proceed. Now he thought such a threat came with a very bad grace from the honorable member, besides being a very wrong threat for any honorable member to use. It was not more than a year since, that the House allowed the honorable member to shape a Land Bill. They trusted the work to the honorable member for Rockhampton and the honorable member for the Kennedy. Now, he had no hesitation in saying that it was the general opinion of the people throughout the colony that the existing land laws would not be satisfactory, or even practicable, till the principles introduced into the Bill by those two honorable members were removed. Under those circumstances, he thought it was scarcely fair for the honorable member to stand forward and threaten honorable members, as he did last night; that unless they conceded all that he asked for, he would not permit the business of the country to proceed. He hoped the time was passed when the House would give any heed to such a threat; and he hoped they would see such measures brought in by the Government as would satisfy all the desires of the northern people, and of the northern members also. He thought that in the Speech now before the House they had the strongest evidence that the Government would endeavor to meet the wishes of honorable members. In the fourth paragraph of the Speech, they were told—

"You will be invited to consider the project of a law for establishing local governments; and I trust the plan proposed to you will tend to develop the latent energies and resources of the various portions of the colony, and to advance the best interests of the whole country."

Now, he believed from that paragraph that the Government intended, and intended most genuinely, to endeavor to settle this question of financial difference between the North and South, and he hoped they would succeed in doing so. But he thought nothing could tend more to prevent that desirable end being arrived at than such threats as the one used by the honorable member for Rockhampton.

Another speech he was very much astonished at was that of the honorable member for Ipswich, Mr. Thompson. That honorable member was also very emphatic in his declaration as to what expenditure he would allow and what expenditure he would not allow for particular works. It was quite clear that the honorable member would allow the completion of any public works that were likely to benefit Ipswich, but no others. The honorable gentleman would not object to the extension of railways beyond Ipswich; but no matter the inconvenience suffered by the inhabitants of Brisbane, and of the interior beyond Ipswich, from the line not being continued to the capital, he would not allow any money to be expended to complete the line from Ipswich to Brisbane. That the honorable gentleman no doubt thought might affect the cotton bonus prosperity of Ipswich, and somewhat check its rise from the position that obtained for it recently, as the honorable member himself said, the *soubriquet* of the "deserted village." But the honorable member went further, and objected to a renewal of immigration. Now, to object to a renewal of immigration on an extensive scale was, he thought, a very great mistake indeed; and for his own part he maintained that unless they took very active steps for the promotion of immigration, and that by means of an agent-general at home, immigration to this colony would continue to fall off in an increasing degree. Now, he spoke advisedly on the subject; for he had reliable information as to the steps that were being taken, both by America and Canada, to get the surplus population of Great Britain and Ireland to go to those countries; and they might depend upon it that to the extent to which the attractions of other places were kept before the people at home, so would those of Queensland fall into the shade unless, as he had said, active measures were taken to press them upon the attention of the people. In every important town and village in the United Kingdom, the streets were covered with placards, setting forth the advantages of America as a field for immigration; and it was owing to that fact, and the activity of American agents, that the United States had such a command over the immigrating population of the United Kingdom. It was a recorded fact that 150,000 immigrants left the British Empire last year, and of that number as many as 100,000 went to the United States; and the remainder, 50,000, to the British dependencies. He could not conceive of any honorable member saying he objected to immigration. Why, immigration was the very life-blood of a colony. It was the very life-blood of every young country; and without it this country would, and must, go back. He believed he only expressed the opinion of the colonists outside when he said that the measure of most vital importance which the House could pass would be one that would bring into the colony a wholesome stream of immigration. Until

that was done, the House, as well as the country, would be continually bored with agitations about the Polynesian question. Now, if they had a good stream of immigrants coming from home, they would not require Polynesian laborers in the country. As he already stated, he looked upon the Speech as foreshadowing a policy the country had always been asking for—a policy of retrenchment as well as of progress. He thought the Speech indicated that the Government was one that was worthy of the confidence of all classes of the colony; for he thought it showed they had not confined their vision to the east or to the west, or to the north or to the south, but had looked to the requirements of every portion of the country; and had given their attention to promote the interests of every portion of it. The honorable member for Maryborough said it was his belief that neither the Government nor their supporters intended to extend any adequate relief to the pastoral tenants. Well, he, on the contrary, could only say that he believed the Government were fully in earnest in their intention to do so. And why should they not? No one disputed it, that the pastoral interest was still the greatest interest in the colony, and one, therefore, which they ought to foster to the utmost extent they reasonably could; and when they recollected what the pioneer squatters had gone through, the least they could do would be to pass a measure that would give them relief from the difficulties that had fallen upon them through adverse seasons.

