

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates  
[Hansard]

**Legislative Assembly**

**WEDNESDAY, 21 JULY 1869**

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Wednesday, 21 July, 1869.*

Town and Suburban Lands Bill.—Suspension of the Standing Orders.—Supply.—Ways and Means.

TOWN AND SUBURBAN LANDS BILL.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS moved that this Bill be now read a third time.

The motion was carried, and it was ordered that the Bill be transmitted to the Legislative Council with the usual message.

SUSPENSION OF THE STANDING ORDERS.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL, pursuant to notice, moved—

That so much of the standing orders be suspended as will admit of Resolutions of Supply being received and adopted the same day.

The honorable member stated that he trusted the House would not offer any opposition to the motion, as his only object in making it was to remedy an oversight which had occurred in connection with the financial statement, and to allow his honorable colleague, the Treasurer, to make that statement that day.

Mr. WALSH was not sure that they were justified in departing from the good old practice which they had adopted in that chamber. He found, on reference to the standing orders, that “when the first resolutions of the Committee of Supply have been agreed to, it is resolved that this House will, on a future day, resolve itself into a Committee of Ways and Means, for raising the supply granted to Her Majesty, which committee is the Committee of Ways and Means.” Now, the Premier wished to suspend that standing order, but he could not see that there was any great emergency for so doing. The country had not made any demand that the Estimates should be considered that night, and the Ministers were very comfortably seated, and had their supplies for the present year, and he could not see why they should want the supplies for 1870 in the middle of July, 1869. He felt disposed to stand by the standing orders, and was surprised to see any opposition to them. There was nothing to justify the Premier in making his present request, and he could not see why they

should be asked to abandon the usual practice. He did not know what sort of a system they were getting into, but it appeared to him that whenever the Government wanted to introduce a measure, they wished to have the standing orders suspended. How was it that they were carrying on the Government in such a peculiar way, and why were they not to abide by the Standing Orders of that House. He felt very much inclined to ask the honorable the Speaker to give his instructions on the present occasion, as it would be well to know whether they had the sanction of Parliament for such a practice. Unless some better reason was given by the Premier, he should oppose the motion.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said that he had gone so far on the previous week, as to promise that the financial statement should be made that day. It was well known that it would be made, and it was only in consequence of his honorable colleague the Treasurer having omitted to conform with a standing order, that he now made the motion. It was not a question of going into supply, but merely to afford an opportunity of letting honorable members know how the country stood, that he now asked the House to extend its favor by allowing the Treasurer to depart from the usual rules.

Mr. BELL wished to know from the honorable member at the head of the Government, whether the motion just made was owing to the contemplated contingent motion of the honorable member for Maryborough, or whether it was the result of accident.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: It was purely accidental. He had no objection to the honorable member's motion going as far as it could.

Mr. MILES said he had no particular wish to direct attention to the matter, but it had been a peculiar custom with the Government during the present session, that the business on the notice paper should be misplaced. He had himself drawn the attention of the honorable the Premier to it, in reference to the cotton bonus resolution. He thought he had then been hardly dealt with, but till that question was decided, it was as well to go on with the Estimates. So far as the present question was concerned, he had no doubt that the honorable the Treasurer was anxious to afford the country every information, and he should not, therefore, offer any opposition.

Mr. FRANCIS thought it was a good rule that they should carefully observe and sustain the standing orders, unless it was shown that there was an emergency for departing from them: there was none that he could see at present. He much regretted that the honorable the Treasurer had made the omission, as he had never known him to make such a mistake before; but as they were told that it was a mistake, he must believe it. Still, there was no reason why they should go into supply that day. He was certainly opposed to it, until some other

matters on the notice paper were disposed of, especially the Additional Representation Bill. As there was plenty of business to go on with, he thought they could defer going into consideration of supply, until the following day.

The COLONIAL TREASURER said the resolution was in the hands of the House. He might explain that so long back as a fortnight since, the honorable the Premier had promised that the financial statement should be made that day, and a week ago, he (the Colonial Treasurer) moved one of the preliminary steps to enable the House to go into Committee of Supply. He had overlooked the second necessary step until he was reminded of it on referring to the standing orders. However unpleasant it had been to forget the second necessary step, the motion was put on the paper to enable him to keep his promise. Of course, if the House objected, he could not do anything else. He would remind honorable members that the course proposed would not involve the expenditure of any sum beyond the usual formal amount.

Mr. THOMPSON said the object of the motion was to meet an informality, and, however much he might be disposed to oppose the Government generally, he would not like to do so now, inasmuch as it was a question of accident and formality.

The motion was then put and passed.

#### SUPPLY.

On the Order of the Day being read—That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee of Supply,

Mr. WALSH rose to move the following contingent motion standing in his name:—

1. That this House declines to receive the Estimates now before it, because the proposed distribution of the revenue is partial and unfair.
2. Because no provision is therein made for the salary of an Agent-General for Immigration.
3. Because this House declines to consider Ways and Means, until the Government evince some desire to provide additional representation of the people, in this chamber.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL rose to a point of order, as the motion was of a nature that the House must decline to receive, inasmuch as it involved a breach of the constitution under which they lived. He would submit whether it could be put, as it proposed to reject the Estimates, which were addresses from the Governor to the House. It was part of the constitutional law that, as the Estimates formed a portion of a message from the Governor, the House was bound to receive them. It was not a message from the Executive, but from His Excellency the Governor; and it was for the House to say whether, that being the case, they would send it back. He contended that they could not do so: the Act was very clear on the point. It said—

“Provided always that it shall not be lawful for the said Council to pass or for the said

Governor to assent to any Bill appropriating to the public service any sums or sum of money arising from the sources aforesaid unless the Governor on Her Majesty's behalf shall first have recommended to the Council to make provision for the specific public service towards which such money is to be appropriated."

All the votes and resolutions were contained in the Estimates, as by law required; and there was no law enabling them to send back the message. He would like to have the honorable the Speaker's ruling upon the point, for, although he was not at all afraid to meet the resolutions of the honorable member for Maryborough, he thought the present was a matter on which the Speaker's ruling should be given.

Mr. WALSH thought the honorable gentleman, in moving the point of order, might have waited for the House to show some expression of feeling before he asked for the Speaker's ruling. He always maintained that, whenever a point of order was raised, every honorable member should assist by giving his opinion. There was no occasion for any sarcasm from the honorable the Premier, as he (Mr. Walsh) would move his resolutions in spite of it; and he hoped the honorable member would not divert the attention of the House from the meaning of the resolutions by his attempt at sarcasm. When he had asked to have the ruling of the honorable the Speaker on one occasion, the honorable member had differed from it, and protested against it. It was a most unseemly position for a Premier to take up. When the Speaker decided, he would most gladly give in.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL explained that he was quite willing to abide by the ruling of the honorable the Speaker.

Mr. WALSH thought that that might be regarded as a good example and a good beginning on the part of the Government, and he should look upon the afternoon as having been well spent when he found there was such a mark of improvement. He had not, however, done with the honorable member, who had, no doubt, raised a correct point; but the honorable member would have been more right if he had stood in a safe position. He was, no doubt, in a good position as regarded receiving a thousand a year, but he was not right now. The honorable member stated that the House was compelled to receive the message from the Governor *volens volens*, like little children; but he contended, that if the House had power to receive, they also had the power to reject; and he had yet to learn that the people's representatives were compelled to act in any other way. In all probability, His Excellency the Governor had never seen the Estimates, and if he had, that he would not care about them, and the less he interfered with them the better it would be for his character as a Governor, and for his own peace of mind.

Mr. THORN said that, before the Speaker

gave his ruling, he would mention that he recollected that in 1867, a similar privilege was claimed by the honorable member for South Brisbane, as that now asked for by the honorable member for Maryborough. He would read the exact words of the motion then made:—

"It might have been expected then, perhaps, that he (Mr. Stephens) would have concluded his remarks with a motion to the effect that the Estimates should be sent back for reconsideration. He would not do so, however, for the reasons he had stated, but would call upon the honorable gentleman to take back the Estimates himself and reconsider them."

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said that the difference was very plain; the Estimates had been received, and the House had gone into Ways and Means.

The SPEAKER gave it as his ruling that the House were, under the Constitution Act, bound to receive the Estimates, as they formed a portion of a message from the Governor.

The COLONIAL TREASURER would now move—

That the House resolve itself into a Committee of Supply.

Mr. WALSH said there was now nothing to prevent him from making the statement which he had intended to make, and was glad to find that it had been ruled that business should be done as it should be. He was glad to see that the Ministers were in such a good humor; but before he had concluded his remarks, they would find that they had to deal with a very serious question, more so than listening to the budget of the honorable the Treasurer. If he had not been aware that the course he had adopted would prevent the Estimates being returned to the Treasurer—the Government, or His Excellency the Governor—he would not have attempted to take up the time of the House by pressing such an important resolution. He objected, *in toto*, to consider the Estimates as they had been laid on the table, because after examining them he considered they were founded upon what he must distinctly designate a fraud. They had injustice marked upon every page of them, and they were treating the various sections of the colonists as though they were of a distinct class, and were to be governed by distinct and most arbitrary rules. He considered it was now time that some stand should be made against the Government continuing to govern the colony for the aggrandisement of one particular portion of it. For those reasons he thought it necessary to place himself in the breach, and felt that he was called upon to endeavor to compel even the present or some future Government to introduce into that chamber a set of Estimates which would be fairer to the people generally, and more honorable to the Parliament of Queensland. He was not going to fight the battle of the

North against the South ; he had done so on several occasions, but, he was afraid, never with much credit to himself or advantage to the country. He had failed not only in obtaining justice for the North, but sometimes in obtaining even ordinary thanks or reward for his trouble. It was not that which made him treat it as a general question now, but it was to draw a sharp line, and narrow it so as to bring it within the conviction of honorable members. As regarded the first portion of the resolutions, which was—

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL rose to order. The honorable member could not read the resolutions, as they had been withdrawn.

Mr. WALSH had endeavored to substantiate, at any rate, one portion, by moving that the Speaker do not leave the chair. He found on referring to the last census, which had been obtained at great cost to the country, that the Wide Bay and Burnett districts contained one-seventh of the whole population of the colony. The reason he classed the two together was, because there was only one custom house for the whole. The payments were made for the whole, although to those who were as well acquainted with the physical nature of the two districts as he was, it was apparent that they were separated. He found that actually one-seventh of the population was situated between the two places. He might be told that a change had taken place since the census was taken, at which time there was a great rush to the Gympie gold field ; but he could show that the census was very imperfectly taken, and that there were a great many persons there at the time living in out-of-the-way places, such as gullies, who had not been included. He had made inquiries, and found that the population at Gympie was between five and six thousand, and that it had not decreased from the return of persons to Wide Bay ; but taking into consideration the number gone to Kilkivan and other places, it was still equal to what it was when the census was taken. From the last return he had had access to, he found that there were 999,563 sheep in the Wide Bay district, or about one-eighth of the whole number in the colony. He had also seen a document respecting the number of cattle in the colony, in the year 1866, and then, about one-fifth were in the Wide Bay district. He could speak positively as regarded the cattle, and if that was the proportion then, it was more now, according to the opportunities he had had of judging. He believed that, in gathering the statistics, he was within the mark, and had endeavored to show that it was not an exaggerated statement. So far as the number of people and quantity of stock were concerned, he believed he had proved that the Wide Bay and Burnett districts were equal to any. Without going into more statistics, he might say, that the population around the town of Maryborough was proverbially large and prosperous. There were no empty houses in it, and the people seemed

to be in a prosperous state ; and there had not been any decadence in it since he had known it for five years. When he referred to the Estimates, he found that three millions of money had been borrowed on account of the expenditure of the colony, the annual interest paid on which was £240,000. Assuming, therefore, that the population of the Wide Bay and Maryborough districts was one-eighth of the whole, about £30,000 was paid by them annually towards the National debt. Yet, in the face of that, the whole expenditure lavished on the districts which the honorable the Speaker and he represented, in return for what they had to pay, was not more than £25,000, spent on roads, &c.

Mr. THORN : The waterworks.

Mr. WALSH : He was alluding to the loan, and wished to give the Government credit for as much as he could. The sum of £25,000 was all they had received out of the three millions borrowed and expended by the Government, and for the sum of £92,674 16s. 3d. they had contributed directly to the revenue. That was not an approximation, but a reality, as he had the official records in his hand. He had thus shown what was their share of the indebtedness of the colony. He would turn to the Estimates to show what the expenditure in his districts was to be for the year 1870. He should be surprised if he found that he had made any serious mistake in the figures. He found that from page fifteen to page fifty-two, the whole sum for expenditure was £19,681. But the inhabitants of the Wide Bay and Burnett districts contributed £30,000 towards paying the interest on the public debt, and £90,000 by direct taxes, to the revenue. And the whole sum to be expended in those districts was the paltry sum of £19,000. He felt that he was justified in denouncing these Estimates in the language in which he had done. Now, let them compare this expenditure with the expenditure upon some more favored districts. Let them see what was proposed to be expended in the way of roads : In the Burnett district there are nearly a million of sheep, and the Colonial Treasurer proposed that the sum of a thousand pounds should be expended on the roads in 1870. These roads were at least three hundred miles in length. Well, the honorable gentleman ignored this district, *in toto*, on the Estimates for 1869. The honorable gentleman, with that coolness which he is well able to display, had told him on a former occasion that there was an unexpended balance which would be available for the roads ; then again when he applied for an expenditure upon the roads, he was told there was no money. Thus they were told, when applying for money for roads, on the one hand that there was no money ; and when they asked why there was nothing on the Estimates to meet expenditure on roads, they were told there was an unexpended balance. So much for the provision made toward the agricul-

tural and pastoral interests in the way of furnishing them with roads to convey their produce. But he found on reference to the Estimates, that the Minister for Works—or the Governor (who the Premier said prepares the Estimates)—put down for the road from Brisbane to Gympie—a road upon which nobody but a subsidised coach goes—the sum of £1,500. Yet the Colonial Treasurer knew very well that there was no traffic now on that road, even though he put this sum down to be expended on it. On the other hand, when they turn to the road between Maryborough and Gympie, what did they find put down? For that shamefully neglected and most frequented road, there was put down only the paltry sum of £600. Thus £1,500 was to be wasted on a road which had proved a failure, and only £600 on the road between Maryborough and Gympie, which was constantly crowded with traffic. Such were the main reasons inducing him to refuse to entertain these Estimates, and why he maintained, at this time, that the chamber should take some strong method to insist upon the Government spending the money in a fairer way. He had heard and listened with much pleasure to the declaration made by the honorable members for Brisbane, of whom a very important member was at that moment asleep, that it was their strong intention to do justice to the whole colony. He had been so often told by honorable members in Brisbane, and especially by the honorable member, Mr. Fraser, of his great desire to see justice done to all parts of the colony. These honorable members always emphasised the word “all” when they spoke in this way. He asked whether these honorable gentlemen intended to be consistent, and show that their statements respecting other places were not mere pretext, by coming forward to back his resolutions. Was it fair to tax a people to the extent of £95,000, and then, after a series of years, expend, or neglect to expend amongst them only £20,000, as was proposed, for the year 1870? Was that sum to be expended for the benefit of the people in that district? No; not £3,000 of it would be for the benefit of the people. The greater portion of the money expended would be chiefly for collecting taxes, coercing the people, and keeping them in order. As far as he could see, it was not for the benefit of the people at all. He asked the honorable members to whom he had alluded, to see whether they could not prevent a Government from preparing the Estimates in a one-sided and partial manner. He had made the comparison he had done in order to confine the question within narrow limits. Honorable members could see the different way in which the city of Brisbane was provided for in the Estimates. On reference to the census, it would be seen that North and South Brisbane contained 2,645 male adults. He mentioned male adults because the constitution only recognised male adults as the persons to be

represented in the colony, and they were bound by their institutions. Well, the city of Brisbane contains 2,645 male adults, while the people of Wide Bay—not including the town of Maryborough—were no less than 5,368 male adults. In the town of Maryborough, the male adults were nearly as numerous as in North Brisbane. No, he had made a mistake in this; there are 1,406 male adults put down to Maryborough, showing half the number of male adults put down to the city proper. In South Brisbane, the male adults number—yes, in that important district, which is represented so ably and so fully—there are 202 male adults. But he could not help referring to the extraordinary fact, while dealing with these figures, that this electorate, in an extraordinary manner, although it contains only 202 male adults, contains no less than 504 electors. He had shown the position of Brisbane as compared with the town of Wide Bay, as far as the male adult population went. In this town of 2,443 male adults, he found that no less than £47,000 was proposed to be expended, while £178,000 were to be expended upon offices and officers.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: No, no.

