

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates
[Hansard]

Legislative Assembly

TUESDAY, 11 MAY 1869

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Tuesday, 11 May, 1869.**The Immigration Bill.*

THE IMMIGRATION BILL.

The COLONIAL TREASURER said: In the first session of the first Parliament of Queensland, a system of immigration was established, based upon land orders. In the year 1864, that system was revised, but still it was left very similar to the original, being based entirely upon land orders. Thus, from the date of Separation to the present time, a system of immigration was in active operation, based upon land orders; and, it had been remarkably successful in introducing a very large number of persons into the colony. It was considered advisable and necessary that the system in force under the existing law should be amended; and, therefore, he had to propose the second reading of a new Immigration Bill. In doing so, it did

not appear to be necessary that he should go at any length into the advantages of immigration. They had been recognised in Queensland from the time of Separation. It was a fully admitted fact, that, in all young countries, population was absolutely necessary to their rapid growth and prosperity. He believed it would not be, for a moment, disputed that there were in this colony all the elements of material wealth, which only required willing hands to develop them; and that for the colony's advancement and material well-being, there should be in operation a successful scheme of immigration. What immigration had already done for Queensland, in the way of increasing the population, might easily be shown. In December, 1859, when this colony was separated from New South Wales, the population was only 23,520. On the 31st December, 1868, the population was 106,922. Out of that increase, 53,080 was the number that arrived from Europe; and there was some addition from the other Australian colonies. The intercolonial immigration for the nine years, left a balance of nearly 11,000 persons in favor of Queensland; so that it would be seen at once, from his figures, that the large increase of the difference between 23,000 and 107,000, was almost entirely owing to the pains taken by the first Parliament of Queensland to encourage immigration. He thought he was perfectly right and safe in stating that, whatever room there was for immigration, years ago, there was more room, now; for it was an admitted fact that every person settled in the colony made room for a large increase of population. A very considerable proportion of those who had been induced to settle in the colony were, now, themselves, employers of labor. There was room, he believed, for unlimited additions to the population, provided that those additions were made with a reasonable amount of judgment. In the year 1865, the total quantity of land under cultivation in the colony was only 14,414 acres. At the present time—he had not the figures of the total amount of land under cultivation—after the lapse of only three years, there were 14,600 acres of land under sugar and cotton alone; which were entirely new industries. Those two articles of produce employed a greater number of people than the whole of the agricultural population, engaged in all descriptions of cultivation, three years ago. Those facts justified what he said; while, at the same time, it was clear that the annual increase of population could not well be larger than would be employed, for the market could not soon be swamped. He would point out two things for consideration, in connection with what he had just said—that, from the increase in the growth of wool and the great extent of our gold fields, there were two sources of profitable employment provided for those who came. However large the number of people willing to come, there need not be any fear of their coming—there was

room for them all. Now, with regard to the Bill itself:—The main principle might be defined as requiring every person coming to Queensland from Great Britain or Europe to pay the cost of his own passage, either before emigrating or after arrival in the colony. In either case, he would be allowed a large grant of land to settle on. It would be remembered that the Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1860 gave a non-transferable land order to every person paying his own passage, or to any person paying it for him; but that mode had been found to lead to a very considerable amount of jobbery in land orders; and it was therefore altered in 1864, by the Immigration Act which was at present in force. The land orders which were now given were supposed to be non-transferable; and the Act further provided that shipowners conveying immigrants hither should have a transferable land order for £18 for every adult conveyed to Queensland. The effect had been, notwithstanding the successful operation of the Act in bringing out a great number of persons, that fault was found with it, on account of its interfering with the revenue, and the great number of immigrants having free passages. The Bill now before the House endeavored to obviate those defects; and he believed, if it were carried as it stood, it would have the effect of inducing a very large number of persons to come to this colony, of that particular class which would be of the greatest benefit to it. The first clause repealed the existing Act. Clauses two to five provided for the agency in Europe for carrying this measure into effect. He believed that whatever Immigration Act might be in force, its influence for good would depend, to a very great extent, upon the manner in which it was put in operation at home;—that was to say, depend upon the description of agency established in England to work the Act. He might remark, and he had no hesitation in saying it, that, no matter what Immigration Act was passed, if the House did not provide the means of working it efficiently, it would remain a dead letter on the statute-book, as the existing Act had been for the last two years. Whatever advantages might be offered to emigrants at home by an Act of Parliament, it would be utterly inoperative, so far as they were concerned, unless care were taken to make its advantages known to them; for which reason there must be some means at home by which those advantages should be brought directly under the notice of the persons whom it was desired to attract to the colony. People in the agricultural districts of Great Britain were those required, and they would never hear of the advantages offered in Queensland, unless pains were taken to let them know the advantages which the colony offered them. But he would not detain the House on this point. There was no intention on the part of the Government to appoint anyone under the Act,

until the matter was brought before the House in the Estimates, and a vote asked for the salary of the agent. He thought it would be time enough, then, to take that part of the question into consideration. He would be content with stating his conviction of the necessity of having an active energetic agent in England. The advantages which the Bill proposed to confer on any persons who had the means of paying the whole of their passages from Europe were in the shape of a land order for forty acres of land, subject to the homestead conditions of the Land Act of 1868. He felt somewhat unwilling to establish another process of land alienation, in addition to the several modes of land sale under the Land Act; and therefore he had provided in the Bill, that any person paying the full cost of his passage—with the members of his family above the age of twelve years—should receive a grant of land to the extent of forty acres. That seemed not much more than was already offered to persons in the colony under the homestead clauses of the Land Act of 1868; but it was, in point of fact, a great deal more—for, however large such a person's family might be, he would be able to take up only eighty acres of land, whereas the immigrant, under the Bill, with a large family, would be able to take up a considerable quantity of land. He believed that would be a great advantage to families. There were other contingencies provided for. Emigrants in England would feel no certainty whatever that, on arrival here, the Act under which they were induced to emigrate would be in force; and the Bill provided that a certificate should be given to them in England, before sailing, setting forth that they had paid so much for their passages, and that they were thereby entitled to a land order upon arrival, or at any time thereafter. That made the transaction a direct bargain between the Government and the individual emigrant. It was a very important feature in the Bill. No agent, at home, could give a guarantee that the law would not be altered by the time an immigrant arrived in the colony; but, if a document which constituted a direct and distinct agreement between him and the Government of the colony, could be put into the emigrant's hands, the inducement to come to Queensland was very strong, indeed. He (the Colonial Treasurer) considered that there was an absolute necessity for giving such a guarantee, previous to persons leaving England. The seventh clause of the Bill provided that the holder of the certificate was entitled on arrival in the colony to a land order for forty acres of land. There had been a great deal said by different parties about land orders being objectionable—that they led to jobbery, which was one of their defects, whether transferable or non-transferable; and it was, perhaps, necessary that he should say a few words upon the subject. The land orders under the Bill would be non-transferable. He did not propose to revert

to the system that was given up in 1864, but to make the land orders to immigrants non-transferable. In the Act of 1864, the land orders said to be non-transferable were not so; for whatever a man could do by himself he could do by his agent, and, therefore, they were not really so. But there was one thing a person could not do by another, under the Bill; and that was, comply with the requirements of the homestead clauses—that he should reside on the land five years, before he would be entitled to his deeds. It was not only that the land orders would not be transferable, but the immigrant would not get the deeds of his land unless he resided the full period upon it, as under the conditions of the homestead clauses. There were some minor details, with which, however, it was unnecessary to detain the House. He (the Colonial Treasurer) was aware that when the Act of 1864 was passing through the House, objection was taken to the non-transferable land orders, because, it was said, they would be of benefit only to agriculturists or farmers—the men who wished to settle on the land, as distinct from those who followed trades and wished to settle in town; to the latter, it was said, the land orders would be of no use. The same objection might possibly be made to the seventh and eighth clauses of the Bill; but he looked upon the ground for that objection, as an advantage, to a very great extent. He believed that a large population of immigrants settling in the towns of the colony was a very great evil, and that it would be better for Queensland if such a large proportion of the immigrants had not done so; and it would be wrong to offer inducements to a large number to do so in future. Everything should be done to get that class of persons to come here who were possessed of a small capital, and who were willing to take back in land that portion of their capital which they would have spent in coming out, with a view to work the land. The sixth and seventh clauses provided for that. It was not, however, desirable for the Queensland Legislature to foster the introduction of capital, without at the same time, encouraging the introduction of labor, whether for cotton-growing, wool-growing, or anything else; because he was quite certain that from the high wages that prevailed throughout the Australian colonies, and in Queensland, as a result of the gold fever, the balance must be restored and maintained, if capital was to be employed with any satisfactory result, otherwise, in a few years, the holders of capital would be swamped. He was quite certain that a high rate of wages was destructive of comfort; and that more moderate aspirations were much more productive of comfort, and better for all parties. Those considerations were, in his mind, quite sufficient to satisfy him, that in offering as an inducement, a land order which would be of no benefit to persons resident in the towns, sufficient was offered for every purpose; and he did not

think it would be a serious objection to the Bill that, in the present state of the colony, land was offered to immigrants under the homestead conditions. The Bill also provided that assisted passages might be given to emigrants on the payment of a portion of the cost, in the same manner as under the present Act: twelve years and upwards, £8; and domestic servants and children under twelve years, £4. Those passages would be authorised to be granted to persons approved of by the agent in London. The Bill further provided for free passages to suitable persons, agricultural and other laborers, and female domestic servants, conformably to conditions set forth in a schedule. The thirteenth clause provided for the nomination system of immigration, under which any person residing in the colony, and desirous of introducing friends or relatives, might pay a portion of the passage-money, and, upon undertaking to pay the balance twelve months after the arrival of such friends or relatives, ensure their passages. The Bill provided for carrying out the nomination system exactly as it was in operation under the existing law. One new feature was introduced in the eleventh and following clauses of the Bill attached to the introduction of assisted, free, and nominated immigrants: all of them would be required, previous to embarkation, to sign an undertaking to pay the cost of their passages. In this way, assisted and nominated passengers would be required to undertake to pay to the Government the sum of £10 within twelve months after arrival in the colony; and those who received absolutely free passages, having to pay only £1 for outfit, before embarkation, would be required to sign an undertaking to pay to the Government in two equal parts, in twelve and twenty-four months respectively after arrival. It might be said that only a small number would comply with those conditions. But, a considerable number of immigrants had been introduced in former times, under that system, by private firms. The system was in existence, here, previous to Separation. He was aware that the objection raised against it would be that a large number of the persons who would sign the undertaking very willingly would do so without any intention of carrying it out, and that they would not pay the money after arrival. Some evidence was taken on that subject, however, before a select committee, in 1860, which by no means bore out that view of the case. It was shown by evidence that the majority—nearly all—of the immigrants, paid the balances they had agreed to pay—not, perhaps, on the date they were due, but shortly afterwards—and that the sum remaining uncollected was very small indeed. Before that committee, Dr. Lang—who might be regarded as knowing a good deal about immigration—gave it as his opinion that the immigrants would not pay the money due to the Government; but he was compelled to make the admission, that immi-

grants under a similar system with which he had been concerned had all paid up. He (the Colonial Treasurer) did not anticipate that any large number of persons introduced under the Bill would refuse or neglect to pay, any more than did those introduced under Dr. Lang's auspices; though the Government must expect that a certain percentage, through deaths and other unavoidable causes, would not be collected, yet he believed the great bulk would be collected—eighty or ninety per cent., at any rate—and that such money would form a fund which could again be used for introducing immigrants. It must also be borne well in mind, that, in the plan as proposed, there was a positive inducement to those persons to keep faith with the Government, and to meet their bills. It was provided that they should have given to them certificates, in the form of schedule 6, that they had paid the deposits required in England, and that they had given an undertaking to pay the balance of their passage-money after arrival. If a person who paid his own passage before leaving England was entitled to a land grant, it seemed fair that a person who paid his passage-money to the Government after arrival here should likewise be allowed a land grant, and provision was made accordingly. He had every confidence in proposing that system to the House. Legislation on two different occasions had provided for it. Parliament had recognised, since Separation, the advisability of giving land orders as inducements to immigrants to come and settle here; they also recognised, under the homestead clauses of the Land Act, the desirability of giving almost free grants of land to any persons taking it up and living on it. There was no reason, therefore, why those inducements which were already on the statute book—should not be put in the most tangible form to make them effective in bringing people to the colony to settle. It was, therefore, proposed that if such persons, after arrival, met their undertakings, and repaid to the Government the amount or balance of their passage-money, they should be then entitled to go and settle on agricultural land to the extent of forty acres for every adult whose passage was repaid. The land orders thus given were to be of the same class as the others—non-transferable; the non-transferability being secured by the requirement of five years' residence on the land previous to the title deeds being granted. In copying the homestead clauses, provision was made by which some portions of the five years' residence might be avoided; that was, by paying the full upset price, any time after two years, in which event the settler would receive his title deeds. That was only fair. The land could not be called a free grant if the upset price was paid; and it might be satisfactory to those persons whose circumstances were improved, who had the money, and who wished to have the freehold of their land. He was justified in considering that the fact

that those land grants would be given to those immigrants who met their engagements with the Government would form a very strong inducement to them to meet their bills. Emigrants would leave Great Britain or Germany with the certificates in their pockets, and with the certainty that they would be able to settle on a large quantity of land by meeting their payments. Whatever might be said about the dissatisfaction which had been given utterance to by parties who came here, he felt certain that the great majority of the working classes who had come and settled, had bettered their condition; and the advantages which the colony offered to immigration were such that the House would agree with him, as to the fairness of bringing persons of the working classes here, on their undertaking to pay their passage-money, or a portion of it, after arrival. He believed such a system would obviate the necessity of spending large sums annually for the introduction of immigrants, and would give the colony a large, and to some extent, a self-regulating immigration; because the number introduced, though under the control of the Government, would be to a great extent regulated by the accounts of the place sent home from the colony by private persons. If those accounts were good, depend upon it a large number of immigrants would come; if bad, the reverse would be the case. A new feature was introduced in the Bill in the sixteenth and seventeenth clauses. It was there proposed that any employer of labor, here, wishing to introduce persons from Europe, might do so by giving an undertaking to the Government, to pay the cost of passage in default of the immigrant repaying it. Hitherto employers of labor had frequently been enabled to hire persons for two years in England and Germany; but, in such cases, they had to pay down the passage money, here. In the Bill, it was provided that any person wishing to engage mechanics, laborers, or servants, in Europe, might do so through the Queensland agents, without any preliminary payment whatever. The Agent-General in England, or the Emigration Agent in Germany, would sign an agreement with the persons required, who would undertake to serve the employers sending for them, and to repay the cost of their passage to the Government within twenty-four months—which repayment would entitle every immigrant making it, to a grant of land; and, in the event of the immigrants not paying the cost of their passages, the employer would be required to do so, in pursuance of his undertaking, between six and twelve months, not later, after the expiration of the before mentioned twenty-four months, which payment would entitle him to a grant of land for every passage so paid. The mechanics, laborers, or servants required by any employer here, would be selected as he desired; and, under an agreement made at home on his behalf, would be brought