Mr. FRASER said he was disposed to find some little fault with the Speech, because of one or two omissions from it. Allusion had been made to their notorious Land Act. Now, he complained that the Ministry had not had the courage, or had not manifested a determination to take the earliest opportunity of introducing such amendments into the measure as would make it a tolerably workable and satisfactory measure. Let honorable members only look at the various ways in which it had been administered by the several ministers who had held office since it was passed. The first gentleman was quite latitudinarian in the matter, and had the fullest scope to do whatever might be required. The next who held the office of Secretary for Lands was the honorable gentleman who now held the office of Secretary for Public Works, and he went to the opposite extreme of his predecessor, and administered the measure as stringently as he possibly could. Now, a Bill that could be dealt with in that way was not a measure that could be satisfactory to the country; and, therefore, he held it was one of the first duties of the Government to put the Bill on a satisfactory footing, and he very much regretted that they had not done so. However, they might yet take the opportunity of amending that omission. Then there was no mention made in the Speech of relieving the pressure of taxation under which the

colony was and had been laboring. Now that, he thought, was another matter that should have engaged the attention of the Government. They heard of a proposed measure of relief to the pastoral tenants who were suffering from what? From the circumstances of the times having depressed the value of stock and station produce. Now, neither the colony nor the Government was answerable for that; but he was prepared to prove that the distress under which commerce was laboring at the present time was altogether owing to past legislation and the conduct of past Governments. Now, that being the case, some legislation ought to take place in order to relieve commercial men from that pressure that was keeping them down. He thought it would be satisfactory to the country if the Government would indicate that they were prepared to introduce a measure proposing to lay a tax upon those parts of the country that had been benefited, and directly benefited, by those extensive works which had for the most part occasioned the enormous taxation that now burdened the country. An honorable member for the North had twitted Brisbane members, had charged them, in fact, with benefiting the South at the expense of the North. Well, he would grant that some parts of the South had derived great benefits; but, so far as East Moreton was concerned, the public works complained of by the honorable member might as well have been constructed in Timbuctoo. It was not fair, therefore, to charge the city members with having derived benefits for the South at the expense of the North. He would now pass on to notice some of the remarks that had been made by other honorable members. While listening to the honorable member for Clermont he could not help fancying that he had got a fit of inspiration, and was attempting a parody on Henry Russel's well-known song, "To the West, To the West," for his speech was all "To the North, To the North;" while, from what fell from the honorable member for the Kennedy, it would appear that everyone in the colony would have to be subject to the dictation of the North. Now, if the North could not be satisfied with the endeavors of the Legislature to give them fair play and justice, he was sure there was not a member for the South who would not support them in getting separation. Separation was only a matter of time, and, for his own part, he thought that the sooner it came the better. He came now to some of the remarks that had been made on those parts of His Excellency's Speech that referred to public works. Some honorable members had done all that was in their power to mystify others as to what might or might not be the intentions of the Ministry in the matter of public works. Suppose it referred to the completion of the railways, he would ask what was the use of a railway from Allora to Warwick, unless it was carried on to the borders of New South Wales.