MR. WALSH: He thanked the honorable member for correcting him; the money to be expended was £147,075. The conclusion he drew from that was, that seven-tenths of the population of Brisbane are dependent upon the public expenditure. There ought to be printed on every house in Brisbane, whether private or otherwise, over every door, “Purveyors to the Queen.” What could the 14,000 odd—people in the Maryborough, Wide Bay, and Burnett districts—say to that? What would they think on learning that £90,000 were to be extracted from them to pay towards the indebtedness of the colony. They found that the Colonial Treasurer, who represented only 202 persons, proposed to expend no less than £147,050 in Brisbane. What would the male adults who were represented by Mr. Speaker, and who numbered six or eight thousand persons,—what would these say when they found that the Colonial Treasurer proposed an expenditure so enormous should be incurred in Brisbane during the year 1870, especially when they received so little benefit from that expenditure? Could they be astonished at all when the people who did not share in the delights and pleasures of residence in Brisbane arrived at the unhappy conclusions reached by the outlying districts? Could they wonder that the Leichhardt should refuse to return a member to the House, when they saw that the very next district to the Moreton district was treated in that scandalous way? Need they be surprised that this was only the beginning of the end? Should they think it strange that other districts began to cry out for separation? Upon whom did the blame rest? Not upon the present, or any particular Ministry, but upon the one-sided and

unfair distribution sanctioned in this chamber. Had there been any alteration made to remove those grounds of complaint? No; there was the same aggrandizing and centralizing policy to be continued in the year 1870, as the Estimates plainly showed. It was high time to protest against injustice so gross. For his own part, he felt inclined to join in any combination to compel some Government to deal more justly by each section of the colony than any had done yet. He had often tried to show that the results of such a policy, continued longer, would inevitably prove as fatal to Brisbane as to the other parts of the colony, and that the southern portions of the colony would some day in their turn suffer in the exact ratio in which the North had suffered at the hands of the representatives of Brisbane and the Government of the day. He should, probably, be told by the Premier, that the Government were going to add something to the Supplementary Estimates, in order to pacify one honorable member for the Burnett, just as they had already pacified the other. Now, he maintained that the several districts had a right to be recognised on the Estimates-in-chief, and he protested against putting the Supplementary Estimates to any such uses. Supplementary Estimates should only be brought before the chamber with sums upon it to cover unforeseen expenses only; but they should not be used to hush up this or that member, or to receive necessary items omitted from the Estimates-in-chief merely to make a show of economy. He had felt that he should prove himself an unjust steward of the people, if he were to submit in silence any longer to this mode of procedure. He was conscious that he should get little sympathy from the Government, or those near the Government benches. At the same time, he should put himself in this position, that for the future, unless the determination to see justice done to the Wide Bay and Burnett districts were seconded that afternoon, the representatives would not support any Government which would not mete out equal justice. He would thus also prove to his constituents that it was not his fault—except so far as it arose from natural inability—that it was not due to any negligence or culpable disregard of their interests, if justice had not been done to them. He trusted that the honorable member for Rockhampton would show how the expenditure was bestowed upon his district, and how the money that had been spent upon the roads there had been generally thrown away, because the inhabitants were not consulted. Another complaint he had to make was, that no provision had been made by the Government, upon the Estimates, for the salary of an Agent-General for Immigration. That was an additional reason he had against Mr. Speaker's leaving the chair at that moment; the Government had broken faith in that respect. Honorable

members had been induced to submit to the introduction of the name, Agent-General, in the Immigration Bill, because it had been promised that they should be able to determine whether there should be an Agent-General or not, and who he should be, when the salary appeared on the Estimates. When it had been said by the Attorney-General that the money to carry out the Bill "would be submitted to the House in the Estimates," he had felt there was something sinister about it at the time. There was no necessity for an Agent-General in England, and honorable members had been wheedled by the Government to allow the clauses respecting the appointment of an Agent-General, under the promise that they should be asked to provide the expenses in the Estimates now before them; and yet he had searched in vain for the name of Agent-General in these Estimates. The Government had broken their promise, as usual, and the name was not there. That was one reason why he maintained that these Estimates were imperfect. Doubtless he should be told that the Immigration Bill had not passed, and that until it had been passed the Government could not very well ask for the salary of an Immigration Agent. It was all nonsense to advance any such argument. If provision for that salary had been made upon the Estimates, the vote would not have been before them for a month, and meantime the Bill would or would not have become law; and even if the salary were voted, there would be no necessity to spend it. So then that argument fell to the ground. At the same time he found provision made in the Estimates for all manner of offices, although they were not yet in existence. He could tell what his suspicions were: the Government had not yet arrived at the conclusion who was to be entrusted with that office; who was to be removed from that chamber into it, or to assist the Government. They did not yet know how much money would do it, and therefore they were to be kept in the dark. He should decidedly object to any Agent-General's salary being put upon the Supplementary Estimates. Suppose there had been a little irregularity in putting down the Agent-General's salary upon the Estimates, would it not have been better for the Government to have erred upon the side of candor? No; because then, perhaps, the member for Maranoa would have asked the name of the Immigration Agent, and that would not have suited the Government of the day. In fact the Government were trifling with them, and not acting with the candor which they had a right to expect of them. The House must insist upon the expenditure appearing upon the Estimates-in-chief, and not allow themselves to be humbugged into the belief that the expenditure for 1870 was to be some £736,000, while they could rest assured that the Supplementary Estimates, already prepared, would be some £150,000, or £200,000 more. The only excuse that could be urged for

Supplementary Estimates was, that they provided for expenses not foreseen when the Estimates-in-chief were drawn up. But he felt that the Supplementary Estimates with which they would have to deal were a deception, and probably prepared at the same time as the Estimates-in-chief, in order to deceive and humbug the House. Such a course was striking at the very foundation of responsible Government. It was like picking the purses of the people when they allowed Estimates to be introduced which they knew to be imperfect; and they knew, in this instance, that the salary of an Agent-General for Immigration ought to be provided for. He would now give a third reason why Mr. Speaker should not leave the chair at the present time. It was, that this House is dissatisfied with the Government, because they evince no desire to provide additional representation of the people, in this chamber. This reason had been forced upon his attention by the action of the present Premier, before coming into office. That honorable gentleman had been constantly demanding that there should be another increased representation of the people, and had been so anxious for increased representation, that an outcry had been raised against another Government because the people were not all represented. The Census Bill was objected to on the avowed reason that delay would be caused in securing such representation. But the census did not turn out as they wished. Such was the cry when the present Government was out of office; but no sooner did they get into office, than they at once pacified the House with the bill of fare which they provided, and the measures they were to carry out. When the Premier announced that the chief measure to be dealt with was the increased representation of the people, every honorable member turned with a gloomy look to his neighbor, as though it were a difficult question before them. It had seemed the earnest desire of everybody, before the honorable gentleman took office, that there should be a more perfect representation of the people. His Excellency had been made to promise it two or three times in his opening speeches to the House. If they turned to "Hansard," vol. IV., they would find this was one of the most urgent topics in the vice-regal speech for 1867. Very shortly afterwards, the Governor was called upon to make another opening speech; and again the promise was held forth that "the representation of the people, in the Assembly, was a subject to which at an early date attention should be called." He might observe that Arthur Macalister had been amongst those most anxious and earnest to make provision for an increased representation.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS : Hear, hear.

Mr. WALSH : Then, at the commencement

of the session for 1868, the Government had caused His Excellency to say these words—

"In the early part of this year a census was taken, pursuant to legislative enactments; and, although the population has been somewhat unsettled, owing to the recent gold discoveries, the returns appear to be sufficiently accurate to justify the Government in bringing forward a measure for re-adjusting, without further delay, the different electorates throughout the colony."

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS : What date is that?

Mr. WALSH : The 4th August, 1868.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL : Why, that is the other Government.

Mr. WALSH : He found that present Ministers complained that that Government had been shirking the question of representation, and it had been made a matter of grievance against them. Did anybody deny that the people of this colony are indifferently and inadequately represented? The people had a right to be fairly represented. As the representation now stood, there were 6,000 male adults in one district, with one member, while another, with but 202 male adults, had one member likewise. Honorable members could see by the census returns how inadequately the North was represented in this chamber. Was not this injustice a matter to be altered that session? Should not the people be allowed to take a share in the voting of money, in the raising of taxes, and the making of the laws? Why had not the many now unrepresented in this colony been asked by the Government to be represented in that chamber? Why had not the favorite Premier invited the unrepresented to that House by their representatives? The representation of the people ought to have taken precedence, as the most important question. Although it was the most important matter, it was a subject which the Premier durst not tackle in the House. No; it would not suit the policy of centralization and ingratiation with the people of Brisbane, which he was attempting to carry out. The population basis would be a difficulty to him, because of West Moreton. It would not suit, because the Wide Bay and Burnett Districts required more representatives. It would not suit him, because his own electorate, Fortitude Valley, had not increased in the same proportion as other districts of the colony. The same anomaly existed in Fortitude Valley as in South Brisbane, namely, that there were more electors on the roll than male adult inhabitants there.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL : They have gone to Gympie.

Mr. WALSH : The honorable gentleman could not show that the Valley should have another member. Otherwise, by the proportion of members to male adults in Brisbane, Wide Bay should have forty members at least. Therefore, in spite of all the complaints made against the late Government,

and after all his promises to remove the evils and complaints made against that Government, the honorable gentleman had found that he could not remove them, and it was patent that the honorable gentleman had clamored into office under false pretences following upon false clamors. The Government, too, had never duly let honorable members know what the questions were to which they had to apply themselves at any time. Instead of this, there had been nothing but shuffling, humbugging, and twisting about the questions before the House, while all along, this question of paramount importance—the representation of the people—was placed at the bottom of the notice paper. If the Government had been a liberal Government, why had they not said—“We will do nothing till the representation of the people is adjusted.” After the promises made in the Governor’s speeches, it was wrong of the Government to go into subordinate questions, such as pastoral leases, cotton bonuses, and so forth. That was his argument. They had been told by the Premier that the people of this colony are not represented; why, then, should the moneys of the people be voted away, in that case, for the year 1870, six months ahead? There was plenty of time for the consideration of the increased Representation Bill. Let the people be represented before these Estimates were considered at all. It was fooling the people to say, “after voting your money away, we will allow you to be represented in this chamber.” Was that the style to carry out liberal professions? Why had not these professed champions of the people shown their determination to see the people represented fairly, before they were taxed? He gave credit to the honorable members representing West Moreton, for getting the wants of their particular district represented; but the question of representation was a paramount question, far above the cotton bonus, and its continuance. It was a question which the Premier should consider as far above the mere pacifying of a few members in the House, by a cotton bonus measure. It was far more important that the people should be represented than that the Premier should have introduced those resolutions for local government, which were the wildest and most impracticable that had ever been placed before any body of men. He would be told, perhaps, that it was intended that these resolutions were to give representation by local government. But they had had enough of Government already. What was wanted, was more representatives, and less of Governmental action to care for the people. He would not admit that the subdivision of the colony into a set of petty governments would have remedied the evils complained of. The Government should not cheat the people out of their rights by bringing forward such resolutions as ought not to be put before the

House. Could not the Government see, by postponing the question of representation, that it would become too late in the session, because there would not be the requisite number of members present for its consideration? Had not the Government been working for that very thing? Had they not managed that the honorable members concerned in the Pastoral Leases Bill should be able to go away? Did not the Government hurry that Bill through the House with that object? Where were the pastoral members of the House at that moment? They had gone off, after obtaining from the astute Premier fulfilment of the promises about the Pastoral Leases. He would say unhesitatingly, that there had been the grossest bargain between the Government and certain members of the House, tacitly understood, if not expressed. They could see why the Pastoral Leases Bill and the cotton bonuses had been hurried through the House. The pastoral representatives were absent, because the honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, could not be present to vote against their consciences. Would it not have been better, before the alienation of three-fourths of the lands of the colony had been effected for twenty-one years, that the people should have been consulted? The Government had deluded the representatives and the people of this colony. Every one of the Ministers in that Government would cover themselves with the execration they deserved at the hands of the public. Even the Minister for Lands would not be the popular man in a few months’ time which he was now; the Colonial Treasurer was less favored already; as to the Minister for Works, nothing further could be said of him; and he was very much mistaken if the honorable gentleman, the Premier, would remain a favorite still. He maintained that the Estimates were not worthy of consideration because of their unfairness. The Immigration Agent’s salary should have been provided for by the Government, in them, according to the promise given by the Government; and he was perfectly certain that the question of increased representation ought to have been decided upon before they proposed to vote away any more of the people’s money. Out of a population of 100,000 in this colony, there were only 15,000 male adults represented at the present moment. He saw no reason why every adult male should not be represented in this chamber. It would be better for the colony itself that all should acquire the right to vote and take an interest in public questions. The people could be educated to do so. He had now given his reasons against considering the present Estimates. He was afraid that he should not carry that support for his motion which it deserved. But he had done his duty, and feeling, as he did, that he represented a minority in the chamber, and that the district which he represented had not

their fair share in the representation, because instead of returning two members, it should return three or four, and so that he should have more assistance in urging the views he had urged; but, feeling that he was in a minority, he could not help reading a few words which seemed particularly applicable to the occasion. They were words which could well come from Mr. Speaker himself—seeing the important position he held in the colony, and, at the same time, the feeble position, as a representative of the Wide Bay district. The extract was—

“Mr. Denison, proposed by Sir George Grey, and seconded by Mr. Walpole, was unanimously re-elected to the chair, and he took an opportunity of reminding the new members that one of the chief characteristics of the House was a regard for the right of minorities.”

He begged to move—

That the question be amended by the omission of all the words following the word “That,” with a view to the insertion, in their place, of the words “this House desires to express an opinion that the proposed distribution of revenue is partial and unfair. That provision should have been made therein for the salary of an Agent-General of Immigration. That this House is dissatisfied with the Government, because they evince no desire to provide additional representation of the people, in this chamber.”