to the colony, at the immediate expense of the Government. The employer, here, however, would have to endorse the emigrant's undertaking to pay his passage-money after arrival, and undertake, himself, to repay the amount of the passage-money to the Government, in case any laborer brought out for him did not fulfil his undertaking to pay it; and, in order to protect the employer, when such employer paid the money, after default of the immigrant, he would become entitled to a grant of land to the same extent as the immigrant would have been entitled to had he fulfilled his undertaking. As it would be impossible to attach the condition of residence to such employer's land grants, it was provided, by the sixteenth clause, that such land grants should not have any condition of residence attached to them. He was in hopes that those clauses would be very extensively availed of, and that many persons here would be induced to introduce immigrants under them. The employer ran no risk whatever. The Queensland agents would make, on their behalf, engagements for two years' service, at such wages as might be agreed upon. With regard to the rate of wages, it was well known that new arrivals were not worth so much as persons who had been some time in the colony. There was little doubt that the agents could engage numbers of persons who would very greatly benefit their position by accepting such engagements. He was informed that there would be no difficulty, at the present time, in getting any number of immigrants from Germany of a most desirable class, who would hire for two years at the rate of £24 per annum, and would undertake to pay their passage money out of such wages;—in fact, if they could only get food and clothing for the two years, they would engage, for the sake of the advantages they would reap at the expiration of that term. He was hopeful that the clauses would be very largely availed of, as very considerable sums of money had been paid by employers of labor, during the last two or three years, for the introduction of laborers from the neighboring islands. He was quite satisfied that those persons had not introduced that class of labor from any preference they entertained for it; he was inclined to think that they would have preferred to have introduced Europeans, if they could have done so at the same cost. As he had pointed out, the provision to give a land grant to the employer who paid the passage of a laborer was such a perfect guarantee to him against loss, as well as to the Government, and, at the same time, such an encouragement to the immigrant and to the employer, by reason of his having to pay nothing in advance, that he (the Colonial Treasurer) felt justified in thinking it would operate effectually. It was also provided by the eighteenth clause—though it was not such a valuable concession as the other, though deemed advisable—that any person wishing to engage the services of any immigrant arrived

at the depôt, might engage them on exactly the same terms; that was, for two years, and by endorsing, in the same way, the immigrant's undertaking to the Agent-General to repay his passage. The employer who endorsed the immigrant's undertaking would be entitled, in the same way, to a land grant of forty acres, if he paid the passage-money, on the failure of the immigrant to do so; and that arrangement might be regarded as giving an additional security to the Government. But, there was nothing imperative in the eighteenth clause; it left every immigrant free to hire himself to anyone he pleased, without going into the depôt, or, if he stopped in the depôt, to make an agreement outside. Most of the immigrants lately arrived had made their own engagements. There was no danger of the Government interfering with the liberty of the immigrant or his making the best terms he could for himself. It was considered advisable to make some further alteration in the shape of taking more care of immigrants on arrival. He admitted that the clauses in the Bill framed with that object—the seventeenth, nineteenth, and twenty-second—were not so perfect as he should like them to be, but they were a very great advance on all previous legislation on the subject. No one would for a moment deny that the previous immigration systems had been very effective in introducing large numbers of persons here; but he most sincerely believed that if the Bill passed, it might be made more effective in introducing a large number of people under more favorable auspices than those under which immigrants had heretofore been introduced. The proportion of town population which a new country could bear and be prosperous was not very large, and might be easily overdone. Persons resident in the port towns of the colony must be aware that difficulties had been thrown in the way of the immigrants going into the interior. They were met, on landing, and told they were foolish if they thought of going up country; that they should stay in town, where there was plenty of room for them, and where they would get their six and eight shillings a-day; and that was done by persons who ought to know better. In the year 1866, when the financial crisis came upon this colony, in common with all the rest of the world, a complete change took place in that respect. One of the good effects resulting from the evils that the colony had suffered, which he had noticed with pleasure, was, that persons living in the towns as laborers persuaded those who had been gardeners and agricultural laborers to go into the country and do for themselves there. He knew numbers who were driven out into the country, and for whom the distress of those days was the best thing that could have happened to them. He had no hesitation in saying that the country population, those living on small farms, in their own homes, were living in a state of greater comfort than any other class of the population. Every-

thing they did on those farms was an improvement of their own homes, an addition to their comforts, and an incentive to a very strong feeling of independence amongst themselves. They would not go into private employment or return to the town—and he spoke of men who had worked for himself for years—because they were doing a great deal better for themselves. With the quantity of good land that there was in this colony, and with the articles of export—sugar and cotton—they had to fall back upon, as soon as they had supplied their own market, which was not nearly sufficiently supplied, with maize, potatoes, and other things that could be grown here—there could be no doubt there was room for an unlimited population of that class; and, whatever immigrants might arrive here during the next few years, they would find a very different state of feeling amongst their own class from that which existed some time ago, and would be recommended to go up the country and take employment, with the certainty of earning good wages and the prospect of eventually settling on their own homesteads. The colony could not well be more successful in an immigration system as regarded numbers; but he did hope it would be more successful than it had been, as regarded taking care and of providing for the employment of people first landing in the colony. He believed, now, that any immigrant would be recommended by almost everybody to go into the country; and, on going into the country, he would see many persons doing well—a sight which would have the effect of putting him in good spirits. Any Immigration Act ought to provide that the immigrants should be looked after on arrival. Under the Canadian and United States systems of immigration, no steps were taken to attract immigrants further than sending agents to the great centres of population, for the purpose of making known the advantages emigrants would have on their arrival at their destination. On their arrival in the territory of Canada, they were forwarded into the interior, and every possible means was taken to enable them to get employment, at once; and, the great success of the Canadian system was owing to the care taken of the immigrants when they landed. In the seventeenth clause of the Bill, it was provided that immigration depôts should be established in those towns where it was thought advisable; such depôts to be under the charge of the police magistrates of the district, or of some other responsible person. And, it was further provided in the clause that it should be the duty of the sub-immigration agent of any depôt to take what steps he could to obtain employment for the immigrants sent to his depôt. Clause nineteen provided that it should be the duty of the Immigration Agent to furnish the fullest information in his power to new arrivals with regard to the rate of wages ruling in the colony, and as to the localities where a demand for labor existed; and also to assist

immigrants with small means, coming here with the intention of settling on the land, in their choice of a selection. The twenty-second clause provided that similar duties should also rest on the Immigration Board. He believed if those two clauses were carried out properly, very little of the difficulty which had previously been felt in those matters would exist. Under the present Immigration Act it was well known that a large number of persons had been introduced of a very unsuitable description;—but they had been introduced not in accordance with the forms. The House were aware that a Mr. Simpson, an agent at home, had passed many persons not in accordance with the regulations in force in London. It was thought advisable, therefore, that the form of application of emigrants should be inserted as a schedule to the Act; and it would, consequently, be a direct violation of the Act to introduce any person into this colony contrary to that form, which had always been used in the London office. He thought it very advisable that the immigrants introduced should be bound by that form. He had no hesitation in saying that the universal testimony of the cabin passengers by the ships bringing immigrants to Queensland was, that the immigrants who came out in accordance with the regulations, were a very desirable class, indeed, for colonists; while, in those cases in which the forms were not complied with, the colony had got a large proportion of undesirable immigrants. He therefore hoped the House would agree with him in the desirability of passing schedule 1. Clause twenty-one provided that immigrants should be forwarded from England, Scotland, and Ireland, in proportion to the population of those divisions of the United Kingdom; and from Germany, in number not exceeding two thousand adults per annum. That clause had been inserted in deference to previous legislation. It was enacted before, after long and careful consideration; but he would be quite prepared, if the House thought it advisable—in fact he should prefer—to omit the clause. However desirable such a provision might be when the passage-money of the immigrants was paid by the Government, it seemed to him that no such check was necessary under a system which provided that immigrants should pay their own passages. He (the Colonial Treasurer) had one remark to make, and it was this: a number of immigrants came to the colony from Europe, amounting in some years to upwards of 11,000; and of that large number, a considerable proportion were free immigrants, whose passages were paid by the Government, and who were not called upon to refund any of the passage-money. The question might arise, as the Bill was introduced for the purpose of encouraging immigration, whether the difficulties it created, by insisting on the payment of the passage-money from immigrants would not mar its operation. He had every reason

to think they would not. The signing of the undertaking to pay the passage-money after arrival, would have no effect whatever on that undesirable class of immigrants which might be picked up in any large seaport town. They would sign any declaration. But the form of application laid down in the first schedule would be a complete stopper, in the hands of an agent, to the sending such persons out. With regard, however, to the desirable class of immigrants, it had been found from previous experience, that the best ever received by the colony were those who, from a feeling of independence, and from fear of being looked down upon, had been unwilling to receive a free passage, and who preferred to pay at least a portion of their passage-money themselves. That was absolutely the most desirable class of men that could be brought here; men who would prefer paying their own passage, if they had the means, and if they had not, would pay it after arrival in the colony. He believed that quite as many immigrants as were desirable could be introduced under the proposed system. In late English papers he saw that the feeling in favor of emigration was very strong, and that was another reason why he hoped the system would be successful, though it did not offer absolutely free passages. It was decidedly contrary to the interests of the colony to give free passages to the pauper population of England. Queensland wanted persons with a sufficient amount of independence, who would be glad to take employment on arrival—who would look forward to saving their wages, and, in process of time, establishing themselves on homesteads of their own. He believed such persons could be introduced here in considerable numbers. He pointed out before, that this measure would get rid of one of the greatest difficulties that attached to the present system of immigration, and that was, the large amount of money spent on it. He did not believe all the money has been legitimately spent, heretofore; a considerable amount had been spent in the purchase of land orders. He had reason to believe there was a balance remaining under the loan, and if that were supplemented by a comparatively small sum, the money thus obtained would be sufficient to put the measure before the House into operation. At the present time, by instructions despatched home about twelve months ago to the clerk in charge of the Queensland Emigration Office in London, a certain number of persons were sent out here periodically—a vessel every two months—with, say, two hundred immigrants; so that the Immigration Act was now in operation. Two vessels had already arrived under those instructions. The Bill would enable the colony to obtain double the number of immigrants at half the cost of the existing system; and if the present available money was supplemented by a small sum further, sufficient would be in hand to keep the new Act going for twelve

or eighteen months; after which time certain payments from immigrants would be coming in, and, as provided in the twentieth clause, they would be placed to a separate fund for the purposes of the Act, and no others. The present measure, if passed, would eventually prove reproductive, or nearly so. He would not go into the questions of the number of immigrants which it would be desirable to introduce under the Act, the amount of money necessary for putting the Act in force, or the salary of the Agent-General. Those questions could be far more advantageously discussed, either in committee on the Bill, or on the Estimates. The question of the extent to which the Act should be brought into operation might also be better discussed hereafter. No action could be taken under it until those financial questions were settled. He therefore confined his remarks to the machinery of the measure. If, however, the machinery was intended to work well, the colony must have a good agent in England to keep it going, and fairly to bring before the people, there, the advantages which Queensland offered to immigrants. He should therefore conclude by formally moving—

That this Bill be now read a second time.

Mr. PALMER said he hardly expected, and honorable gentlemen with whom he was in the habit of acting, hardly expected, that the Government would have pressed the Immigration Bill forward as the first Bill this session. He was of opinion, in common with other honorable gentlemen whom he had consulted, that it would more properly have followed the Pastoral Leases Bill. Before attempting to bring people to the country, it would have been desirable to see that there were employers in the country to employ them. If the Bill was intended to induce men to come to the colony to work small patches of land in the neighborhood of Brisbane, he certainly should oppose it. He would be ashamed to take part in the passing of any Bill for sending home an immigration agent to induce people to come out here on such small hopes. The honorable the Colonial Treasurer had presented very glowing pictures of the condition of the small cultivators in the neighborhood of Brisbane; but he, for one, did not think that the honorable member knew anything whatever of the holdings, or of the condition of those small cultivators. The honorable gentleman had spoken of the success of some of them, but he did not tell the House how many of them had been unsuccessful—how many of them were without the real necessities of life, while their lands were mortgaged beyond any hope of the holders being able to redeem them. He thought the Colonial Treasurer took up, as the basis of his speech, in telling the House of the success of some of those small settlers, very poor grounds indeed. The purposes of the Bill were, no doubt, very good. For instance, the principle of making the Bill

reproductive was a good one; but he very much doubted if many of the promissory notes mentioned in the Bill would ever be repaid; and if the honorable gentleman looked at the history of the sister colonies in respect to a system of promissory notes, he would see that it had been almost a total failure, and he would find enough to convince him that those promissory notes would never be got at. But he thought there was another mistake about the Bill—or at any rate in the title of it. In his opinion it would have been most properly entitled, a Bill for the amendment of the Land Act, for of all the easy ways for a capitalist to obtain possession of the land, this measure provided the easiest. A capitalist, for example, desirous of possessing lands on the Darling Downs, or any other part of the colony, had nothing more to do but bring out a certain number of immigrants, whether he wanted them or not, employ them for a certain time, and then hold out inducements to them to make themselves scarce, and then by means of their land orders, take up such lands as he liked. This was a Bill that interfered with the Land Bill. The inducements held out by this Bill for people to settle on the land were not nearly so good as those that were provided in the Lands Alienation Act of last year. Under that Act, any person, immigrant or not, could go and take up a homestead selection of 100 or 160 acres of second-class land; but this Bill only allowed a settler to take up 40 acres. The eighth clause of this Bill altogether interfered with a measure that had been already passed, by rendering it necessary that immigrants applying for land should make an affidavit, in place of a declaration, as provided for in the Land Act. Now, he did not see why an immigrant should be obliged to make affidavit on a subject as to which anyone else would only have to make a declaration. The Bill appeared to him to be in a very crude state, and required a great deal of consideration before it could be allowed to pass a second reading; and, therefore, he thought it was hardly right of the Government to press it at present. He was quite willing to admit the Bill had some very good points about it, if they could be carried out; but he thought it would be hardly wise for the Government to press it just now. However if the second reading should be agreed to—and to that he would not object—and if the Government would give a long day for its consideration in committee, and take the second reading of the Pastoral Leases Bill in the meantime, and allow it to be considered first, they would be practically fulfilling the promise made by the honorable the Premier last session. Now he took it, and he thought the greater portion of the House would join him in the opinion, that the passing of the Pastoral Leases Bill was of more importance than the Immigration Bill—be what it might. He thought that, looking at the ruin that was staring so many of the pastoral lessees