But he would go further than that, for he maintained that the Southern and Western railways would not pay until a railway was constructed from Ipswich to Brisbane, or to the seacoast somewhere. Such an absurdity was never heard of elsewhere, as that of commencing a railway at an inland town, and continuing it further on into the interior. He was very much surprised indeed, if the constituency of West Moreton would sanction the conduct of their representative in respect to that question. It was quite true that that was becoming a very important district, and he was glad to see it. He was aware that it was one of the best cotton districts in the colony; but the fact was, that all the cotton-growing benefits fell into the hands of about half-a-dozen people. Now, if a railway was constructed between Brisbane and Ipswich, and the Brisbane merchants and traders allowed to have a hand in the cotton-growing interest of the district, the constituency of West Moreton would soon derive very largely increased benefits. It had been said that the country was not at present in a fit state for the extension of the railway from Brisbane to Ipswich; but he would like to know when, according to the policy advocated by the gentleman who said so, the country would be in a fit state for such a work. It was complained also that the railway works were not reproductive. Perhaps directly they were not. But he would ask honorable members who raised that objection, if the high roads of the colony were reproductive directly. Take, for instance, the high road from Brisbane to Ipswich, he would like to know if it directly yielded an amount equal to that which was spent upon it. He did not believe that it yielded one penny directly to the revenue, and yet the Government annually expended large sums upon it: and the same might be said of every other road in the colony. Railways could not fail to be reproductive works indirectly, if not directly, to a State; and an able American writer said that the prosperity of that country was greatly owing to its railways, for though they might not pay one penny to the revenue, they opened up the country, and had made it what it was. Now, he maintained that it would be the same with Queensland. This colony would never, without railways, attain the position to which it was entitled. Now, as to the Brisbane bridge, as being, perhaps, one of the public works referred to in the Speech, he admitted that the corporation had failed lamentably in the affair. But the corporation was not alone to blame. The House and the Government of a former day were in some degree to blame. He remembered the agitation that was got up on the subject, and that the Colonial Treasurer of the day, Mr. Bell, insisted that the plans should be very greatly altered, to meet the views of certain gentlemen. Now those alterations not only involved an increased expenditure of some thousands of

pounds, but also delayed the work until the monetary crisis occurred that put a stop to almost everything in the colony. He believed that but for that the bridge would have been finished long ago. Now if, when a measure was brought forward for the completion of the bridge, it should be shown that no money will be wanted, and that the city would be able to meet any guarantee that might be given, he hoped that, for the honor of the colony, the House would sanction such a Bill. He was satisfied, that if some of those honorable members who had spoken against the completion of the bridge, had only made some inquiries on the subject, in the first place, they would have found that arrangements could be made for the completion of the bridge that would not involve the colony in one penny of expense. He was surprised at the opposition of the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thompson, and he could only regard it as something of the dog-in-the-manger policy. There was a bridge at Ipswich which cost £20,000 in its erection, and the Government had to grant an annual subsidy to keep the tottering fabric together. He did not think it was either generous or fair, after the Government had countenanced the work in the first instance, and then, when by the action of the Government, directly or indirectly, it was brought to a standstill, for honorable members to object to legislative aid for its completion. He would now briefly allude to the subject of immigration; and here he must also say he was very much surprised at the decided tone of opposition some honorable members manifested to any measure for the purpose of immigration. But most of all was he surprised at the views put forward on the subject by the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Thompson. Those views had already been alluded to by his honorable colleague, Dr. O'Doherty. When the honorable member said that Queensland was now sufficiently well known in England to attract all the immigrants they could desire, he thought the honorable member could scarcely be conversant with what he was speaking about. For a native, or one, who he believed was almost a native, to speak so emphatically of a place that he never saw, showed a very great amount of ignorance on the subject. Now, he could inform the honorable member that, so far from Queensland being so well known in England, as he asserted, some of the leading professors in the highest seminaries in Britain did not even know what part of Australia Queensland was in. He would like to know if the people throughout the counties of Sussex and Essex had been sufficiently educated on the subject by the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, when Agent-General, to know where Queensland was. But the honorable member told the House that, from the encouragement given to cotton-growing in the neighborhood of Ipswich, the houses and shops of that town