Mr. ARCHER said he was very glad that the honorable member for Maryborough had brought under the notice of the House the exceedingly unfair distribution of the expenditure of the revenue throughout the colony. In order, however, that he might not be mistaken in what he was about to say, he wished at the outset to state that if the question before the House should go to a division he should not vote for the proposition of the honorable member for Maryborough. He would admit that the reason that would induce him to vote against the motion might be regarded as a low one, for it rested solely on the ground of expediency. After the number of adjournments, changes of Ministry, and so forth, which they had had, he could not help seeing that legislation, in respect to some important matters, was really wanted. Now, a motion, such as the one before the House, was calculated to imperil the Government; and if it should be carried, would, no doubt, do so; and if it were carried, and a change of Ministry followed, the legislation which he considered to be necessary for the welfare of the colony would be again further postponed. But there was another reason why he did not think he would be justified in voting for the motion, and that was, that he did not see there was any probability of another Ministry being formed from honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, should the present Ministry be placed in a position, that they would feel it to be a constitutional duty for them to resign. The Ministry, should the Estimates be thrown out, might look

upon such a decision as a vote of want of confidence. Now, he was not aware that, at the present time, there was any desire to see a change of Ministry; nor did he think there was any party in the House desirous of forming a new Ministry. Under those circumstances, though, he believed there was the greatest justice in what had been said by the honorable member for Maryborough—he believed it would be an evil to the country to have a dissolution, or a change of Ministry, at the present stage of the session. He was not saying that from any personal feelings or views upon the subject; for he did not know if ever he would again appear in the House; but, if not, it would be altogether on account of private reasons. He considered it would be a great evil that the House should be dissolved at present, as it would have the effect of throwing back all the work that had already been done. Those were the only reasons he had for not voting with the honorable member for Maryborough in respect to a matter of this kind on the present occasion; and he did not see that any one else could have any other reason for withholding their support from the honorable member. That the honorable member had made out a case of the harshest oppression was what no one could deny. He had shown the amount of revenue collected in the district which he represented, and the amount that was expended in the district, as compared with the amounts expended elsewhere, and had clearly made out that the Maryborough district, like other and more northern districts, was regarded by the Government, merely as an appendage for the benefit of the people residing in other parts of the colony. The district represented by the honorable member did not receive from the state benefits in proportion to its resources. He was glad that the honorable member had brought the question of the unequal way in which the revenue was expended, before the House, because it was what he himself had insisted upon, ever since he had the honor of having a seat in the House. He had always insisted that the whole of the North had been neglected for the purpose of satisfying the demands of the southern portions of the colony. He felt satisfied, having gone through the census and the Estimates, that he could make out a stronger case in respect to Rockhampton than the honorable member had made out in respect to Maryborough. The revenue that would be derived from Rockhampton, this year, would amount to £70,000; and twenty per cent of that amount would be expended in and around Brisbane, or elsewhere, in the southern portion of the colony. He was tired, however, of referring to the unequal way in which the revenue was expended, for he had found that the subject was never attended to. Now, he could not help maintaining that the state of things which had hitherto existed, really required to be remedied; and he was glad that the hon-

orable member for Maryborough had come forward with figures to show the way in which the people of the North were defrauded of their rights. He certainly believed that if it were not for the necessity of passing the Estimates, and for the advancement of legislation generally, a vote of want of confidence would be passed that night. The honorable member for Maryborough had referred to the Estimates, and had shown that it was proposed to spend the sum of £1,500 on the road between Brisbane and Gympie,—a road along which there was now very little general traffic indeed. He hoped when the vote came before the House some honorable member would propose that it be reduced by £1,499 19s. The proposed expenditure was intended solely for the benefit of Brisbane, for he was convinced that nineteen-twentieths of the present traffic of Gympie was carried on by way of Maryborough; and very properly so; for to take goods from Brisbane to Gympie required several days, and the goods were liable to be exposed to weather destructive of perishable goods; whereas the journey from Maryborough to Gympie could be accomplished in about a-fourth of the time. Seeing that such was the case, he thought the motion brought forward by the honorable member for Maryborough was one that ought not only to receive the attention of the House, but which should also obtain some explanation from the honorable the Colonial Treasurer. But it seemed to him that the Government were determined not to explain anything. He thought that the Government, being aware of the fact that those who had little faith in them did not wish to see any change of Ministry take place at present, took advantage of that circumstance not to pay attention to the representations of honorable members, even when a good case was made out. Now, he thought it would be to the benefit of the Ministry if, when charges were brought against them they would take the trouble to explain them away, if they could do so. He went through the census the other day, and he found that, throwing out of the account the township of St. Lawrence, and simply taking Rockhampton, and the country inland, that was connected with it, as the sea port, there was a population of 16,000 inhabitants; but since the census was taken the population had greatly increased, in consequence of the extended development of the gold fields. Well, on the other hand, he found that, adding to the local expenditure of that part of Queensland the interest upon the useless northern railway, and other public works, not so utterly useless, for the dredging plant, for instance, the district was taxed, and had to pay, towards the Government of Queensland, between £30,000 and £40,000, for which they got no return whatever. Now seeing that to be the case, it would be impossible for him to hear what had fallen

from the honorable member for Maryborough, without protesting, as he had done, against the unjustifiable method of taxing the people and giving them so little in return. After the speeches that had been delivered in the House, he maintained that it was the duty of the Government to have brought in a Redistribution Bill, as they promised, at the commencement of the session to do, but which they had shunted back and back from time to time as often as there was an opportunity afforded of further postponing it, as if they were afraid to bring it on. Now, he thought the Government should have shown that they were not afraid to bring it forward. He knew there were some things which he had asked for over and over again for his district, but which he had, as yet, been unable to obtain, and which he would still have to ask for, that would have been granted at once if the part of the country he represented had been represented by two or three members; for he found that the Government distributed their favors not according to right, but according to the number of representatives of a district. He was so thoroughly satisfied that such was the case, that he felt exceedingly sorry that the circumstances of the country were such that he could not vote with the honorable member for Maryborough on the present occasion. The dissolutions, prorogations, and adjournments that had taken place within the last year or two had thrown them so far back in respect to useful legislation, that honorable members were really obliged, for the sake of the welfare of the colony generally, to submit, in some instances, to hardship if not to injustice. He hoped the Government would yet, even this session, bring forward the Additional Members Bill, though not exactly in the shape in which it was when last before the House. If they had brought forward the Bill that was proposed by the previous Government, with a slight alteration as regarded the Kennedy, he thought it might have been possible to have produced a measure that would have secured a fair representation of the people.

Mr. HALY said he would support the honorable member for Maryborough;—and the whole of the northern people ought to thank him for the very moderate, but at the same time, forcible speech he had delivered; for he had brought forward facts and figures which the Government could not set aside. And not only did he deserve the thanks of the northern members, but those of every honorable member in the House. The Government had brought in Estimates that were a disgrace to them; and which were altogether unjust to the part of the country he had the honor to represent. He very much regretted that his honorable and learned colleague was not present; and while he did not wish to be hard upon him, he must say that it seemed to him as if he had deserted his constituency of late. He would have liked that the honorable gentleman had been present, for he knew

that the Burnett district had been shamefully neglected by the Government; and that the development of the very valuable silver mine which had been discovered in the district would be greatly retarded in consequence. If all that he had heard and read respecting the mine, was true, there could be no doubt that it was one of the richest silver mines which had yet been discovered in Australia. He understood that if the weather kept favorable for mining operations there would very shortly be a hundred and fifty men at work at the mine; and it was intended to erect the necessary premises for smelting the ore, in Maryborough. Now, with those facts before them, the Government were not only neglecting the interests of that district alone, but the interests of the whole colony. But he hoped the honorable the Premier, when he rose to address the House, would not say that he did not know those things, for he did know them. He believed he had an honest cause, a right cause, and a just cause; and all he wished was, that he had such power of speech as would enable him to let the Government know that that part of the country which he represented would not put up with such unjust treatment as was shown in the Estimates. When he looked over the Estimates first, he was very glad that none of the members of the Government were present, for he certainly expressed himself in very plain language as to the way in which his district was treated, compared with others. He found that, for a road of ninety miles in length in the district, over which there was a large amount of traffic, including a mail coach three times a week, there was only £700 put down for maintenance and repair for the next year. Now, he was positive that, if they got a return of the amount of money that had been spent upon the splendid road between Brisbane and Ipswich, over which a dray seldom passed, it would be found that about double that amount was spent last year. If the Government really cared twopence whether they did justice to the various districts of the colony or not, they would pay attention to the long neglected claims of the district which he represented. He really began to think that he must take the advice given him by his constituents, and oppose the Government in every form, if they would not do something for the district. In advocating the interests of his district, he really felt that he was advocating the interests of the whole colony. He would certainly divide the House with the honorable member for Maryborough, for he cordially agreed with every word that that honorable member had stated.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he thought that in a House constituted as that one was at the present time, the Government would require to be gifted with almost superhuman powers or influence, to be able to control the many diverse and unruly elements they had

to encounter. He had no doubt that every honorable member had a grievance, and if every grievance were to be fixed on the Estimates, it would not be possible for any Government to carry on. He would defy any mortal man to bring in a set of Estimates that would not meet with general condemnation on some ground or other. No doubt every honorable member considered that the part of the country which he represented was not done justice to unless he got for it all that he wanted; and so it would be to the end of the chapter; whatever Government might be in power. But the honorable member for Maryborough had brought a charge against the Government, to the effect that the Estimates now before the House had been framed in a way that was altogether unjust. Now, if the House should endorse that opinion, there would be nothing left for the Government but to accept it as a vote of want of confidence, and, of course, he should be prepared to act accordingly. They would then find themselves in this position, that for nearly seven months—having battled with a variety of troubles, including a dissolution, and a reconstruction of the Ministry, and being menaced by the question of the cotton bonuses;—then that of the Brisbane bridge, next the formation of a railway from Brisbane to Ipswich, and, in addition to all those, the great questions of northern grievances, and local self-government—they would find themselves in the position of men who had rolled up several stones to the top of a hill, in the shape of legislation, and who were obliged to let them roll back again and crush them. He was anxious that the honorable the Colonial Treasurer should get, to what most honorable members, he believed, would admit was really the business of the evening—namely, the financial statement. The honorable member for Maryborough had introduced his resolutions in the good-humored way that was usual with him; but he hoped honorable members would not be misled into believing that the whole thing was a sort of a joke; for, though the resolutions had been put forward as merely from a desire to obtain an expression of opinion on the various points raised by the honorable member, there was no doubt that, should they be carried, the honorable member would not be slow to avail himself of the position in which he would then find himself placed. Now, they all knew that there was only one sample of political virtue in the House, and that it was to be found in the honorable member for Maryborough. The honorable member, at any rate, seemed to have deluded himself into the belief that such was the case. On what other ground could the honorable member come to the conclusion that other honorable members had been bought right and left? But the honorable member had not been bought. Now, he would give the honorable member a little bit of friendly advice. In the first place, he would tell him that he always

overstated his case; and, by his extravagant denunciations, and wide-sweeping charges, he drove all moderate men from him. His charges were not credited—at least, to the extent he made them; and when they were made the subject of conversation, they were generally disposed of with the remark, "Oh, it's only Walsh!" Now, the sixty-six resolutions that were before the House, a few evenings ago, on the subject of local government, were very good, and provided for a fair distribution of the revenue, but the honorable member for Maryborough would not avail himself of them. If they had been carried, they would, he believed, have been productive of a great deal of good. But the honorable member for Maryborough would not support them, though they actually provided for what he was always asking for. But he went on abusing the Ministry right and left, and telling the House that there was nothing good in the Ministry. Had the resolutions been passed, they might have found that the honorable member would have made a splendid warden for Maryborough; and then, no doubt, they would have seen in him such a display of administrative ability as had never before been witnessed in the colony. But the honorable member would have nothing to do with the resolutions, because they came from the present Ministry; and, of course, nothing that came from the present Ministry could be good. Had the same resolutions come from a Ministry having the support of the honorable member, they would, no doubt, have received his most strenuous advocacy. The honorable member, however, appeared to be most in his element when he was in opposition; and so zealously did he exert himself in opposing almost everything that was brought forward by any Government, that some of the people had actually come to think that the honorable member was the conservator of public rights. The honorable member, in the course of his speech, said that the Government had not evinced any desire to proceed with the Additional Members' Bill; but, as honorable members were aware, the Bill was brought in during the last session—that was the session that was separated from the present one by merely a formal adjournment—and it was now in the same position, by the concurrence of the House, that it was in when that formal adjournment took place. The honorable member for Maryborough absented himself when the question was before the House. He deserted his post then, and left that measure and others to be dealt with by those honorable members who, without such a display of zeal, did not desert their post. But whence all the zeal now that was manifested by the honorable member. The resolutions he had now brought before the House were the embodiment of faction, and nothing else. Every one of them was factious—in line, in letter, and in spirit; and that, no doubt, was the reason why the

honorable and learned member for the Burnett was not present, nor the honorable member for Port Curtis, to support them. In no other spirit but that of faction could those resolutions have been brought forward. The honorable member, the other night, opposed the cotton bonus resolutions, but now he was endeavoring to coax the honorable members for Ipswich to support him; but that was only another specimen of the inconsistent way in which the honorable member sought to accomplish his objects. He also asserted that there was a compact with the squatters, founded on the Pastoral Leases Bill, in order to obtain their support on other measures. Now, he most emphatically denied that there was any compact between the Government and the squatters, or any one else; and, more than that, he could assure the House, that no man ever sat in the House, at the head of the Ministry, with less of a compact than he did, from the day he entered office to the present time. Every step he had taken had been an independent one. The man who would offer to sell him his vote he would look upon as seeking to cast dishonor and disgrace upon him. He would regard him as an enemy and as a man who deserved to be despised by every right-thinking man. The man who would allow him to whisper to him of corruption, or of purchase, he would scorn to meet in the street. But the honorable member for Maryborough was pure, and he was full of patriotism, and nobody consequently could buy him; and he would be just with the honorable member, and tell him that he for one did not intend to try. Had he ever tried to coax or wheedle the honorable member?—

Mr. WALSH: If the honorable member asked the question, he would answer it by telling him that he was trying to do so now.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Well, some people liked sweets, and some liked bitters, and the honorable member must prefer the latter if he thought, that, by his observations, he was trying to obtain his support. He knew that the honorable member could not be sold; and that there was not the slightest chance of overcoming his financial astuteness and cleverness. Now, as to the Additional Members' Bill, he had done all that the House had asked him to do, and it was for the House, if they wished that the Bill should pass, to support it by a majority of two-thirds. At present, he could not get the Bill on, but he fully intended to go on with it. Honorable members might rest assured of that. If the Bill were to be proceeded with now, and passed, they could not any longer remain where they were. They must cease to legislate further. It would only be at the close of the present session that it would be right, or prudent, to attempt to pass an Additional Representation Bill, and in the course the Government had taken in the matter, he felt they had acted in a way that would be satisfactory to the country.