in the face, it was the bounden duty of the House to pass the Pastoral Leases Bill at once, and set the matter at rest; and by doing so, try and restore confidence in the colony, which had been so much vitiated of late. He was under the impression, and many honorable members shared in the impression, that the first duty of the House would be to see that a Pastoral Leases Bill was passed; and, under that impression, they gave way to the honorable the Premier, to have the Estimates passed, and otherwise to expedite the business of the colony. Now, whether it was by a mistake of judgment or not, he thought the honorable the Premier had gone wrong in pressing the Immigration Bill before the Pastoral Leases Bill; and he would now put it to the honorable gentleman—and he did not think that anyone on the opposition side of the House would object—that he should take the second reading of the Bill now, and postpone its consideration in committee for a fortnight. This was not a measure of immediate necessity, and there could be no object in pressing it on the House. He hoped the Ministry would take into consideration the state of the colony, and introduce the Pastoral Leases Bill at once.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he might state at once, that the objection raised by the honorable member, as to the position which this Bill occupied on the paper, was one that should not weigh with the House. He was not aware that he gave a pledge that he would place the Pastoral Leases Bill or any other Bill first on the paper for despatch; but he would state that there was a desire on his part to despatch the Immigration Bill, the Gold Fields Bill, the Pastoral Leases Bill, and the Additional Members Bill, as quickly through the House as possible, as those were measures that were anxiously desired by the country. He therefore hoped the House would pass the second reading of the Bill to-night; or rather he should have said, as soon as the House might desire, after due deliberation, so as to enable them to go on to consider some of them in committee, and forward them to the Upper House. He hoped the House would pass the second reading of this Bill, to-night; and he could see nothing himself to prevent the House passing the second reading of the other Bills he had mentioned, within the next week or ten days. He saw no reason, for instance, why they should not pass the second reading of the Pastoral Leases Bill on the following day; and he hoped, therefore, that the House would support the second reading of the Bill now before the House. He believed there was a necessity for legislating on behalf of the pastoral lessees; and though he did not think they ought to legislate for one class of the community, to the exclusion or rather delay of a measure of a general nature, he would willingly meet honorable members in a desire to relieve the colony from the burdens that at present pressed

upon it in respect to one of the most important interests in the colony. There was no desire on his part to burke the Pastoral Leases Bill. He saw nothing to hinder the House from getting to work on this Bill, in a short time, in committee, and it was there, after all, that the real work would be done. It was well known that it was desired there should be legislation on this subject; that there should be an amendment of the representation of the people, a measure relating to pastoral leases, and a Gold Fields Bill. Well, they, had all those measures before them to be passed this session, if possible, and he did not see why they should cavil as to which should take precedence. The general public outside had a right to expect that something should be done for them. Now the mass of the community had a right to see, as soon as possible, what they were likely to get in the matter of immigration—what sort of a measure the House was likely to pass on the subject. The pastoral lessees had also a right to see what was to be done for them; but he did not think that they would like to see a hasty settlement of the question. Now, it was well known that for three or four years past, every Government had had a Pastoral Leases Bill in their programme. He believed that, so far back as 1863, an attempt was made, or at any rate, a show was made of an intention to legislate on the subject. Now, he begged to assure the House that he really meant to legislate on the subject; and in order to let him do that, the pastoral interest must let the public see that he was not a mere instrument in the hands of the pastoral lessees; but that the Government and the House were assembled to legislate for the general interests of the colony; and not, as a first duty, to legislate for any particular interest. He trusted, therefore, that the House would pass the second reading of this Bill; and that, next week, they would find themselves in active business in committee on the four important measures he had named.

Mr. WALSH said he did not think that, according to the statement made by the honorable the Premier, last session, the Immigration Bill was to be amongst the first measures brought forward, this session; and he must say, that he was not aware, except by the present assurance of the honorable gentleman, that there was a desire on the part of the general public that such a Bill should be introduced at so early a period of the session. He did not know that there was a wish for such a Bill, except on the part of a few of the mercantile community of Brisbane, who saw that, till immigration set in again, they would not have the prospect of similar prosperity as formerly. He thought that, as the honorable member for Port Curtis put it, a very strong case had been made out for the passing of the Pastoral Leases Bill. He knew that many throughout the colony desired to see the measure the Government

intended to bring forward on the subject; nor would they be satisfied till they saw what the Government intended to do in the matter of the pastoral leases. He could assure the House that there was more feeling outside the House respecting that question than there was respecting the question of immigration. There was not, at the present time, any outcry for labor in the colony. On the contrary, they heard that there was an excess of labor all over the colony. He denied, then, that there was a general desire for an Immigration Bill; but contended that there was a strong desire to see what the Government proposed to do with respect to the pastoral leases.

Mr. THOMPSON said it appeared to him as though the House was undecided, as to whether they would go on with the second reading of the Bill or not; and for the purpose of raising the question, he would move that the debate be adjourned; but he did so merely for the purpose of raising the question, rather than with the view of making any remarks upon the Bill. He hoped he would be the last that would be found to throw obstacles in the way of legislation; but it appeared to him that none of them had had time to go into the Bill or examine the principles of it. There were some novel principles in the Bill, and he thought honorable members should have an opportunity of examining them. One honorable gentleman, for instance, had pointed out that the Bill afforded great latitude for dummying, and that it afforded great facilities for dummying. And, as to immigration, it appeared to him that the Bill divided the immigrants into three classes—those who had paid the whole of their passage-money, those who had paid part of it, and those who paid none of it. Those who paid the whole were to receive land orders; and those who paid part, and those who paid nothing, were to enter into engagements to repay the Government for advances before they received any land orders. The only portion of the Bill he approved of was that portion which provided that those immigrants who paid their passages should be liberally dealt with by having large homesteads granted to them; but he must say that he could not see his way through the other parts of the Bill, which appeared to him to be nothing else than a piece of machinery for the spending of public money. He must say that he did not object to the system of assisted passages under the present Act—that was, when immigrants were sent for by their friends; because experience had shewn that such immigrants were the best. If the Bill were confined to such a system of immigration, in addition, of course, to the encouragement of full-paying immigrants, neither he nor anyone else, he thought, could object to it; but, as he had already said, it appeared to him that the Bill was mostly a piece of machinery for the expenditure of public money, though

there was no money to spend. Now, it appeared to him, therefore, that they might pass the Bill with safety, if there was nothing more to be done than the appointment of officers. But after that, there was the most important matter to be done, and that was the voting of money for the officers who might be appointed—and, in the matter of officers, the measure promised to be very costly. In the first place, there would be an Agent-General, and he would require to have an extra salary because he was called Agent-General; and then there would be a German agent, with a staff of officers in Brisbane. The first five clauses of the Bill were devoted solely to providing the machinery; and the colony, he maintained, was not in a position to go into such an expensive system, unless an assurance could be given, that when the people came here, they would remain. But how were they to expect the people to remain, when everyone who came to the colony took upon himself, as soon as he landed, £35 of debt, and taxes to the amount of £7 per annum, and was to receive, in consideration of that, forty acres of uncleared land? Now, he objected to the Bill on a variety of grounds, and, in particular, he objected to that part of clause eight which enabled immigrants, on paying the upset price of land, to obtain a deed of grant. Now, that was only another means of enabling the immigrant to leave the colony. The upset price of land was the price that was payable at the time the land was taken up; but, in the course of two years, the land might become so valuable, that it would be a highly profitable thing for the immigrant to pay the difference between the deposit and the upset price, take up the land, and sell it at the market value, and leave the colony. It appeared to him, also, that the principle of requiring that parties should enter into engagements to repay the Government, at certain periods of time, the amount of their passage-money, was one that could never be carried out. It had never been found that the Crown could sue the subject, to fulfil any such engagement. The honorable the Colonial Treasurer said that such a course had been successfully carried out by private firms; and, therefore, he saw no reason why the same thing might not be carried out by the Government. Now that was where the honorable gentleman was wrong, for when it came to the paying up of arrears, it would be found that the Government would not act as a private firm would. The Government stood in the position of a paternal relation to the people, and could not use the same amount of pressure as a private firm. He believed that if the proposed system were gone into, to any extent, it would be found not only impossible to recover arrears, but also that petitions would be presented to the House, praying that the people might be relieved from their obligations. In the case of a private firm it would be different. They could put on the screw; but the Government could not issue

distress warrants. For somewhat similar reasons he objected to the eighteenth clause, which enabled employers to enter into engagements with immigrants and themselves to the Government, to pay the passage-money of the immigrants they employed. That clause, he held, would be totally inoperative, for nobody would take immigrants from the depôt on those grounds, if they could get them otherwise. He further objected to the Bill in respect of its entering upon the question of nationality, in so far as it proposed to limit the immigration of Germans to 2,000 a year. That was a very wrong principle. They had no right to restrict the number of Germans who might come to the colony, the more especially as Germans were about the best immigrants that came to the colony. Now, the sooner that all national distinctions were sunk, the better. But there was another piece of machinery provided for the expenditure of money, and that was the establishment of an Immigration Board. He had also other objections to the measure; but there had been so little time to peruse it, that he felt himself somewhat at a loss as to a number of the provisions he had not alluded to. He understood there had been some returns laid upon the table, relative to past immigration, which were calculated to afford valuable information on the subject; but there had been no time afforded for considering them. Now, before being called upon to deal with a question of this nature, honorable members should have time to consider those returns. There was some difference of opinion as to whether most of the immigrants, who had been brought out to the colony at great expense, had been valuable colonists or not—those who remained in the colony—and whether the greater number of them had not left the colony. A great many were daily leaving the colony; and, indeed, as he was informed, very many of those who arrived the other day had already left for the other colonies. The other colonies were carrying out extensive schemes of immigration, and, if they introduced so many as to glut their market, this colony would receive the surplus without being at any expense, provided a reasonable inducement was offered to them to come here. The colony was not now in the prosperous condition it was some years ago, and labor was not very scarce, as it was then. Wages were not nearly what they were some years ago, and almost any number of men could be got for any occupation. The only laborers required now were cotton-pickers, and he believed they could be got without much expense. The honorable the Colonial Treasurer, in introducing the Bill, observed that under the first system—that was, the transferable land-order system—there was a great amount of jobbery practised; but it appeared to him (Mr. Thompson) that the jobbery that might have been practised under that system was nothing to the jobbery that would be prac-

tised under the provisions of the Bill before the House. He believed that the first system was the true system, so long as it was carried out as originally established. No sooner were the land orders clogged with conditions than they began to fall in value; but the principle originally carried out was, he maintained, the most correct that could be introduced. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. DE SATGE said he considered the remarks made by the honorable member for Port Curtis, with regard to the ill-timed introduction of this measure before the Pastoral Leases Bill, were quite correct. Before they took steps to induce people to come here, they ought to be able to show that the colony was in such a prosperous condition as to afford a reasonable prospect that those who might come here would be able to improve themselves. It was quite clear that they need not attempt to compete with America. That country, possessing navigable inland rivers of 2,000 or 3,000 miles in length, an excellent soil, and liberal land laws, offered inducements for immigrants which this colony could not offer. No immigration agent could conscientiously tell the people of England that it would be better for them to come to this colony than to go to America, or that, as laboring people, they would prosper here by settling on the land. It was all very well to say to the immigrant that he would obtain a grant of land; but, if he had not capital to work it, the land would ultimately—in an improved condition—fall into the hands of the capitalist. The honorable the Premier, as he understood, promised that the Pastoral Leases Bill would be the first measure introduced this session—

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: He begged to assure the honorable member that he made no such promise.

Mr. DE SATGE: Well, he had been mistaken, but he understood that such a promise had been made. However, he thought that before they sought to induce people to come here they should be able to show that the colony was in a condition of such prosperity that those who came would improve their circumstances. The Land Act of 1868 had not yet been sufficiently tested as to how far it would contribute to the revival of prosperity; and till it was tested concurrently with a Pastoral Leases Bill, he thought it was premature to pass such a Bill as this. The Pastoral Leases Bill was, he thought, a measure that would largely contribute to raise the colony out of its present depressed state. He believed that many of the free selectors who had settled on the land were chiefly supported by the squatters; and if it was not for the wages they earned during the shearing season, they would be in a very critical condition. If honorable members who supported this Bill only saw the number of men who were going about the country in search of employment, and if they were

aware how largely squatters were reducing the number of those they employed, in consequence of fencing in their runs, they would, he thought, hesitate before advancing this Bill another stage. On the Darling Downs the reductions amounted to about two-thirds. Wages were also being greatly reduced on the Downs, which was very much owing to the low rate of carriage since the opening of the railways. In the district he had the honor to represent, wages were still high, but that was wholly owing to the high rate of carriage. If this Bill should be passed, and its provisions carried into effect, it would, he fully believed, be necessary in a short time to provide public works, as was done some years ago, in order to prevent the people from starving. When it could be proved that the people in the colony were doing well, and that there was nothing to induce them to leave for any of the other colonies, as they were doing now, it would be time enough to pass such a measure as the one now before the House.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, that if he might judge from the speeches of the mover and seconder of the amendment, it was quite clear that those honorable members had already made up their minds on the whole question of immigration; and, therefore, so far as they were concerned, the debate would be useless. He would oppose the adjournment, because he could not see that any possible advantage would be gained by it. However, he could see that the object of the amendment was to try and force the Government to take up the Pastoral Leases Bill—putting the Immigration Bill aside in the meantime. Now, he must say that he thought the business was arranged conveniently, and if the arrangement should be carried out in good faith, it would be found to be convenient for honorable members, and he begged to assure honorable members that it was his intention to proceed with it in good faith. He hoped honorable members would not agree to the adjournment of the debate, but would read the Bill a second time, and get it out of the way. It was the intention of the Government to proceed with the second reading of the Bill, to-night, and, if they should not succeed in that, to proceed with it on the following day.

Mr. THOMPSON said he had no such intention, in moving the adjournment of the debate, as that attributed to him by the Attorney-General.

Mr. LAMB said he would support the adjournment of the debate, because he thought that before they entered upon the question of immigration, they should know what was the extension of the public works the Government intended to go on with. It seemed to him that it would be useless to land on these shores large numbers of laborers, till they saw to what extent they could provide employment for them. As he had said before, he would not support the extension of public

works, unless it could be shewn to him that they would be reproductive, and that the railway extensions could be carried out at a greatly reduced cost. The idea of employers paying back to the Government the amount of the passage-money of the immigrants they might employ, was a most absurd one. If this Bill were passed, he believed that a great many of those who would come out under its provisions, would, after leaving the *dépôt*, have to wander about the country in search of employment, or go to the diggings. As the governments of New South Wales and Victoria were entertaining the question of immigration, he thought it would be well for this colony not to take any action in the matter, but trust to the immigrants that might be landed in either of those colonies coming here, as no doubt they would do if the state of the labor market were such as to be attractive to them. The question of immigration was one that the colonies were very jealous about. The other colonies would, no doubt, like to see Queensland going in for an extensive system of immigration; and it would enable them to say that there was no need for them to import immigrants at great expense, when they could get as many as they required from Queensland without being at any expense in the matter. He believed that, if ever there should be a federation of the Australian colonies, this would be one of the first questions that would engage their attention, and that any measure that might be passed on the subject would proceed on the principle that every colony should import a proportionate number,—say, one 30,000, another 20,000, and another 10,000. As to the Bill before the House, he maintained that before they were asked to pass it, they should be informed as to what were the public works the Government proposed to proceed with, and then they would be able to say how many immigrants they would want. While he said that, he wished it to be understood that he would not support the public works, whatever they might be, unless it should be shewn that they could be carried out at a cheap rate.