were again becoming occupied; and, that being the case, he would have expected the honorable member would rather have advocated, than have opposed, immigration, so as to have extended to other places a share of the prosperity that seemed to be setting in at Ipswich. But the policy of the honorable member was of an eminently selfish description. But he hoped the House would not adopt such a policy; but would adopt a policy that would secure as large an influx of people into the colony as they could find; and he was sure they would only do well and wisely in taking the most energetic means to accomplish that object; for no reasonable expenditure in that way could be other than a wise and economical expenditure for the welfare of the colony. It was well known, that at present, the question of immigration was occupying a large share of public attention in England. Pauperism had never increased in England in the same ratio as it had during the last few years. He was, therefore, astonished to hear the remarks that were made by the honorable member for Maryborough, to the effect that trade was never in a more flourishing condition in England than it had been for the last three or four years. Why, the fact was quite the contrary, except, he believed, as regarded the iron trade. Now, this increase of pauperism was forcing the question of immigration upon the attention of the English people at the present time; and they were anxious to get rid of their surplus population, but such a surplus as it would not be desirable to have here. Therefore, he contended, they ought not to leave immigration from England to take its own course; but should have an agent at home, who would take care that none but a proper class of immigrants were sent out to the colony;—such a class as were sent out by his honorable friend, one of the present members for East Moreton. The same honorable member asked—what was the use of bringing to their shores, men, who as soon as they landed in the colony, found attractions in the other colonies that induced them to leave. Well, was that the fault of the immigration system? No. It was because the immigrants had been deceived. They were offered what might be called prizes in land if they would come to Queensland; but when they did come, where were the lands situated that were given to them? Why on the arid sandy plains between this and the Logan; where there were still to be found traces of the many attempts made by the immigrants to reside and cultivate the land; and which they had all been obliged to abandon. It was a stigma upon the Government of the day, and upon the colony, that the immigrants were treated in that way. If the Government had thrown open lands such as they were now throwing open, not a tithe of those who had left the colony would have done so. In 1860, the population of the colony numbered 25,000; and the honorable

member for East Moreton, while immigration agent, sent out 36,000; and now the population amounted to 100,000. It was said that the increase of the population was owing to the attractions of the gold fields; but he took leave to deny that such was the case. He maintained that there were very few of those who were attracted from other colonies now remaining on the gold fields. The population there now consisted chiefly of persons who had gone from other parts of Queensland. The reason that so few remained, was that the laws were such that no one would venture scarcely to invest his capital on the gold fields. Notwithstanding what the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thompson, had said, he maintained that if they brought people here of the right class, and showed them what had already been done in the colony in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties, they would soon have a very large and prosperous community. He admitted that many of the immigrants that were brought out to the colony had left, but it was, perhaps, not much to be regretted at the present time, and he was sure that if trade revived they would all very soon return from the other colonies. Now, if they meant to revive immigration—and without immigration Queensland would never become what she ought to be—they must do so at once. It did not matter what their agricultural or mineral resources might be; if they had not population they would be about as well without those resources, for they could not turn them to any account. The colony of Victoria was, he believed, the most popular of the Australian colonies in England. He believed there was not a parish in England in which the colony of Victoria was not well and favorably known, for in Victoria there were people from every parish in England; and yet, in the face of that fact, one of the ablest men from Victoria, Mr. Verdon, who for some years held the office of Treasurer in that colony, was now at home advancing the claims of Victoria as a field for immigration. It was also well known that, at the present time, there were great efforts being made to induce immigration from England to Canada; and though that colony was well known at home—known to be a rich colony, and having liberal land laws, the Canadian Government had a most active agency in England for the promotion of immigration to Canada. It was a fact that the Argentine Republic, the Brazils, and other countries, were offering every inducement for the introduction of a British population. Those countries attached the highest importance to the question of immigration. Victoria, New Zealand, and the other colonies were also doing their best to invite the same class of labor, and if Queensland was to be a prosperous colony she would have to adopt the same means as they were employing to settle the Crown lands. She must be represented in the same way in the English labor market. The class