Now, he would state frankly that the Government were entitled to their supplies. Even though the House should deny them their support in matters of legislation, they were, as a Government, entitled to receive supply for the purpose of carrying on the Government of the country while that duty was entrusted to them. Why should this Government be placed in a worse position in that respect than any other Government. He had not receded a single inch from what he thought was the right course; and on that ground, and that ground alone, he claimed that honorable members should give him their support. If they thought the Government did not deserve the support of the House let a distinct want of confidence motion be brought forward, and he and his colleagues would be prepared to meet it. As to the amount to be devoted to immigration purposes it would be time enough to speak about that when they had seen the Bill, as returned from the other branch of the Legislature. With respect to much of the matter in the speeches of honorable members that was personal to himself, he would not trouble the House. He had endeavored to do his work, and there was a fair way for the House to deal with him if he had not acted in a way that was satisfactory to the majority of honorable members. He had brought forward the business of the Government in the way that he found it could be done. He had exercised his right to bring forward the Government business in the way the Government desired it should be taken up; and was it to be supposed for a moment that he was so unsophisticated as to consult the honorable member for Maryborough as to the order he should adopt. He had not done so, and it was not his intention to do so. Till the honorable member gave him a greater share of his confidence than he had done he was not prepared to consult him. What he blamed previous Ministries for was, that they placed too much reliance upon one part of the House as to the time they should bring in their measures; and, in some respects, as to the measures they should bring in. Now, he would do nothing of the sort. He threw his measures on the whole House, and not on a particular section of it, feeling sure that if they were good they would be accepted, and if they were bad they would be rejected; and he would not depend for his position on the coaxing, or wheedling, or purchasing of any member. It would be his endeavor to do as much good as he could, though he might not be able to do all that he might think it would be wise to do. As to the way in which the honorable member for Maryborough, and the honorable member for Rockhampton had dealt with the question of finance, it appeared to him that they had, as it were, taken a sponge and wiped out their share of the public debt. Now, how was it possible to deal with honorable members who treated main questions in that way. Those honorable members and the Government

started from the extreme poles, taking opposite courses, and it was, therefore, impossible they could agree. Those honorable members, on the one hand, wiped out their share of the public debt, and the Government on the other, maintained that the public debt, as a whole, was chargeable on the whole colony. He thought he had now said enough, and he hoped honorable members would allow the real business of the evening to be at once entered upon. He did not apprehend that the amendment would be passed; but, should it be so, he would regard it in the light of a vote of want of confidence; and in saying that, he spoke not only for himself, but for his colleagues. He had endeavored to meet the charges that had been made, and he would, with confidence, await the decision of the House.

Mr. MILLS said the honorable member for Maryborough, and the honorable member for the Burnett, had made some very serious complaints because of the smallness of the sums put down in the Estimates for the roads in their districts. The honorable member for the Burnett, he understood, complained, that for the Gayndah road, which was ninety miles in length, there was a sum of only £750 put on the Estimates. Now, he could inform the honorable member that he had made a mistake in thinking that his district had been badly treated, for he could tell him of a much worse case in the Western district—and that was the main road from Dalby to Condamine, which was also ninety miles, also, but over which a very large amount of traffic passed. Well, for that road, the amount put down was only £400. Now, the Gayndah road, which was the subject of the honorable member's grievance, was to get £750, or about as much again. Well, he was not going to blame the Government for that, because he thought that, looking at the position the country was in at the present time, it would be extravagance, in the extreme, to throw away money upon the roads in the far interior. If the Government would make a few bridges and mend the roads here and there, they would do quite enough; and any more would be a waste of money. As he had said, there was a sum of £400 only put down for the Dalby and Condamine road; and then, for the road from Condamine to Roma, a distance of 120 miles, there was also a sum of only £400 put down. Now, in the face of those facts, he did not see what the honorable member for Maryborough, and the honorable member for the Burnett, had to complain of. As far as the items for roads were concerned, as between the Western districts and the Northern districts, they had the best of it. But there was one item, which was for a portion of the Western district, that looked exceedingly large; and he would like to know something about it. The portion of the Western district to which it referred was represented by a member of the Ministry, but he did not know if that had

anything to do with it. He referred to a sum of £2,000 for the survey of main roads, which would be a mere waste of money there—

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Read to the end of the sentence.

Mr. MILES: For the survey of main roads and the supply of water.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: That made a considerable difference.

Mr. MILES: Well, he did not know what was meant by the survey of roads in that district. He had seen something of those surveys, and, as far as he could judge, the whole thing consisted of marking a few trees along some particular route. Now, this was not a northern grievance but a western one. Then he came to Rockhampton. He found that there was £1,200 for the roads, there; Broad Sound, £1,000; Dawson punt, £250;—altogether, £2,450. Next, he came to the Springsure district:— Clermont, £1,200; Springsure, £1,200; and Mackenzie, another £100;—total, £2,500. The whole sum put down for the Western district was little more than half of what was down for the Northern district, as shown in the present Estimates. He was sorry that the honorable member for Maryborough, in going into the question, did not go further—not exactly into the Roads Department, but into one that equally affected the interests of the country. He found in the estimates of the Lands Department, that the commissioners, with one exception, were struck off: the commissioner for Moreton, Wide Bay and Burnett, Port Curtis, and Kennedy, were done away with. It was hardly necessary for him to say who that one left, was—the commissioner for Darling Downs. The Minister for Lands could perhaps satisfy the House with that sweeping reduction. If it was the intention of the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government to act fairly, he would have to look sharp after his colleague at the head of the Lands Department.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Hear, hear.

Mr. MILES: It was a known fact that the honorable gentleman had recently selected, or applied for, 10,000 acres of second-class pastoral land.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MILES: If the honorable gentleman administered the Land Act honestly he could not apply for that, because the Act limited the quantity to be granted to one individual to 7,000 acres. Yet, in the face of the law, the Secretary for Lands made an application for 10,000 acres. He (Mr. Miles) had no doubt the honorable gentleman knew perfectly well that he could not get that land; but it was taking advantage of an opportunity, at all events, to get the commissioner—the only one retained on the Estimates—to accept his application, subject to approval! The Premier talked a great deal about honesty and fair play; let him see that the laws were administered fairly.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MILES: He never spoke of a thing without being in a position to prove it. On Monday he visited the land office of Dalby, and there he found that the honorable gentleman had selected on the Condamine River. One side had recently been taken up under the pre-emptive right, the whole with water frontage; and the other, the selection which he (Mr. Miles) was now speaking of, took in nearly the whole frontage of the honorable gentleman's run. But, there was a vacancy between the two selections, and that was gazetted as a cattle run. The whole of that country was locked up. Let the Premier see that the Land Act was fairly, frankly, honestly administered. Therein was a greater grievance than in the paltry sums set down on the Estimates for the different districts; that affected the whole colony, not a particular district. He (Mr. Miles) wished to see justice done to the North as well as to the South; but the country would suffer more from the present partial way of administering the law than from anything else. He was in a difficulty. He must vote against the motion of the honorable member for Maryborough; but he hoped the Government would not think that, by his doing so, he had any confidence in them. He had confidence in some members of the Ministry; but he wanted the Premier to think, as he professed, that he had the responsibility of looking after his colleagues—two of them in particular—and by keeping them in check, he would do a service to the country. He had no hesitation in saying that he alluded to the honorable the Secretary for Lands, and the Colonial Secretary. On a former occasion he stated, when the Secretary for Lands took office that it was for a particular purpose; and, he thought, he was not very much mistaken, from what had taken place. He had warned the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, who professed to be particularly interested in the proper administration of the land laws, and the result showed that his warning was not ill-timed. The Premier had talked a good deal about the Additional Members Bill, which had passed its second reading on a former occasion. That Bill passed, with certain reservations. He (Mr. Miles) thought it was never the intention of the House that that Bill should pass into law in its present shape. It would be only fair that such an important measure as that should be brought forward shortly. It would not be fair to take up the time of the House by speaking at greater length. Few honorable members would vote with the honorable member for Maryborough, because of the peculiar circumstances of the Government and the colony, not because the House had confidence in the Government. He assured the Government that, if they did not mend their ways, they would not remain long in their position. He never had much confi-

dence in them, and he did not think he ever should have ; and he did not think it possible for any honorable member to have great faith in them.

Mr. FRANCIS said he agreed so thoroughly with almost everything that fell from the honorable member for Maryborough, that he should venture to take the course which the honorable member for Rockhampton seemed to recommend, though he had told the House that he was not going to take it himself. He should presume, no matter what the consequences, to vote for the amendment. It did not matter to him (Mr. Francis) in the slightest what the consequences might be. Supposing that, on the question of the amendment, there were twenty-four votes on the Opposition side, and only three on the Ministerial side of the House, he refused to consider, at all, the consequences of such a vote. It was demoralizing, altogether, to the position of members, to weigh the consequences. He was not in the House to minister to the convenience of any set of gentlemen, but to do his best for the district he represented, and for the colony at large, as to him seemed best. He distinctly refused, not very long ago, to listen to honorable gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House, who addressed them to secure adhesion to the Mackenzie Government, and he did the same now. If it depended on him alone to prevent a change—supposing that in that change, the House had to look to the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thorn, to direct affairs—it would not influence him in the least. If he understood the theory of responsible Government, it was the undoubted right of the House to demand redress of grievances, before they went into the consideration of supply. Apart from what had been so ably, and with unusual ability, stated by the honorable member for Maryborough, he had one or two grievances of his own. He would say one word in answer to what fell from the Premier, when that honorable gentleman twitted the House by saying that he must be “the ruler of the winds,” if he could control their needs and demands. There was one grievance that they had a right to expect should be remedied. The honorable gentleman should abide by his own word, and the House had a right to expect that he would act up to his own proposition. Out of his own mouth, he (Mr. Francis) would condemn him. In that interesting debate, which resulted in so much benefit to the country in the last general election, and in the subsequent expulsion from office of the Mackenzie Government, the honorable member for Fortitude Valley made a most admirable speech, every word of which would be worth reading to the House, but out of which he should take only one or two short quotations, bearing upon the subject of the administration of the Land Act—

“When the public had been forced to resort to

the Supreme Court of the colony to enforce the provisions of that Act, he thought it was time to affirm that its administration had been faulty. He could adduce many instances where persons who were entitled to land were compelled to have recourse to the Supreme Court, and did not get it even then. He had continued to feel that fear ; and he must say he should like to see the administration of that Act, which was not so bad as it was said to be, intrusted to the hands, which he believed it would be—in the hands of men who would give it an honest trial. \* \* \* \* \*

With regard to the Land Act, he must say that he should like to see it thoroughly tried. He did not say it was a perfect measure, and he should like to have seen in the opening speech some suggestion to amend it in its details.”

The greater part of that speech was an apology for the part the honorable gentleman took in passing that Act ; and it was owing to the part he took on the third reading that that atrocious measure became law. It would not have been passed but for the able support of the honorable member for South Brisbane and the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government. The Act was tolerably good, but the administration of it was extremely faulty. Now, he (Mr. Francis) would ask the House what trial the Act had had under the administration of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, the present Premier. The honorable member for Maranoa, who was perfectly acquainted with the facts of the case in one district of the colony, had told what had been going on at the Condamine River, in the name of the honorable gentleman who was at the head of the Lands Department. But he (Mr. Francis) was not going to trouble the House with that again, or with his own peculiar grievances—and he had one or two, as well as other honorable members ; every one had some grievance—under the Land Act. That Act was passed for the Darling Downs, and not for the colony. It had been found not applicable to settling that district with population and realising revenue ; but it had been found successful, to a certain extent, in regard to East and West Moreton. He wished to speak respectfully of the honorable member who had charge of the administration of the Act ; but he must say that his administration did not give satisfaction at all. His administration of the Act, on the Darling Downs, was infamous. He (Mr. Francis) hoped that was a parliamentary expression. He wanted, too, to say a word or two as to the proposed proceeding of the Government under the Act, which would be particularly appropriate to this occasion, with regard to the only part of the colony where the Act had worked well, and to the only land commissioner under the Act who had given satisfaction to the public.

HONORABLE MEMBERS : Hear, hear.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS : No.

Mr. FRANCIS : He spoke of Mr. Charles Coxen, and that gentleman was dismissed. Could the House support a Government who came into office on the plea that the Land

Act, as administered by the late Government, was ruining the colony, and whose first act, when they had full scope—they had not scope in the Estimates for 1869—was to dismiss Mr. Coxen? It was not because he (Mr. Francis) knew Mr. Coxen that he spoke; but that gentleman happened to be the only one of the commissioners who had given satisfaction to the country in carrying out the provisions of the Land Act. That was his first grievance. He had been twitted by the Premier, with ventilating in the House debating society propositions, and it seemed to be no answer that the honorable gentleman, in his younger days, held the same views as himself; but he would call attention to another point on which they precisely agreed, and on which the honorable gentleman, on previous occasions, expressed the opinions he (Mr. Francis) now held—that was, regarding the construction of the railway between Brisbane and Ipswich. He was bold enough to say that he would not support the Government, and would not go into supply at their bidding, unless they were prepared to say manfully that they would undertake that work. What was it to him that the Government had to be reconstructed? No doubt, in the “shake in the hat,” some names would come up; what mattered it to him whose? No Government should have his support unless they were prepared to go in boldly for that. That was not a debating society’s proposition, now, any more than it was when the Premier, in a hustings speech, could go in for that railway between Brisbane and Ipswich. But it might be convenient in that case, and not at the present time;—the exigencies of the political situation did not allow it, now! That was his (Mr. Francis’) second grievance. He hoped he should be forgiven; but he must now, for a moment, refer to the honorable the Secretary for Works. He took the liberty, a few weeks ago, of warning the honorable gentleman, that unless the Government openly dealt with the national expenditure, which seemed to be the national policy, he, for one, should oppose the going into supply; that was with regard to carrying out further public works, in order to make the land habitable, by carrying out a measure of water supply. He must be uncharitable enough—he could not help it—to look upon that Bill which was read a second time, last night, as a miserable attempt; it was a mere measure for supplying water to the little townships of the colony. It was not a measure for which any Government should have support from him, in the House. He and his colleagues wanted to see a host of people settle, and do well in Queensland; and the one thing they wanted was water. It could not be dinned into their ears too much. If any one wanted to know what it was that made America so attractive to emigrants, it was because in that country there was a large supply of water. In Aus-

tralia, the rainfall being immense, the water was allowed to find its way to the sea. Any Government that wanted to continue in office, should propound and carry out a bold scheme of water supply. He should like to have heard an expression from the Premier, with whose good opinion of himself, he (Mr. Francis) would not quarrel, in which he would have shown his readiness to go in for a couple of hundred thousand pounds, or half-a-million, for that purpose. Though the Bill had been read a second time, if the House went into supply, as far as he could see, they would hear the first toll of the bell which rung the session out: no business could then be gone on with—the Estimates must be passed. He held that the Water Supply Bill was a subterfuge, a delusion, and a snare. It was not a new crotchet of the honorable member for Maryborough, or of himself, that objection was made to that medley which formed the present Government. It had often been expressed that there should be responsible Government; that it was not, was a ground of accusation against the late Ministry. It was an accusation against them when they did not deal with the re-distribution of seats. He (Mr. Francis) was aware, and it was understood, last year, that the House were not to meet for 1870 without having submitted to them the great question of the re-distribution of seats. The honorable member at the head of the Government told the House that he was going on with the Additional Members Bill. Well, he believed the honorable gentleman was, and was not: he thought something would be done by him, yet—the honorable gentleman would play with the House a little more, and treat them to some more of his delightful speeches, which were pleasant to listen to, but, there was nothing in them when all was told. Then, honorable members would all be sent home, and the country would be told, in respect to the much-needed reform, that the House would not stand it. Of course, self-preservation being the first consideration of all with the Government, he was not surprised that everything should give way to it. But he wanted to see a Government who would deal with the question of parliamentary reform; he wanted to see the Electoral Act altogether remodeled; he wanted to see that doctrine which had been enunciated—strange doctrine for the honorable member for Maryborough—to-night, representation based on population, carried out. It was not a strange doctrine with honorable members on the ministerial side of the House, who, in their hustings speeches, had cajoled the people with it; who said that such things were all very well on the hustings, but not for the House. He wanted to see honorable members do in the House what they professed on the hustings. He wanted to see representative reform gone into with good heart by the Government; he wanted to see a Government with a policy, and with courage

to carry out that policy, utterly regardless of themselves and their position—who would say, “There is our policy; if you don’t like our policy, get somebody else.” That would be a higher law of conduct in a Government that was at present recognised; that would entitle the Premier to a higher opinion from the country than anything he (Mr. Francis) had seen since the honorable gentleman came into office. He had a good opinion of the honorable gentleman, before, but he was very much afraid he could not retain it. He wanted to see the Government act up to their professions, and boldly. He was extremely anxious to hear the financial statement of the Treasurer, than whom there was no abler man in the House for his position, if he would only be true to himself and to the colony. He wanted to hear what had been done for Queensland. And, therefore, he was very loth to take the course he was taking. But he had a higher duty to perform than to study the convenience of any Government; he had to insist upon their being true to those principles they had professed to be guided by, on their part, and by which they had got into their present position.