Dr. O'DONERTY said he hoped the Government would not be diverted from their purpose by the representatives of the pastoral interest. The object of those gentlemen clearly was to induce the Government to legislate for the pastoral interest, and for that interest only. The observations of the honorable member for Clermont were anything but favorable to the pastoral interest, for that honorable member informed the House that the pastoral tenants were doing all that was in their power to impoverish the colony, as regarded population, by the fencing-in of their runs, and discharging two-thirds of their laborers. Now, it was owing, in great part to the Act passed by the late Government that they were enabled to do so—to the Polynesian Act. They could now fence in their runs, do away with their shepherds, and employ a number of Polynesian laborers for the

ordinary work of their stations. They no longer required white laborers, and, consequently they came to the House and did all they could to obstruct a measure for the introduction of Europeans into the colony—one of the most important measures that could be passed at the present time for the revival of prosperity in the colony. He hoped the House would insist on the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. PALMER said he was sorry to find that the honorable member who last sat down, was suffering so much from Polynesian laborers on the brain. His conjectures were very much astray. The fencing-in of the runs on the Downs was not done by Polynesians. The reason why so much land was fenced-in on the Downs was, that the pastoral tenants there found they were able to do so, and that it was cheaper in the long run than shepherding. They had got ten years' leases of their runs, and it was only a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence—as to whether shepherding or fencing was cheapest, and they thought that fencing was cheapest. The Polynesian laborers had nothing to do with it. As to the Pastoral Leases Bill, he thought it should be passed as the first measure, as being of the most importance to the country—certainly much more important than an Immigration Bill or an Additional Members Bill. There was no chance that this conundrum of a Bill—the Additional Members Bill—could pass; and the Ministry knew that it had not the slightest chance of passing. Then the Immigration Bill could stand for a month; and the Pastoral Leases Bill, on which to a very great extent the welfare of the colony depended at the present time, might be proceeded with. While he said that, however, he denied that there was a desire on the part of the pastoral interest to press the Government to legislate for that interest, as a class. He maintained that to legislate, at the present time especially, for the pastoral interest, would be to legislate for the country at large. The question of the pastoral interest was one which was deserving of immediate attention, and immediate legislation. Why such a measure should be postponed, in order that an Immigration Bill, and an Additional Members Bill, might be proceeded with, he could not understand. If the Ministry would not give way, and speedily introduce a Pastoral Leases Bill, they might have to bewail the consequences of their neglect of one of the most important interests in the colony.

Mr. GROOM said he entirely agreed with the honorable member for Port Curtis in saying that the Pastoral Leases Bill was one of great importance to the whole colony; and he would be prepared to support it when it was brought forward. But he maintained that the Pastoral Leases Bill and the Immigration Bill should go together; and he thought that in the way the matter had been submitted by the Government, it was not of much importance which of the two measures

should pass first. If the second reading of the Immigration Bill should be passed to-night, he did not know but he would go with honorable members opposite, and ask that the Pastoral Leases Bill should be taken next, and, having been read a second time, be considered in committee before the Immigration Bill. He, however, differed materially from honorable members opposite, who said there was no necessity for immigration; for he believed that there was a great necessity for immigration. The honorable member for Clermont stated, in the course of his remarks, that the squatters on the Darling Downs were fencing-in their runs. Now, he took it that that was a distinct intimation that the class of immigrants required in the colony were not such as should be shepherds, much less was it a class of paupers they required. But he would like to ask the honorable member for Clermont what was the use of the geological surveys of the colony being continued, if not for the purpose of ascertaining the mineral resources of the colony, with the view of attracting both labor and capital to their shores? He admitted that, on that point, he might be met with the observation that, on that ground, it was not so much an English laboring population they required as a digging population. That might be very true, but the attraction of gold fields was very valuable in every way; and the high position of Victoria was not entirely owing to her gold fields. It was clear to him that a Bill of the kind before the House was most desirable; and for his part, he did not think the state of the colony was so bad as some honorable members affected to regard it, though the continual cry about the colony being in a distressed condition impressed the people with the opinion that it was correct. But he denied that the colony was in the condition which it suited some honorable members to picture it, for instead of their revenue decreasing, it was steadily increasing. He went entirely with the honorable member for Ipswich, Mr. Thompson, in objecting to the restriction in the Bill, upon German immigrants; and he also agreed with the honorable member, that the Germans were the best immigrants that came to the colony. He had no hesitation in saying, that in his own district they were the most valuable portion of the population. When the Bill was in committee, he hoped the clause relating to German immigration would be materially altered. As far as the extension of public works was concerned, he was one of those who did not believe in the stoppage of public works, in the wholesale way they had been stopped, because that had contributed to a large extent to make so many people leave the colony. If they did not resort to immigration, they would have to pay a very high price for labor to carry out public works. He would support the Government in the second reading of the Bill, and then he would be prepared to sup-

port honorable members opposite, in passing the Pastoral Leases Bill.

Mr. MILES said he would not support the adjournment of the debate. He would rather that the second reading should be gone on with; and, if it were gone on with, he would, at the proper time, express his opinion upon the Bill. He desired only at the present time to say that it was very wrong for some honorable members to accuse the representatives of the pastoral interest of opposing the Immigration Bill for personal reasons.

Mr. HALY said he desired to assure the honorable member for South Brisbane that, though he was a squatter, he was in favor of immigration; and he did not believe the country would prosper till they had immigration. But he would like, in the first place, to see a Bill by which they could put the people on the land to cultivate cotton and other products for the benefit of the country. He must see some tangible reasons for bringing people here before he agreed to an Immigration Bill, for he could not be a party to bringing people here to starve. He did not believe in bringing people here, and then having to spend the public money, in useless works, to keep them from starving. Those were his opinions, and he believed he was as useful a colonist as the honorable member for South Brisbane. He was sorry to find some honorable members imputing motives to the representatives of the pastoral interest because of the course they thought proper to adopt in respect to the measure before the House. They might do so in the case of certain individuals, but not to the squatters, as a class. He had always been in favor of farming, although he was a squatter. Squatting was a primitive occupation, and must give place to farming when the lands were required for that purpose. He intended, on the present occasion, to support the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. WALSH said it appeared to him to be the wish of the honorable the Premier that they should not now discuss the Bill on its merits, but should allow it to slip through the second reading, and be dealt with at once in committee. Now, he thought the Bill should be discussed on its merits; and he believed that, if it were discussed on its merits, it would be rejected. He thought the honorable member for Ipswich, Mr. Thompson, made out a good case for the adjournment of the debate. It was never expected, by honorable members, that this was to be the first Bill of the session. Judging by the Governor's opening Speech, it was believed that the Pastoral Leases Bill would be the first that would be brought in. Now, he thought it was the duty of the Government to bring in the Pastoral Leases Bill at once, so that the two measures might be judged together, and that it might be seen how far the one was suited to the other. Those honorable gentlemen who occupied the Treasury benches said, "Give us a good Immi-

gration Bill, and we will give you a good Pastoral Leases Bill; but not till then." Now he maintained that the House should see what the policy of the Government was in the matter of Pastoral Leases, before being asked to assent to an Immigration Bill. If honorable members saw the Pastoral Leases Bill, then they would be able to judge as to the extent to which an Immigration Bill was necessary. As to the Polynesians, there was, seemingly, a general hatred against them by the town populations, and he had no doubt that the honorable member for North Brisbane, Dr. O'Doherty, as a professional gentleman, objected to Polynesians coming here, and wished rather that a reckless system of immigration from Europe was again inaugurated. He had no doubt the towns had suffered from the discontinuance of immigration, and the expenditure of public money on useless or worthless works, to keep the immigrants from starving, because there was no private employment for them. Now, if they allowed the Government to send home an immigration agent, with authority to send people out here, the colony would very soon afterwards be in the same condition it was in about two years ago, when numbers of men and women were walking about the streets and the country roads in a starving state. The people of Brisbane, of course, would not suffer by it. On the contrary, they would make great gain by it, but at the expense of the whole colony, by the Government having to provide public works for the maintenance of those unfortunate people. He thought the arguments in favor of the adjournment of the debate had been very forcible; and, he thought, it would come with a good grace from the honorable the Premier to allow the adjournment to take place. He did not wish to mislead anyone on the Government side of the House in any way. It was well known that he was a squatter; but he, as much as anyone in the colony, desired to see the people generally in a prosperous condition; and it was because such was his desire that he wished to see the Pastoral Leases Bill introduced, in order that he might see if he could consent to the passing of an Immigration Bill.

The SPEAKER called the attention of honorable members to the question before the House, which was, that this debate be now adjourned. It would be as well to dispose of that question, as they would have an opportunity afterwards of speaking on the main question.

Mr. FRANCIS said he intended to support the second reading of the Bill before the House. He did not, however, regret the motion to adjourn the debate, for, as he had heard an honorable member remark, it gave them an opportunity of making more than one speech, if necessary. He must confess that for his part he should find it very difficult to express, all at once, the numerous and varied opinions and feelings which he enter-

tained upon the subject of immigration. He intended to say one or two words at present strictly upon the question before the House. He thought it would be conceded by everyone, especially those who were in favor of this or any other scheme of immigration, that the subject was one which demanded the fullest and most careful attention, as it was one which was of the highest importance, not only to members themselves, but to people outside the House, in fact, to everyone in the colony. The past history of Queensland, in connection with immigration, should, it seemed to him, make the Legislature more than usually careful and deliberate, in coming to a decision, as to whether they should do anything, or what they should do in the matter. Then there were sundry papers well worthy the consideration of the House, not yet in the hands of honorable members—in process of preparation. He might remind the Colonial Secretary that there were some papers, which he himself had asked for, which were not printed, because, as he had been informed, they would be included in some returns, moved for by his honorable colleague, which were not yet before the House. He did not want to see Queensland make any mistake on this all-important question of immigration; and although he thought the evil consequences of past errors had been greatly and constantly exaggerated, it could not be denied that they had received sufficient warning from the past to make them very careful for the future. He had no doubt whatever—and he might say that few men had devoted more time to the study of colonial history than he had—of the desirability of some scheme of immigration. But what was to be done to achieve those results which were considered desirable, and which it was believed might, by good management, be produced, was a question which called for grave and deliberate attention. He could not, therefore, agree with the honorable member at the head of the Government, that no delay should take place in pressing forward this measure. For his part, he was not desirous of creating any delay, other than was absolutely necessary; but, looking back again to past history, he must say there was great cause for regret at the precipitancy which had characterised legislation in this colony. He thoroughly agreed with the railway policy; but the way in which it had been carried out, had involved consequences which it would take years to remove, and had brought, what was a fine and statesmanlike policy, into contempt. He wished the Parliament of the present day to be more deliberate than their predecessors. Then, to come down to more recent times, he must maintain that it would have been well for Queensland if a little more deliberation had been exercised in passing the Land Act of 1868.

Mr. G. THORN rose to a point of order. He wished to know whether the honorable

member was speaking to the question before the House?

The SPEAKER said the honorable member could speak to the main question if he chose to do so; but it was not desirable, as he would have an opportunity of doing so when the question of adjournment was disposed of.

Mr. FRANCIS said he did not think he had broken the spirit of any rule of the House. He thought it extremely desirable that honorable members should have every latitude allowed them of expressing their opinions on a question so important as that of immigration. He would not occupy the time of the House much longer. He wished to offer no factious opposition to the Government, nor did he wish to know more of their policy than they chose to tell him. He had sufficient confidence in the Premier to believe that the measures he had indicated were such as he intended to bring forward, and he was quite right in asking to be allowed to bring them forward in his own way. It was simply because he wanted the question fully and properly discussed that he was glad of the motion for adjournment, and it must not be supposed that, because he supported it, he was hostile to the ministerial measure. If it were passed that night without having been fully and fairly considered, it might not have the effect of inducing that flow of immigration which it was desirable to introduce. He fully concurred with the opinion expressed by some honorable members, that before fresh immigrants were introduced into the colony, those who were in it should be placed in a better position, and that greater inducements should then be offered to new arrivals to settle. It seemed, on the face of it, absurd to devote money and labor to bring out persons from the mother-country, when those who were in it were unable to get employment, and were leaving the colony one after the other. An immigration scheme, he thought, should be of such a nature that it would enable persons in the colony who were not well off to do better for themselves, and give others who came to try their fortunes here an opportunity of settling, and making a competency, without being fleeced. He believed that with the aid of these immigrants, if they were of the right class, the hands of the Legislature would be so strengthened that they would be able to effect those useful changes in the law, which would bring prosperity to all. He hoped, therefore, the Government would persevere in their measure. The only ground of objection he had at present to it was, that he did not as yet know to what it might commit him. If it was to be taken as a whole—as a scheme of self-supporting immigration—he was heartily with it. If, on the other hand, it was a mere machinery for raising money, as had been observed, he should be sorry to give it any measure of support. If the colony were, by means of this Bill, to launch into a fresh system of loan expenditure, and under the head of an immigration loan, they were to

vote funds to be expended upon other and less useful works, he would be no party to the scheme. He would, however, give the Ministry credit for intending nothing of the kind: he believed they had a sounder policy. But he took the opportunity of protecting himself against being called upon hereafter to vote money under this head for other purposes. He was, therefore, glad of the motion for adjournment, for nothing would be gained by hasty legislation.

Mr. FORBES said he rose to speak on the question of adjournment, and should not go as fully or deeply into the subject of immigration as he should at a later period in the debate. He should have been glad if the motion to adjourn the debate had been withdrawn, as it was an impediment which prevented the full consideration of the main question. That was a matter in which everyone had a stake, and must feel a deep interest. It needed a full, fair, and liberal discussion, and must not be looked upon from any narrow-minded point of view. He would go further than some honorable members, and say that it was the duty of the mother-country to aid in populating her colonies. He considered that, every man who came out and settled in this country gave employment to five men at home. That was a reason why the mother-country should be compelled to render some assistance. It had now become a great question among statesmen at home—what was to be done with their surplus population. Of course there were men with contracted minds—men without souls—even in the United Kingdom, who were always ready to raise obstacles in the way of emigration from the old country, but they could bring forward no valid arguments against it. In looking over the Bill before the House, he could only come to one conclusion—that it was a very simple measure—a narrow-minded visionary scheme, containing nothing whatever worthy of support—nothing worthy of the commendation of that House, or of the country. He had no right to question the earnestness of the Ministry in bringing it forward; but it was a contemptible production, so unworthy of them, and unworthy of one of the greatest of Her Majesty's colonies, that he certainly thought they should take it back for re-consideration and re-construction, so that it might embrace some good qualities, which it did not now possess. For his part, he did not look upon the question of immigration as one which should be dealt with by any one colony. He thought the course that should be adopted should be to place it in such a position that it would be a benefit to all the colonies as well as to the mother-country, by means of some scheme of federation, or a convention of members from each separate colony. The system hitherto adopted had produced no real advantage. When he referred to the system of transferable land orders, he found it had been the means of introducing population at a great

expense to the colony, and that heavy interest had to be paid upon loans for this purpose, while other colonies derived all the benefit of the scheme. He found that, at the present time, the departures from this colony exceeded the arrivals; that everyone, in fact, was leaving the colony; when he found that this was the sole result of the investment of hundreds of thousands of pounds, he could only look with disgust upon the measure brought forward by the Government. He would ask honorable members to read it carefully, and tell him if there was anything worthy of statesmen in it. He would ask them if it was not one of the most unstatesmanlike productions which had ever been brought before that House. The honorable Premier himself, he was sure must admit it. He did not see how the Colonial Treasurer could have found words with which to introduce it, or that honorable members who had addressed the House could have spoken of it so placidly and with such equanimity. Yet, this was a measure held up as a pattern of legislation—a grand idea, a great effort—one which was to be of the most essential benefit to the colony. The measure before the House was an insult to the feelings of honorable members; he hardly knew how to describe it. He hoped there would be found to be something more in the Premier's brains, than was contained in this Bill. He hoped he would exert himself to bring forward some measure which would make his Government more popular, and would show him to be a statesman. He had now only spoken to the question of adjournment, and he should take another opportunity of addressing himself to the main question.