of people wanted in this colony were small farmers, and farm laborers from the agricultural districts of the mother-country, and anyone who was acquainted with the habits of those persons must know that they were the most difficult class of persons to obtain—that, as a general rule, their employers, the farmers of England, did not want them to come out to these colonies at all, because they knew that it would have the effect of enhancing the price of labor in the agricultural districts, and be disadvantageous to them. The laboring classes in the rural districts in England, and the small farmers possessed of a little capital, who at home were struggling from year's end to year's end to eke out a living and to save what they had got, were the class of persons who were most wanted here. If, as one honorable member had observed, cotton and sugar-growing were to be the only interests in this colony, it was the more necessary to introduce as many of these people into it as possible. It was also the interest of the squatters to promote immigration—and he had no reason to believe they were opposed to it—because one of the first effects of the introduction of a large population would be to provide a market for their surplus stock. In conclusion, he must observe, as one of the southern members and also as a city member, that he should be prepared to give his support to any measure the object of which was to effect an adjustment of accounts between the North and South: at the same time he did not intend to be forced or coerced into any step of which he did not approve. He should also be prepared to give a fair consideration to the Pastoral Relief Bill, although he saw some things in it with which he could not agree. He deprecated any importation of class feeling in the discussion of these questions, and he was sorry that the honorable member for Rockhampton should have taken the view he had expressed, as he had introduced the first note of discord into the House. He hoped both sides of the House would endeavor to work amicably together, and consider that the interests of the colony were identified with all classes, whether squatters, traders, or agriculturists, and that the wisest plan would be to pull together with a strong pull, and in one direction, so that the colony would reap the benefit of united action.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Sir, it was not my intention to have entered upon the several topics mentioned in the Speech, in detail, nor did I intend to refer to the conflicting opinions expressed by different members upon its several paragraphs. I should have spoken at a much earlier period, if I had intended to go into these subjects at any length. I thought, as no amendment had been proposed, it was more respectful on my part to the House, and more in accordance with the latest practice in the House of Commons, to remain silent, and hear the opinions of honorable members. The course which has been adopted there for

several years, is, that when no amendment has been made upon the Address, there should be no discussion upon the various subjects of controversy referred to in the Speech; and I see that that practice was followed upon a late and very important occasion in the House of Commons. I allude to the last Speech from the Throne, which embraced that most important question, the dealing with the Irish Established Church. I think we may very safely follow the same practice here. As the several subjects referred to come on in this House for discussion or resolution, I shall, of course, be prepared to vindicate the policy pursued by the Government. I could not attempt to discuss the different views held by honorable members in the course of this debate, for I find that so many conflicting opinions have been expressed that, if they were all carried out, the result would be that the session would end in the greatest confusion. But I have no doubt I shall be able, with the assistance of my colleagues, to shape my course as to achieve some legislation which will be useful to the country. I am aware that I shall have no ordinary difficulties to contend with—that I shall have to face two very formidable opponents among the members for the North, one of whom—the honorable member for Rockhampton—has unwisely threatened that, unless the Government accede to the specific policy which he has laid down upon northern affairs, he will sit opposite to us, and stop all the business of the session.

Mr. ARCHER begged to correct the honorable member. He had not used that threat in the way the honorable member had expressed it. What he had stated only referred to the course he should pursue in the event of the extension of certain public works.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I accept, of course, the explanation of the honorable member. Still, I say, the threat was an unwise one. It sounded very much like a threat, and was, at any rate, a very unguarded statement. But I will tell the honorable member that he does not represent the feeling of the North upon all subjects. I believe it to be a feeling, if not of absolute confidence, one of hope in the present Government.

Mr. WALSH: No, no.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I must decline to take the opinion of the honorable member for Maryborough upon that or any other point, for his speeches, although never laudatory of any Government, and particularly accusatory of the present Government, are always extravagant, though fortunately they generally contain for their very extravagance at once the bane and the antidote. It will be time enough for honorable members to give or withhold confidence in the Ministry when they see the nature of the measures we are about to introduce. Why vex your souls with vague suspicions of what may be? Why not wait and judge of those measures by their merits or demerits? I do not intend to bring in a Bill for local self-government. I intend to sub-