Mr. JORDAN said he was not able to take the course which his honorable colleague had stated he intended to take, in following the honorable member for Maryborough. He always liked to hear his honorable colleague, because he did not occupy too much of the time of the House, and what was said by him was worth listening to. It was well to bear in mind in the House, that if they did not do as they wished, they might do as well as they could; and, he thought that, on comparing what was done, this session, with what had been done in previous sessions ever since Queensland had existence, except the first session, the comparison would be in favor of the present session of Parliament. His honorable colleague said he would support the amendment, whatever the consequences might be. He (Mr. Jordan) was not going to support it, because he was afraid what the consequences would be. He could not disguise from himself that if it were carried, it would amount to a vote of want of confidence in the Government, and he thought his honorable colleague would admit that if that should be the case—if there should now be a ministerial change—it must bring about a change for the worse. Could the House expect any advantage? Could they accept the policy of the late Government, which, as he before said, was a do-nothing policy. He had not one idea in common with them, and he did not believe in anything they were likely to do for the real progress and welfare of this colony. During the last session, nothing was done, and during the former, little or nothing, by them; and even, then, what little was done, was done badly. European immigration was stopped; Polynesian immigration was started; a land law was passed which his honorable

colleague admitted was a very bad law. He did not think the House was satisfied that the Land Act was badly administered by the honorable gentleman, the present head of the Land Department; they had not been able to see yet whether it was or not. He had heard nothing of it, except the words of the honorable member for Maranoa, who said so little that he hardly knew what the honorable member meant. It was a most serious and difficult thing, he believed, to administer that Act. He could only say that he believed it was working well in the East and West Moreton districts; and he rather regretted to hear that the commissioner’s services were to be dispensed with. But, he thought, that in the economical arrangements of the Government it would be shown, in some way or other, that the change was part of wise administration. He had been amused at the grievances brought forward by honorable members during the debate. One honorable member denounced the present Government because they were not pledged to a policy of rigid economy; another said he was resolved to have them out unless they went in for an expenditure of half-a-million of money. What were the Government to do? The very best they could. They had done tolerably well, so far. They had passed an Immigration Bill which he (Mr. Jordan) had no hesitation in saying was the very best that ever was passed for a colony; and, from what he knew of the other side of the globe, if that measure was placed in the hands of an energetic, honest, hard-working man—

Mr. FRANCIS: Hear, hear.

Mr. JORDAN: Such as he thought could be found—that measure would be a great success. If the House did nothing else this session, they would have done well. If the Government sent home such a man to England, with a good salary—

HONORABLE MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. JORDAN: He never would go, himself, for £5,000 a year;—but the colony wanted proper representation at home. The public and the House were not satisfied with having one ship coming out now and then, with a few of the poorest classes of persons, such only as a clerk at home could get; they wanted many people of good class to come out; and they wanted somebody to go home, and properly to direct attention to the advantages offered by the colony; and, then, the passing of the Immigration Bill would effect more good than anything else the Legislature could do for years. The House had passed a Pastoral Leases Bill, which was a thoroughly liberal measure, and which was looked to as likely to effect much good in the country. There was something of a policy in those measures. The Government had been spoken hardly of, and abused very roundly, by his honorable friend—if he might be allowed to call him so—the member for Maryborough, whose vocabulary, he regretted, was so rich.

He (Mr. Jordan) had his grievance, as well as that honorable member and others who had taken part in the debate;—he might, for instance, complain of the small amount put down in the Estimates for the district in which he resided, and where so many substantial agricultural settlers were located. For that, there was only £800 put down. But, the Government were bound to economise; the House were determined that the Government should not spend the public money; and it was a most difficult question to decide on. He had waited upon the Minister for Works so often, with deputations of substantial farmers—jolly-looking fellows, who came from the other side of the world, deluded hither by himself—interested in necessary public works in the district, that the honorable gentleman was obliged to tell him that though he was always very glad to see him, the less frequently he visited his office the better he should be pleased. The fact was, that however pressing such works were, and however anxious honorable members might be to get them, there was no money to spend. Then, the House had done something in the way of encouraging native industries in a very liberal spirit; they had met the demands of the very important section of the colonists who had made cotton-growing a success, by giving them an extension of the cotton bonus; and, it must not be forgotten that the very gentlemen who were opposed to the Government—who were for turning them out—and who would take their places, were opposed to that liberal spirit which had been manifested towards that industry, and ridiculed spending money in that way. As to the Additional Members Bill, surely the honorable member for Maryborough forgot, as the Premier had said, that the Bill was brought in, and passed its second reading, when he was away from the House. He (Mr. Jordan) did not believe that the Government meant to shirk their work; they believed that a bold policy, a liberal policy, was the one that would secure for them the adherence of the large proportion of the country—of the North—and certainly of the large majority in the city and the large towns of the colony. He believed that they intended to bring in that measure, and that they would carry it. He believed that his honorable colleague would be satisfied with the measure the Government would adopt for the completion of the railway. He did not believe that the Government were so short-sighted as to witness the expenditure of so large an amount as it had cost to bring the garden of the colony in connection with the port, and then to leave the last link unfinished; and, in what they would do, they would have the support of honorable members for West Moreton. There was no honorable member in the House who had not a grievance; and he was prepared, when the Committee of Supply came to that part of the Estimates where he could do so, to help

the honorable member for Maryborough, if he could make out a good case, to get more money. He believed the colony was on the verge of ruin for want of legislation.

Mr. WALSH: By legislation.

Mr. JORDAN: An honorable member would not be acting for the good of the colony, unless he set aside his peculiar grievance and looked to the general welfare. To turn out the Government, now, after what has been done, would bring the affairs of the colony to a dead stand; and might result in another year's delay of all legislation. Such an occurrence would be the finishing blow to the colony.

The question was put—"That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question;" and the House divided:—

Ayes, 21. Mr. Lilley " Macalister " Stephens " Taylor " Bell " Royds " Thorn " Miles " S. Hodgson " Archer " Forbes " Williams " Edmondstone " Fraser " Jordan " Ramsay " Thornton " Murphy " Groom Dr. O'Doherty Mr. A. Hodgson.	Noes, 4. Mr. Francis " Thompson " Italy " Walsh.
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Original question then put and passed.

Whereupon the Speaker left the chair, and the House resolved into a Committee of the Whole accordingly.

The CHAIRMAN reported that the committee had come to a resolution, which (under suspension of Standing Order No. 267) was then read to the House, as follows:—

That there be granted to Her Majesty, for the service of the year 1870, a sum not exceeding £39, to defray the salary of messenger in the Executive Council.

The COLONIAL TREASURER then moved—

That this resolution be now adopted by the House.

Question put and passed.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

The COLONIAL TREASURER moved—

That the Speaker do now leave the chair, and the House resolve into a committee, to consider of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty.

Mr. WALSH said, before the question was put, he desired to submit to the honorable gentleman whether it would not be unfair to call on him, at so late an hour of the evening, to make his financial statement. He had been the means, conscientiously, of interrupting the honorable gentleman in the course which he had laid down for himself; otherwise the Colonial Treasurer would have been

able to proceed earlier with his speech. Under the circumstances, he thought the House would ask the honorable gentleman to forego favoring the House with his statement till to-morrow.

MR. JORDAN said he was sure the honorable member for Maryborough acted in the most courteous spirit; but his proposal was one the House could hardly accept. If the honorable the Treasurer was prepared to go on, the House were eagerly desirous to hear him, and all honorable members felt that sufficient time had been taken up with the question just decided. Time was precious, and there was plenty of work to do.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he thought he could answer that his honorable colleague was prepared to go on, and had no desire to postpone his financial statement. They were all aware the Treasurer was a concise and clear speaker, and he had not the slightest doubt would be able to make his statement in two or three hours. The honorable gentleman was very grateful to the honorable member for Maryborough, for his kindly interest shown; but the Treasurer desired that the business should be advanced to-night.

The question was put and passed, and the House resolved into Committee of the Whole accordingly.

The COLONIAL TREASURER, on rising, said that the resolution he had to move in committee was the usual one—

That towards making good the Supply to be voted to Her Majesty the sum of £39 be granted out of the consolidated revenue of the colony.

In moving that resolution, he took the opportunity of making what was known as the financial statement. It would be recollected that the statement that should have been made in 1868 was not made until March of the present year, being several months later than usual. On that occasion he was enabled to bring up the statement of accounts to the beginning of the present year. That statement having been made up so lately, the Government had not now another year's accounts to lay before the House, and the information he had to give with regard to the revenue account was, therefore, more meagre than usual. In making that statement he was aware that another would follow very shortly, and he therefore confined himself to the current revenue account, and omitted other portions of the subject. He would have very little, therefore, to say that evening of the current revenue, but his statement would be mainly on the loans and general financial position of the country. It appeared to him important that that should be laid before the country in such a way that there should be a clear and full understanding of what was the financial position of the country. He would have to use again some of the figures he used on the last occasion, in March last, in order to bring things up to the first of January, of the present year, but

he would do so as sparingly as possible. The deficiency in 1865 on the current revenue account amounted to £47,514; in 1866 there was a deficiency of £118,245; in 1867 £55,715, and in 1868 there was again a deficit, although to a much smaller amount, namely, £15,272. On the first of January, of the present year, the sum of £112,526 was paid for interest which had accrued during the previous year, and which was all provided for, and although not mentioned, was necessary to be included to bring it up to that date. That left a total debtor balance amounting to £349,309, or in other words, during the previous four years the expenditure had exceeded the revenue by about £350,000. Now the estimated revenue for the year 1869, made in March last, was £786,300. Six months of the year had now passed, and, with the additional light which the experience of those six months had thrown upon it, he did not now feel prepared to alter that estimate. It appeared to his mind to be not at all improbable that the full amount would be reached, but he did not think there was any probability of its being exceeded, and there was a probability that it might not be quite realized, but that probability was not sufficient to justify him in altering the figures. In the year 1868 the total revenue actually received was £724,854, and the estimated revenue, for the present year, was £786,300, being nearly £62,000 in excess of the actual revenue of 1868. He found that the receipts for the first half of last year were £284,573, while the receipts for the first six months of the present year amounted to £321,000; the receipts for the first half of the present year, therefore, exceeded the receipts for the corresponding half-year of 1868 by £37,000. As he had only estimated the total receipts for the year at £62,000 in excess of what was actually received last year, and as the first six months had produced £37,000, which was considerably more than the half of £62,000 for the whole year, if the receipts for the latter half of the year were in proportion to those of the first half, it was quite clear that the estimated revenue would be exceeded. If he could go over the majority of the items separately, most of them would show that they would fully justify the estimate for the present year; but there were two items on which there would probably be a reduction, both of which were in connection with the land. One would certainly produce less than was estimated. The first of those was auction purchases and selection of land on unconditional purchase, that the full amount would be paid at once. They were estimated for the present year at £30,000. The total receipts during the first half-year had only been £14,214, and out of that not less than £10,531 was received in land orders—three-quarters during the last two months of the year, leaving only a balance in cash of £3,685. Now, it would appear that they had no hope of receiving one-half of the amount estimated, and, if he was simply to quote those figures

as they stood, without explanation, it would be shown that scarcely any land was being purchased. It must be borne in mind, however, that very little land was brought forward during the first three months of the year; but within the last few months there had been large surveys made of land likely to be competed for, and there were some sales advertised to take place shortly; so that it was likely that a considerable amount would be realized during the next six months, but not so much as was anticipated, and, for that reason, he conceived that there must be a reduction. The other item on which there might be some reduction, was rent and assessment of runs. Those were estimated at £133,000, and as a great deal had been said about the reduction which would take place in these receipts, there might be some probability of the Government not receiving the full amount estimated. The conclusion he came to with regard to this year's revenue from all sources was, that, judging from the revenue for the first six months, with the one exception of the auction sales of land, which would be right at the end of the year, the figures would certainly not justify him in making a reduction of that estimate for this year. The total estimated revenue for the present year, as given in the estimate made at the end of March last, was £786,300; the total expenditure, as per Estimates-in-chief, was £728,600. Again, following the same statement, and correcting it only in the alterations made in the Estimates while passing through committee, allowance was made for Supplementary Estimates to the extent of £50,000. On the other hand, there was a probability of a number of lapsed votes, and the money not being expended, which would reduce them to something like £24,000. This would give a surplus of about £33,000 at the end of the year. That was the statement made by him in March last. He found that, whilst he then estimated the total expenditure at £752,600, the actual expenditure made from January 1st to the end of June, was £376,539, or the exact half of what the whole was estimated at. It must be borne in mind that there were sundry items of expenditure which came in at the end of the year, which would increase the amount during the last half. For instance, there would be something like £16,000 for sinking fund, as well as other items, which make it generally the case that the expenditure of the second six months was larger than the first. But, on the other hand, it must also be remembered that, at the early part of the year, some considerable reductions were made in various quarters, which did not begin to tell on the expenditure for the first three or four months, but would be in operation during the last half of the year. There was another item worth mentioning, of £5,000, expenditure for roads in the northern division, near the end of last year, which did not come into the Treasury, and get entered in the statement of payments

until the month of February, owing to an informality in the vouchers, so that it appeared as an expenditure for the present year. If they put all these together, it would be found that the estimate would not be far wrong. He must admit that the prospect did not look nearly so promising as he should have liked to have seen it. He thought, however, that, by strict economy, it would be in the power of the Government to keep the expenditure within the limit. That, however, could only be done by a determination not to give way to those constant calls from honorable members on the opposite side; and the Government intended to firmly resist every attempt to increase the expenditure, let it come from what quarter it might; of course, always excepting that which was absolutely necessary. The least giving way on that point would cause the expenditure to exceed the estimate, and if it did, it was perfectly clear that the estimated surplus would not be £33,000. He did not feel justified in the statement he was now giving, in carrying forward any considerable surplus at the end of the year; at the same time he anticipated a small surplus, but it would only be by resisting all attempts at expenditure beyond that which was authorised, and by not spending money on luxuries. He need not detain the committee further, but would go at once to the Estimates which had just been laid on the table. It would be seen that the revenue for 1870 was estimated at £807,500, which was only £21,000 in excess of the estimated revenue for the present year. He trusted honorable members would give the Government credit, in estimating this revenue, of being exceedingly moderate in their expectations. He would remind honorable members that from the Estimates for 1869, which had been prepared by his predecessor, Sir R. R. Mackenzie, who was remarkable for under-estimating, and which he (the Treasurer) had found in his office last December, he had taken off some £45,000 in bringing in his estimate for the year 1869, and for those of 1870 he had only added £21,000. He thought the sum he had now set down was very moderate, and he trusted honorable members would believe him when he assured them that there was very little fear of the amount not being received. He found that the receipts from the customs duties during the year 1868 were £333,636, while the estimate for 1869 was £330,000—very slightly less. The estimate for the ensuing year had been increased by £10,000, which was only £6,364 in excess of the actual receipts from this source during 1868. He remembered, when he made his last statement showing how, for four or five consecutive half-years during the financial crisis, whatever were the changes going on in other directions, the customs revenue steadily increased. Those duties were collected mainly on articles of consumption, and it was curious to observe how little they were affected by what