MR. THOMPSON, by leave of the House, withdrew the motion for adjournment.

MR. JORDAN said he believed the whole population of this colony were convinced that it was necessary to establish a system of immigration from the mother-country, and it seemed to him idle to object to the measure introduced by the Government, on the ground that no relief had yet been given to the pastoral tenants of the Crown. The Immigration Bill could in no way interfere with the Pastoral Leases Bill, which would be brought in in a day or two. The Government had a right to exercise their discretion in first bringing forward the Immigration Bill, and as it was now before the House, he thought honorable members should address themselves to the discussion of it. The Colonial Treasurer had told the House that there was an Immigration Bill already in force, and that this measure was to amend that Act. He thought the Government had been very successful in their amendments. The Act of 1864 must either be amended, or else done away with altogether; in which case he believed there would be such a storm of indignation throughout the colony as would compel them to re-consider the question. The attention of honorable members had lately been directed

to the great and varied resources of the colony; and there could be no doubt that in this respect Queensland stood pre-eminent. Taking into account the vast area of territory she embraced, which was nearly twelve times the size of England and Wales, her great length of seaboard, indented with many harbors, the number of her navigable rivers—a peculiarity of the eastern coast of Australia—the amount of land suitable, not only for pastoral, but for agricultural purposes, and especially the recent discoveries of mineral wealth, there could be no doubt that it would be the fault of the colonists themselves if she did not, at no distant date, become one of the wealthiest and most prosperous of the British colonies. It was sad to see the time and talent of the Legislature so laboriously taken up with the discussion of petty questions of clerks' salaries, and other matters of minor importance, when there were literally mines of wealth at their very door, and when they might have, for the asking, millions of British capital, and any quantity of British laborers, who were yearly drifting away, and taking away with them their energy and enterprise and capital to constitute the greatness of a foreign country. There was no necessity for this. Queensland was once attracting to it all we wanted, and it might be made to do so again. All that was necessary for this was a good Immigration Bill placed in the hands of an able and energetic officer at home, who would not only fulfil his duties as Agent-General for Emigration, but would throw his whole heart and soul into his work, and be determined to make his mission a success. He thought it was proper to say, at this stage of his address, that he himself would not, upon any terms, or for any consideration, again accept the appointment of Agent-General. He had now taken up his permanent abode in the colony. At the same time, he should be very glad, if, while residing in Queensland, he should be able in any way to help this matter forward, and to assist the gentleman who might be appointed his successor at home. He wished, therefore, to disabuse the minds of honorable members of the idea that he was advocating this appointment from any selfish or personal motives whatever. If £5000 a-year were offered to him he would not undertake the duties of the office. He did not, however, wish it to be understood that, although nothing would induce him again to accept it, he considered the office beneath any gentleman's acceptance, or that the duties were not of a highly honorable as well as responsible character. He had always felt highly honored in fulfilling them. He thought the Bill before the House had been on the whole, well and wisely framed, and were it only well and fairly administered, he believed it would be the means of restoring European immigration at the lowest possible cost, and in such a way as to avoid the errors

which had crept into other and less complete immigration schemes. He did not desire to be understood that he considered the measure a perfect one, for it contained, in his opinion, several defects which he should endeavor to point out. Clause six proposed to confine the benefit of the land grants to persons who came out direct from Europe. He did not think it was desirable to offer a grant of forty acres to every person, every member of a family counted as an adult, who came to Queensland from other parts of Australia, for, he thought the eighty acres of agricultural, or 160 acres of pastoral, land, of which they could take advantage, under the Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1868, was quite sufficient inducements to new arrivals from the other colonies. It was wise to give a grant of land to persons who came direct from Europe, in order to encourage the influx of a desirable population from the other side of the Globe, and because it cost those persons much more to emigrate to Queensland than it did to go to America; but he thought it would be unneighborly, as well as unjust, to adopt a principle in our legislation upon immigration which would have the effect of drawing away the population from the neighboring colonies. Other honorable members might, of course, take a different view of the question. But, apart from that, he thought it would be inconvenient, and lead to confusion, to allow persons arriving here by every Sydney steamer to claim land under the Immigration Act. There were other and important circumstances to be taken into consideration. It must be borne in mind that it was in consequence of the requirement that all persons should come direct from Europe, and not by way of Sydney or Melbourne, that a trade had been created between this and Great Britain, and it was a question of vital importance to the commercial and general interests and prosperity of the colony, that a direct trade with England should be fostered as much as possible. He had been very glad to see, a day or two ago, in looking over some returns of the exports from Queensland, that whilst in 1867 one-third only of the cotton grown in this colony went direct to Great Britain, two-thirds of it were shipped *via* Sydney; but that in 1868, out of £59,000 worth of this article of export, £50,000 worth was shipped from Queensland direct to Great Britain, only £9,000 worth being sent through Sydney. He certainly was of opinion that persons who claimed the land grants should come direct from Europe. But he would not confine these grants to persons coming from Europe, for he thought that a little infusion of American energy and enterprise would be of great advantage. Every encouragement was being offered here to the growth of sugar, and he believed it would be wise to encourage the immigration of persons of British parentage from the Mauritius, the West Indies, and other colonies, who were experienced in the production

of that industry. Letters had been received from Barbadoes, and other sugar-growing countries, asking that the benefits of the immigration system might be extended to them. He proposed to introduce a clause to the effect that free grants of land should be given to all persons arriving in this colony from the United States, Canada, from the places he had mentioned, and from other parts of the world, not including the Australian colonies. There was another feature in the Bill, which he thought was a defect, and should like to see remedied. He thought honorable members had fallen into an error in calling this Bill, a machinery—an ingenious device—for spending money, for he believed they would discover no such principle in any part of it. In fact, it was a most economical measure. There was very little money to spend, and it was necessary that the funds they had to devote to purposes of immigration should be expended as economically as possible. The persons who would be attracted by this scheme would come out here, paying their own passages, in return for which they would be put in possession of the waste lands of the colony. There was very little said about assisted or free immigration. There was but a small balance in the state coffers, which would only be sufficient to carry on for a short time; but, by-and-bye, when money came in from those who were able to return part of their passage-money, the fund for this purpose might be increased. He thought it was very necessary to obtain the best class of immigrants it was possible to procure, and that they should be selected by an experienced officer, under the forms embodied in schedule 1 of the Bill. Immigrants who came out under the remittance system were not the best sort of immigrants that could be obtained. They were of all ages and descriptions, and many of them had little to recommend them, except that they had friends in the colony. No doubt that was a great advantage, because they went to their friends on their arrival; but it very often happened that persons were sent for by their friends or relatives who were unable to get a good living in England, and, as a rule, those who could not get a living at home were not likely to do credit to the colony. It was the energetic, sober, and industrious man, who got on well at home—and he maintained that men of that class could always get a good living in the old country—who made the best colonists. Such men were sure to succeed here. Many of the assisted immigrants who came out under the remittance system were also persons over middle age. It was true that there was room for them all in Queensland, and if the Government had plenty of money to spend, it would be different. But there was very little money to spare, and it was necessary to spend that little economically, in procuring the best possible description of immigrants. He was aware that the 13th clause of the Bill before the House provided that the character and qualifi-

cations of these persons should be tested by the Agent-General for Immigration at home, according to the forms given in the schedule to the Bill; but from his knowledge of these forms, he knew that they would exclude a great number of persons of this class, who would not come up to the standard there laid down; and that would give great offence to those who sent for them, and whose friends had paid money for them on this side. Indeed, it would be a violation of the Passenger Act, which imposed heavy penalties for refusing passages to persons from whom, or on whose behalf, money had been received for that purpose; and it mattered not whether the money had been paid here or at home. Therefore, under the remittance system, persons of all ages must be taken, no matter how unfit they were. He proposed, therefore, to suggest that the "thirteenth clause be omitted altogether. He believed that the Bill ought to have provided, distinctly, for the resumption and continuance of the lecturing—a mode of bringing the claims of the colony into notice which seemed to be so despised by some honorable members. He would only say a few words on this subject. When he went to England, in 1861, he first called upon the Imperial Emigration Commissioners, and made them the first offer of conveying the free passengers to Queensland, if they would accept it on the terms he had to offer, viz.:—An £18 land order to be given to them for each passage. Had they seen the possibility of inducing any shipowner in Great Britain to accept those Queensland papers called land orders, they would have been only too glad to undertake the task. They had always looked upon the immigration not under their immediate and entire control, with great disapproval. However, they had absolutely declined to have anything to do with the business on the terms offered; and, in fact, no one would accept the Queensland £18 land order—they ridiculed the idea of taking it in payment. At his first interview with the Imperial Commissioners, Mr. Walcott, who was very polite and kind, said he did not wish to discourage him, but he thought one part of his mission was not likely to succeed, as it had often failed before, and that was, the lecturing; and he produced a letter from one of their officers in a principal port, to whose opinion he seemed to attach great importance, expressing the same opinion—that lecturing would never be successful. In almost every place to which he had gone to make preliminary arrangements, with a view to deliver lectures, he was told that it would be impossible to obtain an audience, and yet, in almost every case, he engaged the largest hall in the place, and had the satisfaction of seeing it crowded. He knew he must make the lecturing a success, or must fail altogether in the undertaking. The speaking was nothing to the labor of getting up the meetings. In the largest towns he had usually called upon as many as from fifty to a

hundred of the leading gentlemen, to converse with them on the subject of immigration to our Australian colonies, and to invite their presence, and in this way had succeeded in getting most of the influential residents in the place to give him their support at the lectures. These meetings were almost invariably presided over, the first lecture by the principal magistrate; the second by some church dignity, or by the principal resident in the neighborhood. It had been stated that he had not, by his system, reached the country districts. That was entirely a mistake. In every case placards and handbills had been circulated, under his directions, throughout the villages and country places around the great centres of population, and people had flocked from the country by railway and other modes of conveyance, in crowds, to hear his lectures. In this way Queensland had become known as a great field for immigration in almost every country district in England. Had he adopted the plan suggested by persons who thought themselves very original, and lectured in the villages, little more would have been known of Queensland than if she had been one of the least important dependencies of the British Crown. His mission would have been altogether barren of results, and he should never have sent one ship to Queensland. The presence, at his lectures, of the editors and proprietors of papers in different parts of Great Britain, which he generally succeeded in obtaining, had helped in getting reports of his lectures, and also leading articles upon them, into almost all the leading journals in Great Britain. No subject had been more ventilated through the press than that of immigration to Queensland. For instance, in Bristol, he had a leading article devoted to it in no less than five journals. It was by these means that he had sent out 36,000 persons to this colony—to a place of which hardly the very name was known before. It had been said that he had painted the colony in too glowing colors, or he would never have been able to induce so many persons to come out; but he did not think many persons would believe that he had overdrawn the picture; he had too much common sense not to know that he would not be likely to effect his object by doing so. Of course, he had enlarged upon the advantages which Queensland offered to the industrious immigrant; but, at the same time, he had always most fully pointed out the difficulties attendant upon pioneer farming in a new country. He had tried to describe the labor of clearing the scrub, and had shewn that the mere cutting down large trees was not half the work to be done,—they had to be grubbed up by the roots. His object had been almost as much to deter those who were unfit as to attract those likely to succeed. He had told them that those who were likely to succeed were a few mechanics of certain descriptions, respectable female servants, and men who were able to battle with the trials and difficulties of

pioneer farming—that those persons were sure to prosper. He had directed to this colony the attention of thousands who would have gone elsewhere, by making it constantly known that his great object was only to induce those to emigrate to Queensland who were suited to the place; and he had deterred many from coming to the colony, by showing them they were unlikely to succeed. Persons often came to his office, intending to emigrate to Queensland, who, after asking a multitude of questions—giving him a list of their children, and all the rest, would, at last, ask if he would recommend them to go; and in many of these cases he had advised them to remain at home, as, by that time, he had been able to form a pretty good opinion of their character and qualifications, and the probability of their not succeeding in the colony. He should not have said anything about his labors, but that he felt the assurance that it was the lecturing which created the emigration to Queensland. It was by that means alone, he had found, that he could maintain a constant flow of emigration to this colony; and, unless the gentleman who now accepted the office of Agent-General was prepared to take his (Mr. Jordan's) course, he might as well stay where he was. He was quite sure that, neither by the Bill, nor by anything else that the House could do, would they effectually attract immigration, unless the gentleman who should go to England was prepared to lecture. He must do it himself—not by deputy, or anybody he might employ. The British public must not be told by any person of what he had heard, or read about; they must have a man to speak to them who came from the colony, who had seen the place with his own eyes, and who could tell them what he knew of the real state of things in Queensland, and who came before them as the representative of the colony. And, unless the House were prepared to take that view of the appointment, they might as well tear up the Bill and trample it in the dust;—unless they sent a man home who could go throughout the length and breadth of the land, and lecture. He (Mr. Jordan) had not gone home as a mere hireling to work in the cause of emigration; he went because his heart was in the cause, because he believed he could do some good; and because he did not regard the system of immigration in Australia as one that could not be improved. He had been in all the Australian colonies before he had come to this colony; and, before that, he had been in the United States, in Canada, and the West Indies;—his father was a proprietor of land, and he (Mr. Jordan) knew something of farming; so that he was not the ignoramus that some gentlemen had said that he was, on the subject of agricultural settlement. He believed the work of colonization to be a great work; it was one that he felt great interest in; and he had believed he could do that work, or he would not have gone home. He

went home, not serving his own interests;—he had, to a great extent, neglected his own interests while working for the public. He was not ashamed, on coming back, to stand in the Legislative hall and say what he had done;—nor was he afraid to answer any charge that might be brought against him? And, he thought, there was not one gentleman present, among those who had abused him in his absence, who would not be ready to shake hands with him, and say they had been mistaken. There was one part of the Bill he (Mr. Jordan) wished particularly to make allusion to, and that was the seventeenth clause, which provided for the establishment of depôts in the various districts of the colony. That was in accordance with recommendations that had very frequently been made, especially by the honorable member for Leichhardt, Mr. Sandeman. The provisions were simple and practical. To bring people to the colony and then turn them adrift in the streets, had been too much the system hitherto; and it was a cruel mistake. The streets of Brisbane had been sometimes crowded with the unemployed, while the employers of labor on the outside stations were almost ruined for the want of hands. He was not an advocate for the agricultural interest alone, or for agriculture against the pastoral interest. He thought the Legislature had done enough injury by making those interests antagonistic. He would establish those depôts at such places—though many honorable members knew more about the districts where they ought to be placed than himself, through his absence from the colony—as Warwick, Toowoomba, Drayton, Dalby, Roma, and such of the places in the north and distant interior as were suitable. He would send the immigrants on from the railway termini—the men on foot, and the women and children, with the luggage, in drays, by easy stages. Many would be employed by the way, and many who arrived at the depôts would be already bespoken. He thought the system proposed would cost very much less than the keep of the immigrants at the depôt in Brisbane. The country depôts might be rough places, put up at very little cost, and maintained cheaply. Their establishment would effect a very great saving to the country in working out the new system under the Bill. The sub-agents in the country depôts should be paid in much the same way as the selecting agents at home had been paid—namely, at the rate of four shillings a head for adults; that would probably be a sufficient remuneration. He liked the Bill as a whole, because he thought it thoroughly embodied and carried out the principle of giving land for money expended in the introduction of immigrants. He thought a good deal of statesmanship was exhibited in the Bill, and that it was framed by somebody who had thought much about immigration, and far more than many honorable members had. He did not frame the Bill. He