mit to the House certain resolutions, which, I think, embody a good system of local government for all the districts of the colony. Honorable members can then take or reject such portions of the scheme as they approve or disapprove of, and when we have got through the resolutions, we shall then see what is left for us to deal with in the shape of legislation. I think, Sir, that will be the wisest and most statesmanlike course to pursue, for I find that other Bills, comprising various schemes of local government have been brought in and pronounced monstrous; and I may refer the honorable member for Rockhampton to that celebrated Land Bill in which he was concerned, which provided for a certain number of cocked hats—for the appointment of certain lieutenant-governors to be stationed all over the colony. Now, sir, I hold an opinion of my own upon this subject of local government, and I do not intend that my scheme shall be a paltry one, as that honorable member designates it without having seen it, or knowing anything about it. The honorable member does not seem willing to give us a chance; he would, no doubt, rather see some other persons occupying these benches, and would, I believe, refuse the most ample measure of self-government introduced by me and my colleagues. (No, no.) Well, I trust that a better spirit will animate him, and, if not, it will still be open for me to ask the people of the North whether they are satisfied or not? I am not at all afraid of the honorable member. I shall submit this scheme to the House, and if it do not meet with his approval, I shall ask the northern people to express their opinion upon it. Now, sir, I can assure honorable members that I will neither be bullied nor cajoled into the adoption of any course which does not commend itself to my judgment. I shall endeavor to do justice in the spirit of justice. I will meet honorable members from all parts of the colony in a fair spirit, and if I am worsted, I cannot help it. If we cannot at last agree upon a measure which will do justice to all parties, we must seek the opinion of those who sent us here, and if then we find that our people and your people cannot agree, there will still be the hopeful plan of separation. For my part, I shall feel no jealousy towards the North. I shall be proud of her advancement, and glad to find in her a wealthy neighbor, for we must see that this would ultimately result in an intercourse which would be profitable for both. So far from being jealous, I should be heartily glad if we could petition the Queen to-morrow, and that you should go forth and prosper without parting from us in any bad spirit. Now, sir, extravagant expressions are sometimes used in this House, which would not be received elsewhere, because they are taken as not really meaning as much as they convey; and when the honorable member for Maryborough talked about life and property not being secure in

this colony, he must surely have known that there was nothing to justify such an assertion. Why, sir, at the present moment, I believe there is scarcely a crime that is not in the hands of the law, unless, perhaps, that unfortunate man, Halligan, has met with foul play, and that has not yet been discovered. On the contrary, I believe the people of this colony feel that they are under the protection of the law. But to say there are not, at times, in the outside districts, crimes perpetrated which are not at once punished, is, of course, impossible; but that is the case in every country, even in the wealthiest and most populous. As a general rule, I maintain that life and property here are safe, and to say that they are not, is a libel upon the colony. I may point out, with regard to bushranging, that we may be proud to think this crime has been put down in Queensland. In that respect, we have set an example to the other colonies; and I again, as head of the Government, protest against the assertion that life and property are not secure in this colony. What argument has been used, or what fact has been brought forward to substantiate such a statement. The honorable member for the Burnett has talked about the inefficiency of the police force, because he saw a drunken man, in the streets, mauled by a policeman. Why sir, I have seen a policeman in London fighting a whole crowd; and, at one time, when there were forty police in Brisbane, I will venture to say that if the honorable member had gone down the town in the middle of the day, he would not have seen one of them. I, myself, have seen a great row going on, and a policeman standing near, but he would not interfere, because the military, those boasted guardians of the peace, were engaged in it. The honorable member for Maryborough has made statements which must be received with some hesitation. I do not say the honorable member is capable of wilfully distorting a case, but—

MR. WALSH: Mr. Speaker, I must really be permitted to state—

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The honorable member will, perhaps, allow me to proceed. I may be mistaken. Perhaps it is because the honorable member is such a prophet of evil, and is always bringing up some charge, financially or otherwise, against the Government.

MR. WALSH: I only state facts.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: I hope the honorable member will defer to the rules of the House. I never heard the honorable member state a fact that was not open to serious question. The honorable member is evidently victimised in his innocence by other people, and induced to make statements which are not reliable. A great deal has been said about the appointment of Captain Sadleir, and it appears to be a phase of the opposition this session to blame the Government in reference to the constitution of the Civil Service, and to accuse