were financial changes of the colony. In the year 1866, which was certainly one of severe financial difficulty both in the old country and here, he noticed that the customs duties were scarcely affected by it. He did not know that it was necessary for him to specify any of the items in this estimate, as honorable members could see that the increase was very little indeed, as from the natural increase of population an increased consumption of dutiable goods might fairly be anticipated. He had not, however, made any allowance for any large increase of immigration. If they should succeed in attracting large numbers of immigrants, the amount of the estimated customs duties would be exceeded, but he thought it would be incautious to take that into account, although he thought there was great probability of their getting it. Then the gold mines and the copper and silver mines which were now being discovered promised to give increased employment, and he felt confident the estimate from this source would be exceeded. The next item was "sales of land, auction and selection purchases." He had estimated that at only £10,000. The actual cash receipts in 1868 were £20,000, but it appeared to him that it would not be safe to estimate this at a very large amount for the future. At present the great bulk of the receipts from auction purchases came in the shape of land orders, and probably would continue to do so. Another reason why it was unsafe to calculate on large cash receipts from auction sales of land was that there were only one or two reasons which would induce persons to purchase land at those sales. If land was put up for sale by auction, which two or three persons wanted, it was quite clear they must compete for it; again, by being able to buy land-orders below their nominal value, the cost to the purchaser was reduced. Experience had shown that except there was this competition, people decidedly preferred taking ten years to pay for their land instead of paying all the cash down at once. By this course, and calculating the interest, the land cost much less, as instead of fifteen shillings it only amounted to about ten shillings per acre. As the Government offered land on these terms, it was not at all surprising that the majority of persons preferred that system. He therefore thought it must be calculated that there would be a reduction in the receipts from auction sales, and an increase in the rents under the Act of 1868. He would now say a few words on the subject of land orders, as they had been taken into account in considering the revenue. The total amount of outstanding land orders on the 19th of July was as follows:—Non-transferable, £50,521, which were in the hands of the Government, having been pledged for the advance of £6 each; the same class of orders in the hands of the general public, £22,373; transferable orders, issued under the Immigration Act,

£11,709; cotton bonus land orders, £8,421; making a total of £93,024. Of the £50,521 in the hands of the Government, it was estimated that most probably a large proportion would never be redeemed; and he thought four-fifths, or about £40,000, would not be too large a sum to presume as not likely to be redeemed. This would leave somewhere about £53,000 which could be paid into the Treasury. To show the rate at which those orders were at present coming in, he would refer to the receipts from land sales during the month of July. The receipts from the 1st to the 19th of July were £548 in cash, and £4,465 in land orders. Those figures would be sufficient to show that it would not be safe to count on a large revenue from auction sales while the land orders were in existence, and that the estimate of £10,000 was probably quite large enough. The next item was £22,000 for rents under the Act of 1866. This was a source of revenue which was not likely to change for some years to come. The Act of 1866 had been repealed, and this rent was for land taken up under it; and as the law at present stood, the sum should be paid entirely in cash. He therefore set down the same amount as for the present year. The only other item under which land orders could be paid was the rents for the lands taken up under the Act of 1868; and some consideration should be made for this. However, the proportion of the selections which had been paid for in land orders was very small indeed. The entire sum received during the first six months of the year for conditional purchases and homesteads was, in cash, £6,930, and £2,871 in land orders. It would thus be seen that those figures were quite the reverse of auction sales—the receipts in cash being two and a-half times as large as the land orders. He thought this would continue, irrespective of the existence of land orders, because the bulk of the payments was comparatively in small amounts, and came from a large number of individuals who would not find much interest in buying land orders. Experience showed that the proportion of conditional purchases paid in land orders was very small indeed, as compared with auction sales. He thought the rents under the Act of 1868 could be pretty safely calculated. For instance, there would be £25,000 full year's rent, for selections which were taken up previous to the 31st of March last year, and would be due in March next. The part payments on selections made between the 31st March of this year, and the same date next year—that was the annual second payment, which would have to be paid on the last-mentioned day—was estimated at £10,000. Thus a considerable portion—£35,000 out of the £50,000, and some £2,000 which would probably be received under the sixty-second clause—would be certain to be received in cash, because it would be second and third payments on all lands which had been selected, and there was

nothing to make him think it would fall off by forfeiture or otherwise. The remainder of the estimate was made up by—say £3,000 from mineral lands, and £10,000 from selections which would probably be made during 1870. Now, as the selections made during only part of the year 1868 amounted to about £25,000, he thought £10,000 as cash receipts was not at all excessive, and that this amount would be realised in 1870. Sugar and coffee leases did not require comment. The total estimated revenue from land, in 1870, was £2,000 less than the present year, but there is a considerable difference in the items, arising from the large proportion of the land being taken up under the Act of 1868, and the small portion disposed of by auction. Whatever might be said of the Act of 1868, he thought that he was safe in putting down £50,000, as it was an accumulative source of revenue. If that was the amount in 1870, they might expect £60,000 in 1871, and each year's transactions would form the basis of increase in the future. He was also inclined to think that the Act would admirably answer the purpose which was intended, by fixing the date of payment of the rent on the 31st March. The pastoral leases rent was payable on 30th September, and came in very opportune, by providing the interest due on debentures; and the income expected from land rents, under the Act of 1868, being payable in March, would provide the other half year's interest. This would be a great convenience to the Treasury, because the amount would come in at the time the payment for interest would be required to be made. The next item was, rents of lands leased for pastoral purposes. In the discussion of the Estimates, in March last, a great deal was said about the probable reduction which would take place in this item, and he then expressed an opinion that the reduction would be very small indeed. The anticipated reduction in 1868 had not taken place; and as there were no stronger reasons now than there were then for supposing that it would occur, he thought it pretty certain that the same amount would be realised. He must admit that the news by the last mail, relative to the condition of the wool market, was not such as to increase his hopes of receiving the full amount; on the contrary, he thought it would add considerably to the difficulty attending the question. It was, in fact, entirely impossible to estimate whether there would be a reduction or not. But he had taken the most cautious plan, and had put down £15,000 less than the rents for the present year. That was that the amount due for pastoral leases in 1869 was £135,000, and he had estimated £120,000 for the coming year. He was perfectly satisfied that, notwithstanding the change in the prospect of wool-growers, to which he had alluded, more than that sum would be realised. They would, doubtless, be told that numbers of blocks of land would be thrown up, and such would probably be the

case. Holders of back blocks would possibly reduce the size of their runs by resigning the more remote sections, and retaining only the best portions; the rents would therefore be reduced accordingly. He was not, however, prepared to say that, although the revenue might lose by it, the country would be injured; but, on the other hand, it would be more likely to be benefited. He thought the reductions would probably be almost entirely on the part of those who had taken up too large runs which they could not well manage, and which could be reduced with advantage. In order to estimate that, he had gone over the different districts, and he conceived that there was no fear of any large reductions in some of them. For instance, in East and West Moreton, Darling Downs, Port Curtis, Wide Bay, and the Burnett, the reduction would be very small. There would not be many on the Maranoa, and, altogether, the percentage would be slight. On the other hand, in the Mitchell, one-half the Warrego, one-third of the Leichhardt, North and South Kennedy, Burke, and Cook, he anticipated a considerable falling off. He found the total rents from those places to be £40,000 out of the £135,000; therefore, £95,000 would not be affected by this throwing up of blocks; and if the reduction was even one-fourth of the whole of the other districts, the cash falling off would be only £10,000. He was quite ready to allow for any other reduction, and, as he wished to be on the safe side, he had calculated it at one-third of the £40,000, and set down £120,000 in place of £135,000. Honorable members would see that he had been exceedingly careful in estimating the probable receipts from that source next year. Although there were districts in which large numbers of blocks would be thrown up, still two-thirds of the land from which the revenue was received was in districts in which reduction was not likely to occur, and he therefore thought they were perfectly justified in expecting no large falling off in the actual receipts, although it would appear that a large tract of country had been thrown open. He thought the sum of £120,000 was pretty certain to be received. Now, with regard to the gold revenue, which was a somewhat more uncertain item. He, however, thought it safe to estimate the receipts for next year the same as for the present. There was no necessity to go into all the details of the items, having done so in March last—and they were estimated at the same amount; although it would be conceded by all, that in consequence of new discoveries, and the steady yield of the gold fields, it was likely the revenue from escort fees and miners' rights would be in excess of the present year. The item of duty stamps came next. Honorable members would see that he had put down £27,000 for them, being £2,000 in excess of the estimated revenue of 1869, which was pretty safe to be exceeded. The esti-

mate for the present year was £25,000, and £12,615 had been received during the first six months. £1,000 might be safely added for increase of business, as also ought £1,000, which had been taken from under the head of fees of office. The fees of office in the Supreme Court had been transferred to this head, as they were paid in stamps, and the amount would be about £1,000. The receipts from postage, electric telegraphs, licenses, and other miscellaneous items, required no remark, further than they all depended on the increase or decrease of the general business transactions of the people, and heretofore they had steadily but slowly increased. He found the receipts for the first half of the present year slightly less than one-half the amount calculated for the whole year; and for 1870 the same amount was set down, and there was every probability of its being exceeded. The only other item of receipts which required comment, was railways. The actual receipts in 1868 were about £59,022, and the estimate of £80,000 for the present year was sure to be exceeded. For 1870, £100,000 was set down, and he would explain the basis on which the estimate was founded. The receipts for the first six months of the present year were £33,144, and they were all aware that the receipts for that period were necessarily much smaller than in the latter part of the year, because of the large quantities of wool which came down during the last two or three months of the year. The receipts previous to Christmas were always largely in excess of the first part of the year. He was aware that the first six months of the present year had been an exception, because of the large quantity of wool which came down very late in the season; but there was every reason to expect that something of the same kind would occur next year. He thought he was right in stating that shearing did not end in some places until March or April, and it was, therefore, likely that it would not be commenced next year until nearly the same time, though not quite so late. It was scarcely likely they would shear again in four or five months. The gross receipts for the Southern and Western Railway for the first six months of 1868, were £24,443; for the second, £30,868; for the first six months of the present year, £35,144. The receipts from the northern line were—for the first half of 1868, £1,681; the second half, £2,145; and for the first half of the present year, £2,489. The proportionate increase in the receipts of both lines for the past six months was, therefore, about fifty per cent. on the receipts of 1868. Now, it would be conceded, from that statement, that the total revenue for 1868 would be largely exceeded during the present year. This arose from several causes; he would mention two of them in particular: one was that there is an additional length of railway line open; and the other, the difficulty of inducing any people to use a new plan all at

once. But already an additional number of persons used, and more would use, the railway than in the previous season. Numbers came down from the Warrego to Ipswich, who had previously gone over the border for supplies; and, for the future, the tendency of the line already in use would be to draw traffic from other directions toward the railway. He anticipated, then, a considerable increase of railway revenue, arising from an increased appreciation of the advantages of using that mode of sending produce to market. He might state further, that from the manner in which the railway receipts were now coming in, and judging from present appearances, the railway traffic manager felt justified in calculating that before the close of the four or five months before Christmas—owing to the prospects of obtaining further traffic—the receipts from the railway would amount to £2,000 per week. That was in excess of the sum put down on the Estimates for the whole of the next year. Thus they would begin next year with that amount of traffic receipts per week; and he felt confident that the whole estimated amount of £100,000 would be received. He found, then, that the full amount of cash revenue to be received in the coming year was estimated at £807,500. He was satisfied that the full amount of this estimate would be received. In fact, there was not a single item on the Estimates which might be considered as an over-estimate. He had avoided including in the Estimates any additional sum which might probably arise from any such source as a sudden gold discovery; or, again, any sum which might reasonably be anticipated from an increase in the immigration to the colony. His estimates of anticipated increase were based merely upon the natural and existing circumstances of the colony. He would next say a few words upon the items of probable expenditure for the year 1870. He might preface his remarks by saying that they would be general, and that he proposed to leave particular items to be dealt with as they arose in committee for discussion. That would be the better plan, because every item upon the Estimates would have to be brought *seriatim* before the committee. That would be the proper time for explanation of any items. The committee, therefore, would understand that it was not because he shrank from any discussion as to the proposed manner of expenditure, but simply that the other would be the more convenient time for discussing the items, that he would not now allude to them. Honorable members would see that the actual expenditure, exclusive of interest, for the year 1870, would be, probably, £495,444. The actual expenditure for 1868, exclusive of interest, had been £503,923. The sum voted on the Estimates for 1869 was £487,481, to which there would have to be added Supplementary Estimates. After deducting the lapsed votes, the amount

would be about the same as in the year 1868. The estimate of expenditure for 1870 was £807,500, or about £8,000 in excess of the amount already voted for the present year. Now, a comparison of the different departments in which this small increase occurred, would show that far more than the whole amount of increase arose in the Department for Public Works. The increase altogether in the expenditure was £8,000, while the increase in the Public Works Department alone was £17,000. Out of that additional expenditure, £6,000 was due to increase upon railways; while the remainder arose from the proposed larger increase of expenditure upon the roads in the different districts of the colony, and buildings in different places—as at Roma. Excepting this excess of expenditure upon roads, buildings, and railways, the sum asked of the committee, now, was considerably less than the sum which had been voted for the present year. It would be a convenient time, at this stage, to refer to the sum voted for railways for the year 1870. It would be noticed that the total sum asked on the present Estimates was some £68,000, or about £6,000 in excess of what was required for the present year. It was gratifying to find, supposing the estimates were not sufficient, and that the expenses reached £70,000, that the revenue from the railway was estimated at £100,000. He was satisfied that the estimates were pretty safe, and that they might calculate on receiving £30,000 in excess of the railway expenditure. If, then, the amount of railway revenue for 1870 would reach £100,000, seeing that the rate of carriage was reduced to little more than one-half what it had once been, the country unquestionably derived a benefit from the railways to the extent of £100,000.

Mr. ARCHER: No; not one-half of that.