liked it, because it thoroughly carried out the land-order system of immigration, which was based on the principle of giving the waste lands of the colony for the money expended on immigration. In his opinion, it would be good to do away with the trading in land orders, which went so far to prevent the success of the system. Transferable land orders were a mistake. Non-transferable land orders were so manipulated as too much to attract a class of people to the colony that were not wanted. The system of land orders, he thought, had, to a certain extent, failed in attracting people who wanted to settle on the land, and do the colony good. The evils which had hitherto been encountered would be effectually avoided by the eighth clause of the Bill. The term "land order" was retained; but the document would be no longer negotiable. Persons who would settle on the land and fulfil the homestead conditions of the Act of 1868—reside on the land, and improve it, for five years—would then obtain full possession. This would effectually put a stop to traffic in land orders, and rid the system of what had hitherto hindered agricultural settlement. Objection had been made, and he thought very reasonably, to any system of immigration which would, as it were, force the people on to the land; and it was thought by some that the provisions of the eleventh clause would have that effect, because, every free and assisted passenger might claim a grant of forty acres of land, after he had complied with the condition of returning the money which had been expended by the Government. This, however, he thought was a misapprehension. Supposing, a free or assisted immigrant arrived in the colony—after twelve months or two years, he did not care to go on the land; he did not feel that he possessed those qualities which would render his enterprise as a farmer successful, or he preferred working for wages, or living in town. This clause exactly suits itself to his inclinations; he escapes the necessity of returning his passage-money to the Government, preferring to retain the £10 or £18, whichever it might be, to go on the land;—in that case, the employer paid the money and he took up the land, which, in that way, would only cost him nine shillings an acre. That was a fair bargain for all parties concerned. It effectually carried out the principle of giving the land for money expended on immigration, and it created facilities for employers to indent their servants from home under two years' agreements on conditions,—because the prospect of getting the land, which would dispose them to stay their time with their employer. If, after the term of service, the immigrants did not care to settle on the land, the employer was then required to pay the passage-money, and for every £18 could obtain forty acres, which would then cost nine shillings an acre, without conditions. He did not see the dangers in

that which were pointed out by the honorable member for Port Curtis; and he did not think it would "lead to dummying" as he had said "on a grand scale." He thought, rather, that the honorable member had not read the Bill carefully. There was no fear of an employer getting out fifty laborers, and, making the place too hot to hold them, by his unkindness, for the sake of getting their land, as that honorable member had supposed. The immigrants themselves must refuse, at the end of two years, to return their passage-money to the Government, and, if they did not so refuse, the employer could not get the land orders. Such cases he (Mr. Jordan) believed would be rare, in which the employer could obtain the land grant. Objections had been offered by some honorable members to that arrangement in the Bill by which the number of immigrants were limited in proportion to the population of the three divisions of the United Kingdom, and which limited the German immigration to two thousand persons in any one year. He thought it had been overlooked that these conditions referred to the free and assisted immigration only. If the immigrants paid their passages, they could come from Europe in any number; or, if his suggestion was taken, from any part of the world, so long as they were of British parentage. Then, in reference to full-paying passengers, those only were encouraged to come who were likely to be successful settlers in a new country. All were agreed that trade in the Australian towns was, in almost all cases, overdone. Merchants, storekeepers, shopmen, and clerks, young men looking for Government situations, and gentlemen having no profession at all, were not likely to succeed, and they existed in excess of the demand for their services. Beyond those who were eligible as free and assisted passengers, under the regulations of schedule 1, there were two classes alone, he apprehended, that were likely to benefit themselves or the colony by coming to Queensland;—he meant the large capitalists who could engage in pastoral pursuits or sugar-growing, and the *bonâ fide* working-man farmer, who could do his own work. The Bill proposed to give land to persons who would go on the land and work it, and to none others; but to these it proposed to give forty acres instead of thirty, as under the Act of 1864—he would propose that it be fifty acres. This increased measure of liberality would greatly assist in renewing confidence in the colony, and the restoration of the kind of immigration wanted; harm, great harm, having been done by constant changes and obstructive regulations in past time. Of that part of the Bill he very fully approved; convinced as he was that the establishment of a great agricultural interest in Queensland was not only possible, but that it was, of all other things, that to which we must look as the great source of prosperity and wealth in this colony for the future.

What had been already done was conclusive in favor of agriculture, in spite of all the hindrances which had hitherto existed. The difficulty, heretofore, was in getting good land for settlement by immigrants, because the selection of the agricultural reserves was not on the best land that could be obtained. That was remedied now; but the greater number of persons desiring to go on the land formerly had that and other discouragements to overcome. Immigrants had been met on the wharf, and addressed something in this way—"What! going on the land?—Going to farm? Madness. You have been listening to that fool, Jordan: he is a scoundrel!" In spite of all obstacles, farming had been sufficiently remunerative to satisfy almost everyone that agriculture would succeed. He was delighted to hear an honorable member (Mr. Haly) who had been so long a representative of the pastoral interest, raise his voice in the midst of his party, and state his conviction that agriculture was the hope of the colony, and that it would establish itself as a leading interest of the colony. He (Mr. Jordan) did not suppose the farmers would get rich; he never had said that they would have much money in the bank. He had always said that the land must be their bank; that for every tree taken up by the root, for every acre cleared and cultivated, there was so much added to their wealth. Farming might be made profitable in Queensland in the same sense as in the United States of America. Those accustomed to outdoor labor, and able to do most of their own work, such persons being sober, industrious, and persevering, could get enough out of the land to provide themselves and their children with bread, and plenty of it; and a surplus to sell, sufficient to realise enough decently to clothe themselves and their families, and generally to provide them with many of the comforts of life. If so,—if a farming population can thus live on the land, then the settlement of a large population on the soil, in a new country, and on land which otherwise would produce nothing, must be an advantage, and a source of wealth. Admitting this, then, if the country was only large enough, the greater the number thus settled on the land the better for the country. In this case, too, there was a certain market for the produce. The market for cotton was practically inexhaustible. He was more than ever fully convinced of the success of agriculture since he had himself gone to reside in one of the agricultural districts of the colony. He had found himself among the men who had heard him lecturing in Great Britain, and who were able to judge whether or not he had made any misrepresentations to them. He had taken some trouble to ascertain, and he understood there were some twenty thousand persons in the colony engaged in agriculture, including farmers, farmers' laborers, and their wives and families. If twenty thousand persons could

thus make an honest livelihood in Queensland, then two hundred thousand could live. When gentlemen who were opposed to immigration attempted to throw contempt on agriculture, they always talked of growing maize and pumpkins, and said nothing of cotton. Yet, the United States, before the war, sent 800,000,000 pounds of cotton into Great Britain every year, and always got their money for what they sent. If this country could send 800,000,000 of pounds, he believed it would be consumed in Great Britain. He thought it must be admitted, that if twenty thousand persons could raise enough to pay for their food and clothing, thus benefiting and largely supporting the trading community, then two hundred thousand persons engaged in agriculture would benefit the colony ten times as much. He found that the exports from Great Britain to the Australian colonies averaged nearly £16 per head for every man, woman, and child, of the population. Thus, twenty thousand people, who got their living out of the ground they cultivated, would have to spend for articles they would have to buy, £320,000; and thus, in fact, they would support four or five thousand people engaged in trade. So that we might fairly say that one-fourth of the population of this colony was now supported directly or indirectly, by agriculture. The returns in the "Statistical Register" of Queensland, showing the increased breadth of land under cultivation each year, and the average yield, per acre, of the cereals and other products, was satisfactory. He was very glad to see, by the report of the Inspector of Distilleries, that the quantity of sugar made was likely to be increased from 619 tons, last year, to 2000 tons this year. He saw, too, by late statistical returns, that the exports of cotton which, in 1867, were put down at a valuation of £26,631, had increased, in 1868, to £68,929. 5,000 bales of cotton, exported last year, was a great fact which could not be ignored; and it appeared, from the prices given in the account sales received from Great Britain, that it must have sold for £75,000, at home. It was remarked the other day that he never brought out that "one man and a boy" to cultivate ten acres of cotton. He had quoted the well-known work of Mr. Mann, on cotton cultivation, and the statement made by Mr. Bazley, when he had presided at his first lecture in London, that in the United States of America, one man cultivated eight acres on an average. That man was a negro, and a slave. Now, he (Mr. Jordan) had, therefore, inferred that a free man, a white man, a Briton, having one or two sons to help him, might cultivate ten acres in Queensland. All that he might have said about the profitableness of cotton cultivation by the class of small farmers, who had their wives and children to assist them, had been realised; and his honorable friends on the right—the

representatives of West Moreton—would support what he said, and, of course, would support the Bill; and this because they now knew that which they would not have known if somebody had not gone to the other side of the world to assist in its demonstration—that cotton-growing by a class of small proprietary farmers could be made successful. The colony might have got a better man to go; but there was the result. The evidence of the correctness of what he had said and done at home, was seen in large fields of cotton around Ipswich, and in other places, and the presence of the women and children picking cotton in the fields—a sight that was enough to gladden the heart of any man, if he had a heart at all in him. The cultivation of cotton among the right class was a great success; and it might be increased indefinitely. The Registrar-General, in his report of 1864, stated that the customs duties had curiously kept pace with the population, £2 5s. 10½d., being thus paid by every man, woman, and child in the colony, annually. He (Mr. Jordan) saw, now, that the amount was £3 7s. 8d. per head. The Registrar-General, at that time, made the remark, that by their contributions to the customs revenue, “an immigrant family soon repays its passage-money.” Thus, even under the old system, free and assisted immigrants very soon repaid their own cost to the colony. Full-paying passengers brought a good deal of money into the colony; and then, there was the value of their labor. We had it on the highest authority that one million of people immigrated to the United States of America during the last five years, and brought over with them into the country eighty millions of dollars, or an average of eighty dollars each. That was on the authority of Mr. Wells, the Special Commissioner for Revenue, in his last report. These reports, laid before Congress every year, were looked forward to with the greatest interest. He said that, putting the value of the labor of that million of immigrants, each at half the value of an able-bodied negro in the Southern States, before the war, namely, one thousand dollars, there was an addition to the wealth of the country, in five years, by immigration alone, of £100,000,000. But to estimate the value of immigration by what we had ourselves experienced in Queensland, during the three years ending December, 1864, it was a fact that there arrived in this colony in forty-one ships under his direction, seventeen thousand persons; and the deposits in the Brisbane banks alone, by new arrivals, were estimated at £20,000 a month. The deposits in the Rockhampton and Maryborough Banks, together with notes and gold not deposited in any bank at all, made up the amount brought out by immigrants during those three years to probably £30,000 a month: so that upwards of £1,000,000 sterling was brought into Queensland by immigrants under the land-order system during the period named. Then,

look at the value of the labor of those 17,000 immigrants, besides the money they brought! And why should the labor of our own countrymen in Queensland be estimated at less value than was put upon it in the United States? Valuing it at the same rate, the labor of those 17,000 immigrants would be one million and three-quarters sterling; and that, added to the £1,000,000 of money they brought with them, made a total of £2,750,000 added to the wealth of the colony by immigration alone, during the three years ending December, 1864. Some honorable members were opposed to immigration simply because they always had been opposed to it—because they had been led to believe that this country must be a great pastoral country, in which they could not profitably give attention to anything but the production of wool;—and they adhered to the old doctrine that a cabbage would not grow. But what was this colony to do? If it were to increase in wealth, and if its great natural resources were to be developed, it must be chiefly by agriculture. He admitted that, before Separation, the sales of wool supported it; the production of this was its only established interest. But what had made the colony what it had now become? What had built the towns, made the streets, formed the commerce of the colony, established so many banks, built these villas surrounding Brisbane, laid out the gardens around the city, established homesteads, and spread so many evidences of civilization and refinement in the colony, during the last seven or eight years? Nothing but immigration. And to what was the colony to look for its future prosperity, but to the establishment and extension of the agricultural interest? In a country twenty times as large as England and Wales—with their eighteen millions of people—there was room for some of that superabundance of population. He (Mr. Jordan) liked free discussion, and hoped that the question before the House would be fully ventilated. No immigration of the right class would ruin the squatters. If there was not a large population in the colony, to whom could the squatters sell their beef and mutton? If there was no room for a large population, or if the colony would not grow cotton,—that was a reason for not passing the Bill. But if there were room for the people who were streaming away from Great Britain to the United States—for the industrious farmer class, who encountered difficulties among the winter snows of Canada—a difficulty to which there was no parallel in Queensland;—where was the reason for objecting to immigration? However, honorable members could not all think alike; and he did not want them all to think exactly as he did. Let them have fair and full discussion—the Ministry did not wish to press the Bill hastily through the House;—let them talk about it to-night, to-morrow night, every night through the week;

and they would, perhaps, come to an understanding with one another. Of the Ministry of the day he was a hearty supporter; not because he sat on their side of the House, but because he thought as they thought on most of the great questions of the day. He rejoiced to see a Ministry who were liberal—who were disposed to give a full trial to those liberal principles of the constitution conferred on the Australian colonies by Her Most Gracious Majesty, which recognised equal rights, and the competency of the people to tax and govern themselves—a constitution based on the supposition that the masses of the people were civilized, intelligent, and capable of exercising the full rights of citizenship. He rejoiced to see such a Government as the colony now had—a thoroughly liberal Government—bringing forward a measure which proposed to settle a large farming population on the land;—to settle them gradually—and wisely, on those portions of the waste lands suitable for the purpose; to bring them out in proportion, as far as free and assisted immigrants were concerned, to the requirements of the colony. He believed the passing of this Bill would attract the class we wanted, persons who were conscious of possessing the qualities that could alone fit them for pioneer farmers in a new country, and whose presence here in large numbers was what the colony wanted to make it prosperous and wealthy. Looking at the several great producing interests of the colony—neither of which he wished to ignore—he believed in the pastoral interest, he believed in the mining interest, and he believed in the agricultural interest; he thought each should be encouraged. A mistake had been made in setting one interest against another, and this foolish antagonism between the squatters and the agriculturists should be got rid of. He was firmly convinced that if the Bill became law, that interest would be benefited. There should be no class-antagonism here. It had occurred to him that the people in this colony—not one class only, but all classes—merchants, squatters, farmers, mechanics, laborers, had until lately been able to get on almost too easily in Queensland. Farmers had bought too much land, and were too much disposed to set up for gentlemen; squatters had borrowed too much money, and been too much in haste to be rich; laborers had been too independent, and too indisposed to adjust their demands to the circumstances of the colony. It was melancholy to think of the present poverty and depression of the colony; but he hoped the only effect of it would be to teach the colonists caution, self-reliance, and the necessity for persevering industry. They might at least grow their own food; and that would be the creation of wealth in the colony, to the extent annually of nearly three-quarters of a million sterling. Last year, £639,000 was spent for food, not includ-