Ministers of being harsh and unjust to the officers, and rendering that institution of less service to the country. I will ask the honorable member for Maryborough whether, if, just at the time he had to make the appointment of police magistrate, he had been called upon to prosecute a Government officer for murder, and he had found four or five others of the same class charged with crimes of various kinds, he would have chosen one out of that class. It is not true that I have appointed a person as police magistrate who I knew could not hold the office an hour after he was appointed; and in this case, sir, I maintain that, in face of certain disclosures which have been recently made, the Government were not only not wrong, but were perfectly justified in appointing Captain Sadleir. I have received the assurance of the Colonial Secretary that he is a gentleman, and that he is duly qualified for the post. It has been said that a clerk of petty sessions should have been promoted; but, sir, what is the salary attached to the office?—£350 a-year. Why, I do not think there is a clerk of petty sessions who is not making more than that, or who would accept the appointment. I had rather not enter upon any other matters comprised in the Speech, but I must relieve the public mind by showing the error of these reckless assertions. I do believe that deserving clerks of petty sessions, if they take pains to get themselves instructed in the law, ought to be open to promotion to the bench; but I must qualify that admission a little, as hitherto we have certainly not been fortunate in our appointments from the clerks of petty sessions. Griffin was a clerk of petty sessions, and he was entirely ruined by being raised from that office to the position of police magistrate; Bowerman was another clerk of petty sessions, and I do not know that I can think of any other officer of that class who has time to distinguish himself. There is another case, but I will not mention the name, as I think it very undesirable to do so, if it can be avoided. I think, sir, I have now touched upon everything which has been said by honorable members in the shape of censure of the Government. As to the term "infamous Government" applied to us, I only wonder, sir, that you did not stop the honorable member for Maryborough—

MR. WALSH: I said nothing about infamous Governments.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Perhaps I was wrong—I think the term used was "infamous Ministry!"—

MR. WALSH: I never called the Government an "infamous Ministry!"

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Well, then, sir, I can only say I accept the honorable member's explanation, and my ears must again have deceived me. I accept his statement, and I wish every honorable member would receive explanations with the same candour. I believe a great deal would be gained by honorable members coming forward manfully and offering explanations on all

subjects, whatever they may be; and I, for one, am perfectly prepared to adopt that course. I think a great deal of unnecessary comment has been made on the mystery which it is said characterises the Speech. The Government have no hesitation whatever in coming forward and inviting a discussion upon any subject whatever. Why should I fear to tell honorable members that we propose to construct the Brisbane bridge, and that we consider the extension of the line from Ipswich to Brisbane, and the construction of the line to the Dawson, as the truest economy we can practise. I do not hesitate to say, that the spectacle of the Brisbane bridge in its present delapidated state, is a disgrace to the colony, and by no means redounds to the credit of this community. If honorable members will only wait until my measures are submitted to them, they will see that I do not intend to complete this work at the expense of the country. I would ask them to wait before they express their opinion, and not come to a hasty conclusion without any facts before them. I believe that good times are coming, that we may fairly trust our prosperity has commenced again. We are beginning slowly to recover from our troubles and difficulties, and I would, therefore, remove the scars which remain to remind us of past disasters, and not discourage those who arrive here to settle among us. I will not any longer occupy the time of the House. I repeat there is no subject upon which I am afraid to speak fairly and frankly. When I took office, I did so with hesitation, knowing that the duties which would devolve upon me would take up a great deal of my time, which might be more profitably employed in my profession; but I can fearlessly say that I have since then given every subject a fair and honest consideration; and I would not, although I live in Brisbane, and belong to it, do anything here which I thought would be unfair or injurious to any other part of the colony. I set my face against that dog-in-the-manger spirit, which has been too much shewn in reference to local interests. I believe that to advocate the general interest of the colony is the wisest policy for all, and I believe the Governor's Speech deals with the interests of all classes. I shall throw myself frankly on the country, and ask them to deal with the measures I shall bring forward upon their merits. I regret that some honorable members should have been so ready to find fault. That is not the spirit in which we should come down to this House to make laws for the country. If I were to come here to-morrow, and propose a large loan, the House need not be startled, it would be simply a proposition to be discussed. Is it not conceivable that even a large additional expenditure on these works may ultimately prove a benefit to the country, and may help to tide us over our difficulties. I can tell the honorable member for the Kennedy that I do not mean to surrender my judgment to him or to

any other member. There are no persons behind the present Government pulling the strings; our course of action is an independent one. I will not sit here to be the puppet of any person on either side of the House. I am not afraid of the responsibility I have taken upon myself, nor do I fear the conflict of opinion. I have a reasonable respect for other people's judgment, and a reasonable distrust in my own, and I trust that, entering upon the business of the country in this spirit, I shall be able to get through it with no discredit to myself, even if my efforts do not issue to the advantage of the colony.

The question—"That this Address be now adopted," was put and passed.