The COLONIAL TREASURER: Honorable members could call it less, if they liked; but he knew what the average rate of carriage had been in the country, and he felt sure that the railway rate was less than half. But, whatever was the amount of revenue received, he was satisfied that the country obtained a benefit almost equal to the sum expended—he was firmly convinced of it. The estimate of probable receipts for the ensuing year was £807,500, and the probable expenditure, including interest, was £736,569. There would then be, probably, Supplementary Estimates. It was no use saying that they would not have these Estimates: he was satisfied they would have them to meet. They would be in excess of savings by lapsed votes. He held that if it was necessary to increase the expenditure on one item, there would be some compensating item in another direction. He held that lapsed votes ought to bear some proportion to the various expenses every year. Allowing £45,000 for the Supplementary Estimates of next year, which ought to be sufficient to

cover unforeseen expenditure, there would be left a surplus, for next year, of £25,000. With regard to the manner in which these Estimates had been prepared, he need not say much, because he had gone into this matter very fully in March last. He might say that nothing was less calculated to be effective in bringing about a lessened expenditure than the adoption of wholesale or sweeping reductions. The reason for this was that such a procedure produced a reaction subsequently, and the whole of the items struck off were apt to reappear on the Estimates again. The true mode of bringing about salutary reductions was to keep a steady, constant, and careful check upon the expenses. Whenever an office became vacant, if possible, it should not be filled up again; where such office was necessary it should be filled up, if possible, by an appointment from some other office. That, he held, was the right way to effect reductions. By that means they might insure that the annual expenditure should not increase, at all events, for a year or two. That was the very point which should be aimed at. If the reduction of expenditure were done in that manner, it might be done without injustice to the public service. But if larger and more sudden reductions were attempted to be made, there would inevitably be a reaction, and greater extravagance would ensue. Without being too quick or too rash, the Government of the day should check the expenditure, and, by this means they might succeed in keeping the expenditure of the succeeding year within that incurred for the present year. That was the object aimed at in the present year's Estimates, as it had also been in the last year's. He showed, in March last, that the deficiency for the three previous years had averaged £75,000 per annum, although the increase in the revenue had been £115,000 per annum. The principle then enunciated, that if the expenditure could be kept from increasing in any one year, the natural increase in the revenue would enable them to make both ends meet, was obviously true. But he hoped something more than that would be done for the present year. At the same time, it was very probable, that they would not be able to do more than make both ends meet this year. Even after knocking off very large sums from the anticipated revenue of next year, if the expenditure were only kept at the same amount as the present year's, there would be a probable surplus. He was quite satisfied that if the Government would avoid extravagance and luxuries, and content themselves with providing for necessary works, the expenditure could be fairly kept within the amount he had stated. If he had anything like a fair prospect, the estimated revenue would be exceeded next year. Taking into consideration every circumstance, as the probable balance of revenue over expenditure was so small, it appeared to him that he should have to repeat what was stated by him

in March last, with regard to customs duties, that although the Government thought there were great disadvantages attendant upon *ad valorem* duties, and that they might well substitute in their place fixed duties upon some score of articles, to raise an equal amount of revenue; and though that might be done very justly, still it was unsafe to tamper with the revenue by altering its mode of collection in any way, until a surplus had been realised. It was difficult to estimate what would be the effect of any alteration, or to calculate the probable proceeds of what could be collected within a small time from any altered tax. He repeated this as still his opinion: that unless they could succeed in reducing the expenditure to a point below the revenue received, it would not be safe to alter these *ad valorem* duties. The Additional Customs Bill would expire at the end of the present year, and it would be necessary to introduce a Bill this session to renew that Act. He did not propose to renew the measure for a further period of three years, but only for one year. Thus the subject would be left to be dealt with next year as the wiser course to pursue. If there were any surplus at the end of the year, it would be the duty of the Colonial Treasurer to propose something else in the place of the Additional Customs Bill. But, they must not tamper with the revenue until they had received revenue in excess of expenditure. As a mere matter of taste, he would prefer to make a change in the *ad valorem* duties now, but as a matter of judgment, he held it would not be wise. At the same time, he might say that the object of renewing the Act for one year only, was to ensure the consideration of the subject next session. He did not know that he had any need to say more about the subject of revenue; he trusted honorable members had been able to follow his remarks, and he would sum them up in a few words. He had not calculated in his estimate of revenue to be received, upon any exceptional sources of increase—such as would arise from additional population introduced by immigration, or from the discovery of new gold fields, although he was satisfied with the progress they were making in both these respects. On the other side, with respect to the probable expenditure. Although there were sundry new demands as at the Gilbert gold fields, and a great deal which required additional expenditure, and many other things would arise every year to cause additional expense, he thought sufficient margin had been left. Yet there ought to be the exercise of a strict economy to counterbalance such unforeseen expenditure, in order that, by keeping within the sum expended in 1869, they might anticipate the small surplus to accrue as estimated. As he had entered upon this question fully in March last, he would not detain the committee any longer respecting it. He would next invite the attention of the committee to a

subject which he had not dealt with then. He had now to enter into the question of loans, including the general financial position of the colony, as it stood at the present time. It would conduce to clearness of apprehension on the part of the committee, if he were to explain the present position of the colony. In order to enable honorable members to follow him, he had caused some figures to be printed, because there had been a great deal of misapprehension with respect to the public debt. It was, however, pretty well understood, on all hands, that the indebtedness of the colony for the amount of debentures issued was £3,021,186. In addition to that, owing to the expenditure which had to be provided for temporarily up to the end of the year 1868, they encountered the largest item to be provided for in the Consolidated Revenue Fund, namely, an over-expenditure of £349,309 up to the 1st January, 1869. He did not say that this expenditure was unauthorised, but that the amount authorised to be expended by the House and expended by the Government had exceeded the amount of revenue received by £349,309. The next item from temporary expedients to which he would call the attention of the committee was £209,977, arising from loss and charges on sale of debentures. On the foot of the first page of the printed memoranda it would be seen how this had arisen. The debentures realised in 1864 were issued at a loss of £64,747, and the charges on the loan then authorised were £23,620, being altogether a sum of £93,368 less than the amount of the authorised loan. The loan authorised in 1866 was £1,170,950, it realised £1,082,838 6s. 8d., or a depreciation in value of £88,111 13s. 4d.; the charges for that loan were £28,497 7s. 6d. Altogether the sum less than the amount authorised for the 1866 loan was £116,609. The charges were here added to the amount of depreciation, because the charges were, in reality, commissions, which secured them from having to accept the loans at a further depreciation. It was necessary, for another reason, to take this whole sum of £209,977 as a liability of the colony, because the several sums voted for railways, immigration, and public works were the same in amount, as inserted either in the Loan Acts or in the Estimates, so that it was the full amount of the loan authorised to be raised, which was also authorised to be expended. It would be seen that the total liability of the colony, on the 30th of June last, was £3,949,609. It should be recollected that the sum of £209,977 had not been received of the amount altogether authorised to be raised by loan. At the same time, the full amount of the authorised loans had been voted for expenditure. The difference between the amount authorised by loans, and the amount authorised to be expended, had to be derived from temporary resources, as had been well known for a considerable time past. He would put this in another form. In February

last there were Supplementary Loan Estimates, amounting to £243,000. The amount of these Supplementary Loan Estimates never was placed in the Loan Bill, and the Government were never authorised to raise the money. He had, therefore, not taken it into account at all. His proposal was, that the committee should vote this sum over again. It was generally known that the expenditure on railways was in excess of the sum authorised in the Loan Acts. They had already paid a sum in excess of the Loan Acts, amounting to £615,528. The sum of £154,436 was the expenditure on railways in excess of the amount voted by Loan Acts, but not in excess of the amounts voted in the Estimates. On the other hand, there was a certain sum included in preceding Loan Acts, which had not yet been expended; this was for immigration, the erection of lighthouses, and other works. The sum for electric telegraphs was £6,293, which would be required for the contracts still in hand, for the completion of the Maryborough and the Cardwell line. There was also the sum of £12,140 voted, which was available for immigration. He presumed that the whole of that would be required next year, and probably something more. The remaining sums, among the balances of loan votes, were almost all small items. Deducting these credit balances, which were £38,908, they would have £115,528 as the sum which had been paid in excess of the sums voted in the Loan Acts. There had also been expended, on account of Parliamentary buildings, £31,478. He would say a word upon this subject. There was first a vote of £30,000, in 1866, taken on the Loan Estimates for Parliamentary buildings. This sum was expended in the erection of the present building. As the work progressed, the further sums required were taken out of the Parliamentary and Public Buildings Fund. This was a fund created by the sale of Brisbane lands, amounting to some £28,000. Over £3,000 more, for which at present there was no authority whatever, was expended. There was also a sum of about £3,000 already expended which was due to the contractor. In addition to this a sum of £5,222 would be required still to be spent to complete the buildings without the portico; but allowing £2,000 for the estimated cost of furniture—the House would have to deal with that—and the Government asked their consent to the proposal. Whether it was necessary to include that sum in this he would leave it to the House to decide. The result was that £30,000 had been paid out of the loan fund, and £28,536 out of the special building fund. It would be better that the whole £67,000 should be taken out of the loan votes. Already £30,000 had been derived from that source, and it would be better that remaining £37,000 should be put upon the loan estimates as well. If that were done, a sum of £28,536 would be set at liberty. It would

be perfectly legitimate by a vote of the House to charge against that sum, which arose from the sale of lands in Brisbane, an amount of £18,249, expended in the erection of the general hospital at Brisbane. At the present time, that amount was set down as an over-expenditure of loan votes. This arose in this manner: the Act provided that the Government might sell the lands of the hospital and with the proceeds erect a new one. The old hospital was to have been sold, but it could not be done. The Government two or three years ago erected the new hospital, and the other became a police office. The hospital was included in the Special Building Act, and it should be charged against the Special Building Fund. This was somewhat of a digression, but he trusted the committee would excuse it. The total of these amounts, namely—over-expenditure in Consolidated Revenue Fund, 1st January, 1869; loss and charges on sale of debentures; expenditure in excess of Loan Acts; and expenditure on account of Parliamentary buildings, was £706,292. As the whole of that amount had been paid, the question naturally arose: where had the money come from? He would endeavor to explain that matter to the committee. In the year 1866, when the Government was in difficulty, it was found necessary to anticipate the sale of the debentures under the Loan Act, by the issue of £300,000 worth of Treasury bills. But that sum was found not to be sufficient; therefore, further authority was granted by the House for the issue of Treasury bills, and notes secured upon them, to the extent of £138,682. That was done to enable the Government to get out of its difficulties at once. The whole sum of the Treasury bills sold—the whole sum for which they were liable—was £438,682. The Treasury notes in circulation, in excess of coin, was £13,910. That, at least, was the circulation on the 30th June last. Then there were the whole of the Savings' Bank collections (excepting £15,000 in debentures and the other part vested in mortgages by the trustees of the old Savings Banks) amounting to about £250,000, in the Union Bank. It had always been considered right, and, when stated to the committee some eighteen months ago by the Government, it was endorsed by them, that the Savings' Banks funds should be placed so as to be liable for the Government account. As the House had endorsed that opinion, he had no hesitation in placing those funds where he did. He had the less hesitation in doing so, as it was necessary to show where the fund to meet the £706,000 over-expenditure to the 30th June last, had come from. There was also received an amount of £2,719, in various sums, on the Treasury Suspense account. This total of £706,000 odd was obtained from Treasury bills, Treasury notes, Savings' Bank collections, and Treasury Suspense account, and thus they had the exact sources from which the over-expenditure had been derived. This, however, was a matter

which required to be dealt with immediately. On the 31st December next, £300,000 debentures would be due, and to meet that sum legislation must take place this session. It was also advisable that the Savings' Bank collection should be covered by securities of some sort or another, so that they might be placed in a more satisfactory position. He had thus shown how £706,000 had been made away, beyond what had been provided by the authority of the Loan Acts. But, besides that, there were balances of contracts already in existence, which required a further expenditure to complete them. For instance, £177,700 were required for railways; £5,522 for Parliamentary Buildings; and for other unexpended balances a sum of £38,909, making, altogether, a total of £222,131 which remained to be paid away. The total liabilities for moneys raised upon debentures were £3,021,423. Next they had £706,292 over-expenditure to the 30th June last; and liabilities for contracts entered into, and which would have to be completed, £222,131. The total of all these sums was £3,949,609, representing the indebtedness of the colony. He thought it would be better to follow this statement a little further, under the heading of Trust Funds. He had thought it advisable to print those several items, because the statement made of the balances on the first of January, in the Treasury, did not give much information except to an accountant, and even he might be deceived. These items would show the present financial position of the colony. They would show the correct balance in the whole of the figures stating the liabilities of the colony to the 30th June, 1869, with the exception of "Consolidated Revenue Fund," which showed the over-expenditure only to the 1st January last. This item was not brought up to the 30th June, because there were interests, expenses, and several items which had to be met annually. These payments were not included in the first part of the year; while, at the same time, as neither the whole of the receipts nor the expenditure was distributed over the whole year, there would have to be a balance struck for them. On that account, he had confined his statement to the 1st January. More especially had he done so, because he believed the receipts would cover the expenditure during the present year, before it closed, although that had not been the case up to the present time. The receipts which would tend to balance the revenue and expenditure for the year came in on the 30th September, and were the annual rents from the pastoral lessees. But, reverting to the items under the heading "Trust Funds," there was a sum of £28,536, put down to "Special Building Fund," which would be set at liberty as a trust fund. From this it was proposed to take the cost of building the general hospital at Brisbane, namely, £18,249. That would leave a balance of £10,287 to the credit of that trust fund. A portion of the sinking

fund had been covered by the issue of depreciation debentures amounting to £32,500. The balance of the sinking fund was clearly a trust fund, and that amounted to £26,762. The police reward and superannuation funds was £6,786; sheep and cattle assessments, £6,324; European and other immigration collections, £704; and unclaimed poundage and small trust balances, £2,658. Altogether, these trust funds amounted to £43,234. The several items he had thus enumerated were unquestionably trust funds. They were in the Union Bank by Executive minute, to be held in trust by that bank, and they were not responsible for the general expenditure. Up to the 30th June last, the expenditure during the present year had exceeded the income by £55,000. That was owing to the payments which came in—some annually, and others half-yearly—from which it happened that a large proportion of the annual payments became due in the second half of the year. He was thus led to anticipate that the expenditure would be balanced by the income at the end of the year. The amount due on account of overdrawn account, was £15,000. He might observe that, notwithstanding the overdrawn account, the £43,234, trust funds, was left untouched. He would be very glad to give any assistance to the committee, to show that this came out in that way. The expenditure exceeded the revenue by £55,000; of this, £15,000 was overdrawn banking account. Thus, while the trust funds were left untouched, the amounts of the present building fund, and the sinking fund, which were covered by debentures, were used. The next subject to which he would invite the consideration of the committee, was, the losses in the sale of debentures. The Government were authorised to raise, by Loans Acts, a total of £3,021,186, by the issue of debentures; now, the actual amount realised was less by £209,977. The question then arose, whether these debentures should be issued until the sum authorised had been netted, or whether that sum was to represent the total indebtedness to be incurred under the Loan Act? It had been held by the Government that if these debentures sold at a depreciation, the Government were authorised by the Loan Act to realise the full sum specified by the Act. He would not however, at the present time, discuss the legal force of the words used in the Loan Act. He would simply state that, following the example of other colonies, debentures to the extent of £100,000 were prepared some three years ago, or, rather, two and a-half years ago, on account of such depreciation, and these were placed in the Union Bank, so as to be a security against the same amount of the sinking fund. The sinking fund was thus set at liberty, to be used in these sundry items of over-expenditure. It was as well that none of these debentures had gone out to the general public. The committee were at liberty to deal with them as they thought proper, and

withdraw them as a whole. They might be replaced, or be dealt with in some other manner. He thought it was quite clear that any person ought to be able to ascertain from the Loan Acts what the total indebtedness of the colony, under their authority, really was. He therefore proposed that this sum of £100,000 ought to appear in the next Loan Act that was passed, and that it should not be issued under the other Loan Acts. He was quite satisfied that this proposition would meet with the full concurrence of the committee. In addition to what he had stated already with reference to the railways, he might point out that the amount which was required to complete the railways to Warwick, Dalby, and the Northern line, was £337,500. But if honorable members would refer to previous Supplementary Estimates they would find the sum voted last year was £242,000. That amount voted for railways was to Allora only. The amount, therefore, which it would be necessary to ask for in order to complete the line to Warwick, was £95,000 in excess of the sum already voted by the committee on the Loan Estimates. When the Loan Estimates were brought forward, the £242,000 having been already voted, a sum of £95,000 would be put upon them. The expenditure on the railways was not going on in the way anticipated, because of the excess of expenditure on the line to Allora. It would perhaps be convenient now, as he had been endeavoring to lay before honorable members the exact state of the finances of the colony, if he next stated the manner in which the Government proposed to deal with them, and, in the first place, he would endeavor to explain what might have puzzled some honorable members, and which, he must confess, puzzled him a little at first, and that was the over-expenditure in the revenue. That over-expenditure at the beginning of the present year amounted to £349,309, and the loss and charges on debentures amounted to £209,000. To those two items there had also to be added the sum of £147,006, the expenditure in excess of the Loan Acts, and on account of the Parliamentary Buildings. Those several sums together made a total of £706,292, which was the amount of the over-expenditure. But those three items were provided for from extraneous resources. There was the sum of £452,000 odd, which had been got from Treasury bills, and £250,000 odd which had been got from Savings Bank collections. Now, it was true that those liabilities to the Savings Bank would have to be covered. The manner in which it was proposed to deal with the over-expenditure arising from those different sources was this: The three first items were those they would have to deal with, namely, the losses and charges on debentures amounting to £209,000, and the losses to the amount of the excess on the railways and other public works which