ing wines and spirits, the greater part of which could be raised in the colony. Such a measure as that before the House would be effectual in bringing about a state of things very different to that now existing. He might state that the report of the Imperial Emigration Commissioners, showed that during the ten years from 1850 to 1860, an average of 229,000 persons left the shores of Great Britain every year, and they took with them millions of money. Most of these went to America. The dominions of the British Queen were so extensive that the sun never set on her empire; but he believed that there was not one of the colonies, or any part of the world, to which the enterprise and energy of the British race carried his fellow-countrymen, better fitted for the surplus population of Great Britain than the colony of Queensland. Here was room for all, and people only were wanted—of the right class, and carefully and properly introduced—and the work of making this country prosperous and great was accomplished. He very heartily supported the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. MILES said that one honorable member had formerly been accused of having cotton on the brain; another was accused of suffering from Polynesian laborers on the brain; but there could be no doubt about it that the honorable member who just sat down had immigration on the brain. He would not undertake to follow the honorable member in all the details entered into; he could not do it. The honorable member took great credit to himself for introducing some thirty-six thousand immigrants to the colony; at all events, that was a matter he (Mr. Miles) could follow him upon; it was the very thing he complained of; that the honorable member had introduced too many people—more than the colony could keep—and Queensland had actually to pay the cost of immigration for the benefit of the other colonies. He saw, very well, that the Bill would become law, and that the very same inducements which had been offered in the past to persons emigrating from Great Britain, would be offered again, and the occurrences of the past be repeated. The honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, had been accused of painting the colony in false colors—or, rather, in rainbow colours—when at home, and stating that this was a “land flowing with milk and honey.” He remembered the time, but he did not believe, then, that the honorable member stated what he did not regard as truth: the only thing he accused him of was that he was cracked. But, after his speech, just now, he did believe that the honorable member did, unknowingly, deceive the people in regard to the cultivation of cotton. There could be no doubt that the honorable member had been too sanguine altogether. He could talk so well that, no doubt, he led himself astray. He could deceive anybody, and he deceived himself. If he would come forward, and endeavor to

impress upon the Government the necessity of making provision for the immigrants upon arrival in the colony, so that they could be kept, no one would go more heartily with the honorable member than himself (Mr. Miles). In making such a statement, it was a question whether he would be believed, for he was generally supposed, as a squatter, to be opposed to the introduction of population, because his class wished to hold the land of the colony for pastoral purposes. However, he denied that such was his desire. He should not be doing his duty if he assisted to pass the Bill without endeavoring to ensure that, when the immigrants arrived, they should have full employment, or, if they possessed capital, that they should have facilities for obtaining land. One objection he had to the Bill was the provision to send home an Agent-General—not an emigration agent. The honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, always wanted a high title. No doubt, he would go home—

Mr. JORDAN: He had already stated that he would not go home again.

Mr. MILES: He was not going to speak of the honorable member. He was speaking of the gentleman who might go home. He would go and preach that the Act enabled people to go and take up land before survey; that they could take up land under the homestead clauses whenever they chose. He was prepared to say that any statement made such as that, would be deceiving the public, because the land could not be got. He knew certain individuals who made selections before August last, and to this day they had not got the land. He should like to know what class the Government proposed to introduce by the Bill; because, if it was the working class, all he could say was that it was utterly impossible to provide employment for such people, as things were at present. There were numbers of men going about the western district, who could not get employment, and they were begging. He should not be doing his duty to vote for the Bill, to introduce people to the colony to starve. If the Government worked the Land Act honestly, they could hold out inducements to immigrants—not all of the working classes, but some with capital—and thus do a service to the country. But they did not do so. They threw impediments in the way of people getting the land. There was an exception in favor of West Moreton; he believed land could be obtained there. It was preposterous to send an emigration agent, home, to tell the people of England that land could be obtained in the colony. He wondered at the honorable member for East Moreton taking credit for sending such a large number of people out, when, at the same time, not a Sydney steamer left Brisbane that did not take shoals of them away. A great part of the Darling Downs had been squandered for supplying New South Wales with labor. There was no land for them when they came here with their land

orders, and, even if there was, they were not able to work it;—the consequence was, they had to dispose of their land orders, which got into the hands of the squatters, and for them the Darling Downs were sold. If the Government would set about the work properly, and offer facilities to people to settle upon the land, he would gladly assist them. So long as population was encouraged, it was a matter of indifference whence it came. There were capitalists from Victoria who wanted land, but they could not get it. They would not pay in land orders; they would pay cash. The way in which the Government worked the Land Act held out no encouragement for people from Victoria, New Zealand, New South Wales, or anywhere else, to come and settle here. People came here every day with that object, and they had to go back; and still the Government brought in a Bill to induce immigration from Great Britain. There would be abundant immigration without any such course at all, if the Government would only do what they ought to do under the existing law, which, if they acted honestly, would be a very easy matter indeed. If the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, would go home and lecture, it would be a long time before he removed the feeling that existed amongst the people of England about the difficulties of settling here. People who had come out had written home, telling how they were deceived; and he (Mr. Miles) was not surprised that the honorable member did not wish to go home again; he would rather leave it alone, because he knew that faith had not been kept with those whom he had induced to come. Yet the honorable member talked in a way that astonished him. He (Mr. Miles) knew that, though no fault of his—because he did not think the honorable member wilfully tried to deceive people—the immigrants were not treated here in the way they should have been, and they had to sell their land orders for a trifle, and to go elsewhere to get employment. The honorable member would not go back if he got £5,000 a year, because he would not be able to induce people to come to Queensland after the way the Government had deceived them—after the way they had swindled them. The Land Act was as liberal as the Immigration Bill, to bring people here, and they would come from the other colonies if it were administered properly. The homestead clauses gave eighty acres of agricultural land, or one hundred and sixty acres of pastoral land—that was better than the Bill. It was extraordinary that the present Government, like all others in this colony, commenced at the wrong end of things. If they would make due provision for the people under the Land Act, and keep faith with them, they would come fast enough; but, depend upon it, unless the Government were honest, they would not succeed. He should have preferred that, before the Government brought their Immigration Bill before the House, they had made

proper arrangements for settling the population on the land. Let them set about it earnestly and properly, and it was done.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Hear, hear.

Mr. MILES: It was all very well for the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government to say that, but the honorable the Secretary for Lands was a very stubborn man, who would have his own way in the matter; and, if the Premier did not take his colleague in hand, he (Mr. Miles) was afraid there would be as much difficulty in the accomplishment of that desirable object as ever there was. He did not want to see all laborers coming to the colony; he wanted to see people with capital—men with from £300 to £3,000 of their own. What was the use of saddling the colony with the expense of £1,000 a year, and travelling expenses, for an Agent-General, to go all over the mother-country, to induce people to come here, if, when they arrived, they were to be disgusted with the treatment they received, and thereby obliged to go elsewhere? Queensland took a great deal of trouble about immigration; New South Wales did not; yet he had no doubt that Sydney got one-half of the people whom the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, sent out from home;—and the great misfortune was that Sydney got the best half. Only those who had the means to go could leave this colony, and those who could get away did go. Chiefly the worthless were left here. He (Mr. Miles) thought he could remember a vessel coming into Moreton Bay with more than a hundred passengers, and, when some visitors from the city went on board, they were told to take care of their pockets. He remembered, too, about the same time, that numbers of men, new arrivals, used to pass his station, looking for employment. He thought he would try some of them. He asked one, "What work have you done?" The only work he had ever done was "to blow the bellows for a blacksmith." Was that the class of immigrants the colony wanted?

Mr. JORDAN: No.

Mr. MILES: The honorable member said "No," and he agreed with him. He employed the men on various occasions, at the Brisbane dépôt, and paid their expenses up to his place, and, when he got them there, he could make nothing of them. Most of them had never worked before. He believed they had been thieves all their lives. He would give another peculiar fact:—He packed off half-a-dozen men, on one occasion, to his station. When arrived, he put them to work, but could make nothing of them, try all he might. Leaving them to themselves one day, for a short time, on his return he could not find them where they ought to have been—at work, or trying to work; and, on going to their hut, he found them playing cards. The honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, talked about schedule 1 of the Bill, and said the Government

would take care that the selection of persons was good. It was an extraordinary thing that the very class of persons he (Mr. Miles) spoke of had been sent out by the honorable member himself. He knew that they had come out by the Black Ball ships.

Mr. JORDAN: They came out under the order of the Government, when a large number of navvies was required, and not under the form in the Bill. They were Peto and Brassey's nominees. His machinery had been put aside in their case; and he denied that he had selected them, or sent them out.

Mr. MILES was exceedingly glad to hear the honorable member had not anything to do with them, for they reflected disgrace on anyone who had anything to do with sending them out. But it was very convenient for the honorable member to shelter himself in that way, and he desired to warn the Government against the chance of anything of the kind occurring again. There could be no doubt about it, a large number of the immigrants were most unsuitable for the colony. He could not support the Bill, though, as the House had been told by the honorable member for East Moreton, it had been drawn by somebody who understood something about immigration. If the honorable member did not draw it—and he said he did not—he (Mr. Miles) believed he had a hand in preparing it; at all events, he was sure the honorable member gave advice on it. He thought he could trace the hand of the honorable the Secretary for Works in one clause—that about free passes on the railways to be given to immigrants, for it was while that honorable gentleman was head of the Government that free passes were introduced. He was inclined to think that a good deal which fell from the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Forbes, was true. As he could not support the Bill, he would move that it be read a second time this day six months. He could not support it till he felt convinced of the sincerity of the Government, and that they were determined, if they introduced people into the colony, to give them facilities for settling on the land. If the Bill became law, what was yet done to prevent the people waiting, as in the past, to get on the land, or from following those who preceded them, out of the colony? That was one reason why he could not support the Bill. Then, again, the Agent-General was to go home, and induce people to come here, by telling them it was an agricultural country. He (Mr. Miles) would defy him to say so, when, at this moment, there was a motion on the notice paper to give a bonus to the cotton-growers for the next three years. He moved—

That the question be amended by the omission of the word "now," with a view to the addition, at the end, of the words "this day six months."

Now, he would like to hear it explained how they could, with any conscience, send home

an immigration agent to advise people to come out here to enter upon agricultural pursuits, when the fact was, that, for the encouragement of the principal agricultural pursuit in the colony, it was necessary to give a bonus. He would be delighted to see an agricultural population settled on the land; but he did not wish to give a bonus to induce people to go into any industry that ought to be self-supporting. How could he go to England and advise an agricultural population to come out here, when he would have to tell the people that, in order that they might be able to make a living by their industry, they would receive a bonus for every bale of cotton they produced. Would he not be at once told that the industry could not be profitable, if the Government considered it necessary to give a bonus for its maintenance? Instead of a bonus, why did not the Government give the land to actual settlers for nothing—make them a present of it, in fact? The moment they told the people at home that they would receive a bonus for every bale of cotton they produced, they would at once come to the conclusion that cotton cultivation in Queensland could not pay, otherwise the Government would not give a bonus for its encouragement. He had nothing more to say on the question. He had moved that the Bill be read a second time that day six months; but, though he had done so, he had no wish to embarrass the Government; he only did so that he might have an opportunity of recording his vote against the Bill. The Government, he was well aware, did not look upon this as an important measure, and he believed they would be very well pleased to see it thrown out, for he thought it was only brought in to please a few of their supporters.

Mr. WILLIAMS said he would be sorry indeed to see the discussion put an end to at such an early stage, as he wished to get more information on the subject, as a whole, than he had yet obtained. He thought his honorable friend opposite acted wisely in withdrawing his amendment for the adjournment of the debate, for if it had been carried, people outside would have said that the pastoral tenants were determined that nothing should be done in the way of legislation until after their turn had been served. That could not, however, be said of them now. As to the Bill before the House, he must say that, on the whole, he rather liked it; but he did not think the present was the time for its introduction. He was as great an advocate for immigration as any honorable member in the House, provided it was carried out at the proper time. Now, the great majority of members were returned pledged to economy, and to oppose the raising of any further loans, except for such purposes as might be absolutely necessary; and if the Government could prove that this measure would not increase the expenditure, one of his principal objections to it would be removed. But he had another objection to the Bill, or, rather,

he should say, to immigration, at the present time, and it was this. He had a strong objection to his countrymen being brought out here under what he must term a swindle. If an immigration agent should go home, and tell the people that this was a great and a prosperous place, and so induce them to come here; and they should find, when they did come, that they would have to compete with savages who wrought for £6 a-year, the proceeding would be nothing else but a swindle. Now, he objected to anyone going to Great Britain, and inducing his relations to come out here, if they were to be placed in such a position. If he could understand, from the Government, that they would take steps to have these savages sent back to their own islands, then another of his objections to the Bill would be removed. He did not wish his countrymen to be brought in competition with such people as those. He had a letter from a very thoughtful man, whom he had been trying to induce to come here, assuring him that if he came here, he would do well. His friend knew that he had been resident for some time in one of the slave states of America, and he asked him (Mr. Williams) how he could, knowing the evils that existed in the slave states, from the existence of an inferior race, ask his friends to come where they would be brought in contact with an inferior race. If the Government could assure him that this Bill would not largely increase taxation, and that, in its operation, it would conduce to stop Polynesian immigration, he would support it.

Mr. FORBES said he could not agree with the views expressed by several honorable members upon the subject under discussion. He thought the question was one of the utmost importance, and that it ought not to be dealt with in the trifling and paltry spirit that had characterised the debate. He believed, with the greatest statesman New South Wales had ever seen (Mr. Wentworth) that a British colony should be open to every man, no matter where he came from. The honorable member for East Moreton had, in particular, dealt with this question in a narrow and contracted spirit. The honorable member appealed to the mother-country; but were there not as good people in Australia as there were on the other side of the world? As to immigration from Germany, he objected to any limit being placed upon it; for he knew from experience that the immigrants from Germany were a most valuable class; and he desired to see immigration from that country encouraged rather than restricted. He would like well to support an Immigration Bill, if he could see it was placed on a proper footing; but he did not think that such was the case with this measure. He considered that the Bill before the House was unworthy of support, and therefore he must oppose it.

Mr. WALSH said that, without desiring to enter further into the merits or demerits of

the question, he would move the adjournment of the debate. They had now arrived at that hour when, during former sessions, they used to adjourn; and he thought they ought to do so now. This was a debate that ought not to be hurried over this evening; and if his motion should be agreed to, he would do all in his power to have the question fairly and fully discussed.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he thought they might continue the debate for some time longer, and it might be resumed next day; but he wished honorable members distinctly to understand that he must have this debate brought to a conclusion before he proceeded with any other business.

Mr. FRANCIS said he agreed with the honorable member for Maryborough that this question should be fully and fairly discussed—especially fully. He did not mean to support the amendment for the adjournment of the debate, nor the other amendment, that the Bill should be read a second time that day six months, although he thought the honorable member for Maranoa had some good grounds for moving the latter amendment. It was no use to pass the best Immigration Bill in the world unless they made the Land Act conducive to the benefit of settlers. Now, he wanted to see what that extremely elastic measure, the Land Act, would be in the hands of the present Ministry; and he must say that he looked upon it with extreme jealousy in their hands. He wished to see the result of their administration of it, and especially the result of the large withdrawals of lands from selection. He wanted to know the whole history of the proceedings in connection with past selections—at Yandilla and elsewhere. He wished to know if the same system was to prevail still, or if the Government intended to deal with the question manfully and energetically. Now, if the Government did not deal with the land question as a whole, manfully, any Immigration Bill they might pass would only prove a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. The Bill before the House, he thought, was quite harmless; and he would go farther, and say that he believed it was good. But taking the Ministry, as it was composed, and taking their history and antecedents into account, he was not quite clear if this measure was not of that liberal character that was thought necessary to secure their position in the eyes of the people of Queensland, and not intended for any thoroughgoing purpose. He hoped the question would be fully discussed. He was glad to hear the address of his honorable colleague, Mr. Jordan. He never was one of those who attacked that gentleman—who he was sorry to see was not in his place—but he would like to hear him clear himself if he could—not that he supposed the honorable member ever intentionally misled any one—but he wanted to know if he was right in the impressions he had formed from reading the

evidence taken before the select committee on immigration two years ago—that it was not owing to the selections of Peto, Brassey, and Betts, that a refuse class was brought to the colony. His impression was, that it was not true that the selections of those gentlemen, through their agents, were bad. He did not think it was just to lay upon Peto, Brassey, and Betts, the imputation of sending out improper persons; and this was a point upon which he condemned the late Agent-General for Emigration. The honorable member said, in the course of his speech, that the refuse class, complained of, came out after he was ordered by the Government to set aside his forms and certificates, and to accept the nominations of Peto, Brassey, and Betts, in full of all requirements—thus clearing him so far, from all responsibility. Now, his only ground of complaint against the honorable member was, that when he received those orders, he did not repeat the course he pursued a little while previously, when he took upon himself to withdraw from his post and come back to the colony on finding that the Government in power were not adhering to the provisions of the Act. Now, inasmuch as he did not do that, but accepted the directions given him from the Colonial Secretary's office, to pay implicit obedience to all directions received from that office, he took upon himself all the responsibility. Now, he would be glad to see the honorable member clear himself from that charge. As, he thought, they had much the same influences in the Ministry now as there were then, it would not satisfy him to be told that the character of their past immigration was wholly attributable to Mr. Herbert. They were always being told by some member or other of the Ministry that this thing was chargeable upon Mr. Herbert, and that thing was chargeable upon Sir Robert Mackenzie, neither of whom were here to defend themselves. One of the reasons amongst others why he was not a hearty supporter of the measures brought in by the present Ministry was, that it appeared to him they were much the same gentlemen as led the colony into its difficulties at a former period; and he felt convinced that unless honorable members held a better check upon them than they held upon past Ministries the colony would only sink deeper into difficulty.

The question for the adjournment of the debate was then put and negatived.

Mr. THORN said he doubted whether it was wise of the Government to introduce this measure at present. He did not know, but it would have been much better to have brought in a Bill simply for the amendment of the present Act. At present there were three systems of immigration in existence. There was the remittance system, the non-transferable land-order system, and the transferable land-order system. The transferable system might still be carried out with much advantage to the colony, by allowing immi-

grants to make arrangements with shippers to receive their land orders in payment of their passage-money, or in part payment of it, as the case might be. The remittance system was not, to his mind, the best system, but still it might be continued. He would also support the continuance of the non-transferable land-order system, but he would change its name, and make it a system that would strictly provide for the settlement of the people in the colony. It was most objectionable that people who came out here should be allowed to take up those land orders, sell them to land jobbers at a discount, and use the proceeds to leave the colony. The honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, had endeavored to show that it was owing to his lecturing, and preaching, perhaps, in England, that so many people had come out here; but, for his own part, he must say he believed it was more owing to the lecturing of Messrs. Dalley and Parkes; and the honorable member for East Moreton was no more to be compared to Mr. Dalley or Mr. Parkes than he (Mr. Thorn) was to be compared to the honorable Mr. Gladstone. He believed it was the owners of the Black Ball line that got so many people to come out here. They collected the people and sent them out here; and he was fully convinced that they made a fortune by it. From what he had read in the English papers, it appeared that a good many people came out here from Bristol. The honorable member for East Moreton delivered several lectures there. But the Bristol people, as far as he had been able to ascertain, seemed to be the most rowdy people in England. No doubt there were many good people in Bristol, but there were also a great many bad people; and he did not think that Bristol was a place from which it was desirable to obtain immigrants. The honorable member said it was his agency that made Brisbane; and no doubt that was correct; for he believed that not one immigrant who came to Brisbane with money, was allowed to leave Brisbane while his money lasted; and they received such accounts of the interior, that they were deterred from going into the country—especially into West Moreton. But when they were thoroughly bled and skinned, they were allowed to go wherever they liked. He knew of several, who after being cajoled into remaining in Brisbane until they had spent £1,000 or £2,000, were allowed to go about the country in search of employment, engage in laborious work, and endure much hardship and privation, with the view of saving up a few pounds and then skedaddle out of the colony. At the present time there was no inducement for people to come out here. In Victoria, wages were from thirty to forty per cent. higher than in this colony; and until the circumstances of this colony were so altered as to place it on something like an equal footing with the other colonies, they would never be able to

recover their position; and until they provided a bonus for labor—that was, passed a measure of protection—no artisans or agriculturists either would remain here. Free-trade opinions were dying out very rapidly at home, and he undertook to say that the free-trade policy of England would not be in existence five years hence. Under the commercial treaty existing between England and France, the latter country was deriving by far the greatest benefit, and that was a thing the British manufacturers and the British merchants would not long submit to. As an indication of the change in public opinion that was taking place in England, a conservative was elected as one of the representatives of the large manufacturing city of Manchester. There were none of the Australian colonies in a safe position, at the present moment, except the colony of Victoria, which colony was now able to live upon its own resources; and it was, to a great extent, owing to the existence, there, of a protective, though not a prohibitive, tariff that new industries and large manufactories were springing up all over that colony. Such was the effect of a moderate protective duty, or what might be called a bonus upon labor. Until this colony followed the example of Victoria, they must go down. As to an Immigration Bill, he held that a good Land Bill would be the best Immigration Bill. He would not be one to vote salaries for a staff of immigration officials. He thought it would be quite sufficient to publish in the newspapers at home but chiefly in the provincial journals, the attractions of the colony to intending immigrants, whether capitalists or laborers. Advertisements to that effect might be published in the principal journals in the other colonies. He was sure that if that course was pursued on a large scale, they would have a large influx of people from the other colonies. At the same time he thought that in connexion with this advertising system, they should set apart large agricultural areas of country in several districts throughout the colony, for occupation by those who might come here. He did not at all like the Bill before the House, and he was almost inclined to vote against it. There were some extraordinary clauses in it—the 18th especially, which would facilitate dummying on a large scale. If honorable members would carefully consider that clause, they would find that it would lead to great abuses. The only really good clause in the Bill, was the one providing for the establishment of depôts in the interior. At present he did not intend to give the Bill his support, nor was he prepared to say that he would vote for the amendment of the honorable member for Maranoa—that the Bill be read this day six months. He would like to suggest to the Government, to send the Bill to a select committee of the House, for he was sure that a few honorable members would be able to frame a measure that would be generally acceptable. He was

quite confident that the Bill would never pass in anything like its present shape.

Mr. ARCHER said he did not think the House would approve of the comparison attempted to be drawn by the last speaker between the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan, and Messrs. Dalley and Parkes. Perhaps the late Agent-General was not so eloquent as some of the public men of New South Wales and Victoria, but he performed his mission with notable success, and he thought that that should be considered sufficient to secure him against any idle comparisons. So far as inducing a large number of people to come out to the colony was concerned, the late Agent-General did his work most efficiently. He might have been to blame in some matters—in some points he might have failed, but he would like to know who, in a similar position, would be likely to succeed perfectly, or he might say as well as Mr. Jordan succeeded. He believed that Mr. Jordan's evident sincerity and enthusiasm must have had more weight with the people whom he addressed than all the eloquence of Messrs. Dalley and Parkes could possibly have. Till he was more fully informed as to any faults of the late Agent-General, he would continue to believe that that gentleman did his duty, and did it well. Though he differed with Mr. Jordan on many points, he believed that that gentleman had been a most energetic and industrious agent. In fact, there could be no doubt about it. As to the Bill before the House, he must say that, so far as he had ascertained the wishes of his constituents on the subject, they had no desire for any other than the assisted system of immigration. When he was addressing his constituents, he said he thought the assisted system was the best, and his constituents seemed to concur with him in that opinion; but, to his surprise, he heard the late Agent-General say that he looked upon that as the most worthless system. If a man came here, and was not industrious and saving, he would never be able to send for his friends; but if they found a man sending for his friends, the legitimate inference was, that he was an industrious and a saving man, and, further, that he would not send for anyone who was an idler. He doubted, for his own part, whether they could have a more desirable class of immigrants than those who came out under the assisted system. The principal reason he had for rising at the present time was, to refer to some of the remarks made by the honorable the Colonial Treasurer. That honorable gentleman stated very truly that the immigrants who came out here under the Bill before the House, would be men who would come with the intention of earning by industry and frugality the means of enabling them to settle on the land. He thought the colony was at present hardly in a position to offer employment with good wages

to immigrants, for he believed that there was sufficient labor in the country for the present demand, and it was probable that wages would be still lower in six months' time than they were now. He did not think it would be right to attract people to this colony in order to reduce the wages of those who were in it. If the country were in a prosperous condition—if, in fact, wages were ranging now at the rate they were some three or four years ago, the case would be different, and the immigrants they introduced would gradually disperse throughout the country, and make room for others. As it was, he could not see that the Government were justified in holding out any inducement of this sort to the laboring men of England. He knew, from his own observation, that three years ago, working men were able not only to live comfortably with their families, denying themselves none of the comforts they looked for, but were able to put by thirty-five to forty pounds a-year. Now, he questioned whether they could earn altogether more than they had formerly been able to save. However, he had no doubt that, in the course of a few years, when the colony had returned to its former prosperity, a great many persons might be brought out here to settle on the land. Then the Colonial Treasurer had told the House that a very small amount of money would be required to work this Bill. It would have been much more satisfactory if he had stated what that amount was, or even an approximate sum, for at present honorable members could really form no idea of the expense it would involve. They could not tell what the honorable member considered a small amount. They had been asked by late Governments for loans of such magnitude that they were very doubtful of the meaning of this term. Before that time there had been some standard to go by, but since borrowing had commenced a small amount might mean either £10,000, £15,000, or £200,000. Therefore he could attach no specific meaning to the words of the Colonial Treasurer, when he talked about a small amount only being required for carrying out this scheme, and he hoped the honorable gentleman would take an opportunity of explaining his meaning. He would next refer to what had fallen from the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Jordan. That honorable member had said that he could get not only any amount of labor he required, but any amount of capital from England. No doubt it was a great advantage to people who employed capital largely to get it upon such easy terms, but he could not really see that the colony at present offered any great facilities for the advantageous employment of English capital. He believed that if capital were borrowed for private enterprise it might be used to advantage; but to borrow money to be expended by the Government, he did not believe would be a paying speculation. It was necessary to

look to the question of payment as well as to that of borrowing, and to the heavy interest on the loan; and he hoped that, before any decided action was taken in reference to the measure before the House, honorable members would give the question their attentive and serious consideration.

Mr. JORDAN said he had referred to the capital which was brought to the colony by immigrants in smaller or larger sums.

Mr. ARCHER: Well, of course, he would admit that the introduction of capital into the country was an advantage. Everyone was aware of the great strides which Queensland had taken during that flow of immigration to her shores—that land rose to a fearful price; that buildings sprung up in all directions, and, that for the time, the colony wore an appearance of the greatest prosperity. Now, it was unquestionably an advantage to have an accession of population and capital, if employment could be found for it. In America they could always find a market for the labor which came to them; but he was not aware that in this colony such employment could be offered to any number of immigrants at present as would enable them to settle on the lands. He should infinitely prefer to be in a position to offer good wages to immigrants before inducing them to leave the old country. He was not at all opposed to immigration, but he was opposed to the borrowing money for the purpose of introducing it. But if population could be introduced by means of the sale of land, or by those who were already settled here sending for their friends, then he said, “by all means encourage it,” even by a largely increased grant of land than the Colonial Treasurer had proposed to give in the Bill before the House. He looked upon the introduction of persons who really intended to settle on the land, as very valuable, and he would be quite willing to give such persons a grant of 100 acres. But, as he had said before, he was opposed to the borrowing of money for the purpose of sending immigrants out here, and, therefore, he considered the system of assisted immigration the best. He did not intend to oppose the second reading of the Bill; but he should decidedly vote against the third reading, unless some important alterations were made in committee. He thought that during the debate several honorable members had wandered from the subject. The honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. G. Thorn, had wandered into a discussion on free trade. Now that was a subject on which he was perfectly prepared to meet the honorable member, but he did not think it was a proper time to consider it. At any rate, he thought there was no party in England who were disposed to question its advantages. Reference had been made to cotton bonuses; and he must say that the arguments used by the honorable member for Maranoa on this point were very strong indeed. It was a singular thing that

they should propose to send home an Agent-General for Immigration to expatiate upon the capabilities of this colony for agriculture, when at the same time they were holding out inducement for the encouragement of agriculture, in the shape of bonuses for the cultivation of cotton. That was a difficult argument to answer, and he was rather glad it had been mentioned, because, as he saw the honorable members for East Moreton and Ipswich, in the House, he wished to tell them that when it came to the question of offering a bonus for encouraging the growth of cotton, they should be prepared with some facts and figures to submit to the House, to prove that cotton-planting was a success in this colony; for no one could defend the cotton bonuses upon strictly economical principles. They could only be defended on the ground that the agricultural interest was of such great importance that it was necessary to step aside in its favor in order to fix it in the country. It ought, however, to be shewn that it was likely to become a permanent article of export. It was no use to go on year after year extending the time for granting these bonuses if, after all, cotton-growing was to prove a failure. If it proved a success, then it would be a wise economy to continue the system for two or three years longer. He would only add a few more words at the present stage. He should decidedly try in committee to prevent the appointment of another Agent-General, for immigration from England. He would with pleasure assist the Government in making their Bill as workable as possible. He could see no necessity for sending home another Agent-General; for the admirable way in which Queensland had been made known by the gentleman who lately filled that office must have left the capabilities of this colony quite fresh in the minds of the English people. He thought, too, the gentleman who had now the management of the office in England had proved himself equal to his duty, inasmuch as he had sent out some very good men to the colony, and that, he presumed, was a good test of his fitness. It had been one of the charges against the late Agent-General that he had not only not sent out a good class of immigrants, but that on finding himself overpowered by the Government of the day in his efforts to do so, he had not at once resigned his office, and stated that the country was being ruined by such men. He believed that an Immigration Bill, which would benefit the country, might be worked very well without an Agent-General. The present representative of the Government, he thought, had sufficient intelligence to select the proper class of immigrants. He had proved his capability, by the last shipment; and therefore, among other amendments, he should propose that the re-appointment of an Agent-General, for immigration, in England, would be an unnecessary expense. He should propose that and other amendments in com-

mittee, but he should not oppose the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. GROOM moved the adjournment of the debate, in order to give an opportunity to honorable members to read the printed speech of the Colonial Treasurer.

The question was put and passed, and the debate was adjourned until next day, to take precedence of all other business.