had been authorised in the Estimates, but which were not provided for in the Loan Bill. Now, he took it that the House would agree that all those items should be put in a new Loan Bill, which would put them on a permanent footing; and the amount would be raised by long-dated debentures. But he thought they would not be justified in dealing in that way with the first item he had mentioned—that was, the sum of £349,309 over-expenditure on the general revenue account. That was the amount they had expended in five years, over and above the revenue for that period. Now, he could not conceive a more unsafe course than to put that amount to the permanent debt of the colony, and propose to raise it by long-dated debentures. It would, he thought, be most destructive to the public credit of the colony to make any propositions of the kind. He thought that with debentures in the hands of the public to the extent of three millions, it necessitated their being exceedingly careful; and, indeed, regard for their own character necessitated great carefulness; for nothing could be more destructive to their credit than to borrow on debentures to make up for the excess of current expenditure, and thereby add to the permanent debt of the colony what should have been met from current revenue. He conceived that if they had been unfortunately expending in excess of their income, it was now the more necessary that they should the more strictly carry out a policy of retrenchment. He should endeavor to carry out such a policy as far as he possibly could, and he was satisfied that they might carry out such measures as would, with the alleviating effects of a returning prosperity, very shortly enable them to meet the current expenditure out of the current revenue. He would propose, therefore, that this over-expenditure, amounting to nearly £350,000, should be dealt with in this manner;—that they should take authority, at an early period, to issue Treasury bills to the amount of £350,000, to cover the deficit by over-expenditure on the general revenue account; and that those bills should be dated at two, three, and four years, from the 30th of December next. It would be no use dating any of them for one year, and by making the first lot due at two years, £300,000 worth of them would be available at the end of the present year for taking up Treasury bills to that amount that would then fall due. In that way it would be seen that they were just renewing bills to that amount for another year. He would, therefore, propose that they should be divided in lots, falling due in two, three, and four years; and he thought it quite possible that those Treasury bills might be disposed of at five per cent. interest—that was half the amount they were paying at the present time. But he did not think it would be a safe experiment to try that, as it might lead to their depreciation; for though money had been very plentiful for some time, the

money market was not at present in so settled a state as it had been. He therefore thought it would be safer to place them at six per cent.; and, besides, he thought it the most advisable thing that the whole of their loan debentures should bear the same rate of interest; and six per cent. was the rate they had always paid. They all knew that their first two loans sold at a premium. The rate of six per cent. was considered quite sufficient then to secure a premium; but later on, as honorable members were no doubt aware, in 1866, the rate of six per cent. was not sufficient to save them from having to sell their debentures at a heavy depreciation. He thought, therefore, the new issue should be made to run over four years, in equal proportions, at six per cent. Now, the several sums of £209,977, being the deficiency by loss and charges on sale of debentures—the sum of £147,006, the excess of expenditure on loans for public works and immigration, and the sum of £222,131 for contracts, which had also been authorised by the Estimates, but which was not in the Loan Bill, making a total of £579,114—should, he thought, be provided for by debentures bearing interest at six per cent., extending over twenty-five years. Honorable members would notice that in the statement he had produced, he had based his calculations upon the financial condition of the colony at the present time, and that he had made no allusion to any other works but those that were now in progress. He had thought it better to confine his statement to the present state of things. It was, therefore, necessary to raise £350,000 by Treasury bills to cover the whole of the deficiency on the revenue account, and £579,114, to cover the loss on sale of debentures for works already constructed, and to complete contracts already entered into—the unexpended portion of that being £224,000. It was necessary that he should next explain what should be done with the proceeds of those debentures and Treasury bills. Well, he proposed that £300,000 of the £350,000 should be applied to the taking up of Treasury bills at the end of the present year. Probably more than two-thirds of the holders of those debentures would be willing to renew them at the lower rate of interest which he proposed the new issue of debentures should bear. From the information he possessed, he believed that from one-half to two-thirds of the holders of present debentures would be willing to exchange them, and there would be no difficulty, he thought, in placing the remainder advantageously in the colonial market. Now the course he proposed would be a perfectly legitimate one. It would be seen that £300,000 would be required to pay off the loans; and the course he proposed would have the double advantage that it would cause no disturbance in the money market of the colony, while at the same time it would take no money out of the colony. Then, with regard

to the debentures amounting to £579,114, there would be £250,000 worth at once required to provide security for the Savings Bank collections. He was not quite clear that it would not be better to take £200,000 worth of those debentures for that purpose, and the remaining £50,000 in Treasury bills—however, that was somewhat immaterial for the purposes of his present statement, for of the amount he proposed should be raised, he could take £300,000 to meet the Treasury bills that would fall due at the end of the present year, and the balance could be placed as security for the Savings Bank collections. That amount, at all events, would not require to be placed on the money market at all, for it would be merely an exchange of the Savings Bank funds for Treasury bills bearing interest; and that would be placing a legitimate security for such funds. Well, the whole of the sinking fund, amounting to £52,262, he thought, ought to be served in the same way. He thought it would be a very inadvisable arrangement if they were to leave that sum of £59,262 for the next dozen years at four per cent., while, at the same time, they were paying six per cent. on their debentures. He thought it would be advisable that that amount should be made available for the purpose, as far as possible, of meeting its own expenditure, and part of the debentures could be placed against that fund. In that way of the £928,446, which it would be necessary to put in the Loan Bill, £150,000 would be all that they would require to place on the market for sale. The whole additional indebtedness of the colony then, beyond that of the present time, would come to about £150,000; and that amount would not be required to be raised speedily, but would be spread over the next eighteen months, and the remainder would not be required till the end of 1870. He would like honorable members to bear that clearly in mind, because the effect of the course he proposed would be to bring the whole of the indebtedness of the colony into the same form, and the sum of £150,000 would be all that would be required to accomplish that purpose; and as he had just stated, that amount would not have to be raised at once, but would be spread over a period of eighteen months. He thought it was of importance to state that, because he thought that at the beginning of the present year it was stated that the whole of the amount that might be required could be raised in the colonial markets. He also thought that that could be done; but, looking now at the state of affairs, and the account sales that had been received from England during the present year, he thought he might safely say it would be inadvisable for the Government to go into the colonial market and compete with the general public for money by the sale of debentures. They knew that the Victorian Government had withdrawn a large number

of debentures from the London market, with the purpose of offering them in the colonial market. It was also stated that New Zealand was bringing in a small loan into that market, and, under these circumstances, he thought it would not be advisable for the Government to raise the money in the colonial market. He thought it would be much better to leave the money that was in the colony to be obtained for those industries for the promotion of which in the colony it might be required; and that the Government should import the amount it might require, from the European market. It was, therefore, proposed that the £150,000 should be raised in the English money-market. He had now shown honorable members, in a manner in which he hoped they had been able to follow him, what was the total amount of the indebtedness of the colony. He had also endeavored to show what seemed to him to be the necessary course to adopt in order to place their financial affairs on a more satisfactory footing. He thought it would be considered that the course he proposed was only a transfer of liabilities; and he would wish to point out that their position in no way differed from what it was six or twelve months ago. The item of expenditure certainly was somewhat larger, still the liability was smaller, but on the whole the financial state of the colony might be taken as the same as it was six or twelve months ago. Now, such being the state of things, it was necessary to consider the best course in order to place their financial affairs on a secure footing; and the next question that arose—what policy did the Government intend to propose to the House. Now, the first thing he would notice was the matter of the railways. Neither of the two lines of railway they had got, was complete. He believed it would be conceded that the Southern and Western railway would have to be completed to Brisbane, sometime; and it would, he believed, be conceded also, that the existing line in the northern part of the colony was not likely to do more, while it remained in its present condition, than pay its working expenses—and they might consider themselves pretty lucky if it did that. Even after the lapse of some considerable time, he did not see that it would do more than that; or that it would come to be of much use to the people in that quarter of the colony unless it were continued further westward. If it were carried sixty or seventy miles to the westward, what they now had could be utilised to a greater extent towards developing the resources of the colony. When such an extension took place the line would not only be likely to pay its working expenses, but also some portion of the interest on the loan for its construction, besides being really of some benefit to settlers in the interior. As it stood at present he had heard it stated, that it was a question whether it would not be advisable to shut up

the line altogether. Of course to do that, after so much money had been expended upon the line, would be most censurable. Now, it was only a question of time as to its continuation also. Both the lines it would be necessary to construct sometime or other, by bringing the one from Ipswich to Brisbane, and carrying the other from Westwood further into the interior, so as to make the portion that had been constructed available for the purposes of general traffic; and make it a useful means of communication in the district. Well, he held it was necessary that both those lines should be completed; and, with regard to both, it was only a question of time. He did not think it would be necessary, or advisable, to construct any other lines in addition to those he had mentioned; but he thought it would be advisable for the Government to adopt the plan lately introduced in South Australia—that was, to grant assistance in the shape of a guarantee of not more than five per cent. on the cost, to the extent of £2,000 or £3,000 a mile for railways constructed by private enterprise. It was not necessary for him, at present, to point out what lines it might be advantageous to have constructed in that way, because that would be a question for the future; but he felt that the Government should not itself undertake more railways than he had mentioned;—but that, and other matters, would form the subjects of consideration at some future day. Having stated what he believed were the works necessary to be undertaken now, and those that might be left for consideration at some future time, it seemed to be necessary that he should state that, looking over the whole of the question, and the rate at which revenue and expenditure were going on, it would require the greatest possible care, on the part of the Government, and the exercise of a strict and vigilant economy in every thing, and in every way, that they might be able to secure any surplus at all. But if that was done, he thought they might expect to have a slight surplus. Now, considering the amount of the liabilities of the colony, he thought the distinct policy for the Government to take was one of rest and caution. He thought that in the doubtful position in which they were at present placed there was no other course for them to take. After looking those matters carefully over and over, he felt he must urge upon the committee the necessity of strictly pursuing a policy of rest and caution. There were many reasons why they should adopt such a policy, and although it might not be a popular course to adopt, it had the recommendation of being a sound and practicable one. He believed that the prosperity of the colony received a severe blow from the strong disposition that existed some years ago to look to the expenditure by the Government for a state of prosperity. He was perfectly satisfied that that spirit

and disposition had received a severe blow ; and he was satisfied that with care and caution, they might be able, in a short time, to attain a much sounder condition of prosperity. For the Government to go into fresh loans would be very disadvantageous indeed ; and it would be as well for the Government as for the people of the colony generally, to learn that they must live within their means, and that the people should learn to depend upon the product of their industry, and by settling on the lands, or producing new articles of export, as well as articles that were consumed in the colony. From the progress that had been already made in that direction, he believed that the last two years, disastrous as they might appear, had really been the most prosperous of the last six or eight years. But the Government, in pursuing the course they did, only represented the spirit that actuated the several constituencies throughout the colony. He hoped he would not be considered invidiously alluding to squatting pursuits and others ; for there were no exceptions. Every industry, and every pursuit, from squatting to the buying of an allotment of land in town, was carried on with borrowed capital. Everything was done too much in that way ; and of course there could only be one result, and that a ruinous one. Now, he was satisfied that the sound and permanent prosperity of the colony would be increased by the committee pursuing a policy of rest and caution ; but the committee must bear in mind that a most essential part of such a policy was the practice of economy. It would be of no use for the Government to attempt such a policy, or to be economical, if honorable members would not assist them. It would not do for an honorable member here, and another there, to say that the Government had not done enough for their respective districts, and insist upon having a larger amount expended in their districts. There would be no possibility of economising, if honorable members acted in that way. Now, he held that the policy he was announcing would necessitate the Government opposing every increase that might be proposed on their Estimates ; and it would also necessitate the strict practice of economy by the Government at all times ; and he hoped that in every necessary way the Government would have the support of the House. He felt quite satisfied that the Government would be perfectly safe in trusting to the House to protect them against anything like log-rolling ; and it was necessary that the House should do so, because the policy he was now stating was one that rested on the thorough practice of economy. That was the first part of it, for what would be the good of attempting to carry out a policy of caution and rest, if they were to allow an extravagant expenditure to go on. Now, with the view of exercising a careful supervision over the expenditure, he would state to the committee that he proposed

inserting an additional clause into the Appropriation Act this year. He did not know that it would be necessary to insert it, but it was a provision to this effect—that the Government should have power to expend the sums of money that might be voted, or less, if that should be found advisable—so that the Government might spend less than the amount voted. The main reason the Government had in proposing such a provision was this—that they felt that, in justice to the civil servants, and where there had been large expenditure carried on for some time, it would not do to make heavy reductions at one large sweep. Reductions in such cases must be made gradually, and wherever it was found that salaries, or reductions of expenditure in any way could be saved, the Government would do so. Now, he thought the House—though the Government were at liberty to do that now—should recognise the advisableness of doing it, by inserting such a clause as he had referred to, in the Appropriation Act. He was satisfied that if such a course of reduction could be carried out for a short time, it would have the effect of placing the colony in what would be admitted to be a prosperous condition. A flushness of money might not always be a sign of real prosperity, because, when, as was the case a few years ago, everything rested upon borrowed capital, their prosperity and the briskness of trade was only apparent ; for they did not rest upon a sound basis. Therefore, he could not look upon the flushness of money as at all times a sign of real prosperity. Now, he maintained that, notwithstanding the difficulties through which they had had to pass, the colony was in a much sounder position than it had been in at any previous period. In saying that, he did not mean to ignore the difficulties the pastoral interest had had to encounter. Those difficulties, he knew, were very great ; but he was satisfied that they had, in times past, gone through greater difficulties. Their present indebtedness might be larger than at any former period, but it was now spread over a greater extent of country ; therefore, the difficulties were not so great as had been overcome by the pastoral interest in previous years ; and he was satisfied that the like industry and energy that enabled them to overcome their previous difficulties, would enable them to overcome those of the present time. In many cases, where their liabilities were not too great, they would be able to get over their difficulties by improving the quantity and quality of their produce, and by a reduction of expenses. By that means, he was satisfied that those who were not in a state that would be considered hopeless, in the best of times, would be able to get through. There were, no doubt, a great many of the pioneer squatters who would never get through. It was very well known that many of them had got so hopelessly into debt that they could not possibly

get through. Now, while entertaining the fullest sympathy for persons in that condition, it must be remembered that there might, and most probably would, be an improvement by a change of owners, and whatever those in that position might suffer, the colony, as a whole, would benefit by the change. He believed, also, that, in the next two years or so, the pastoral interests, and other interests, would be in a much sounder condition than they were in at present. They would all have their individual expenditure reduced, and they would produce such a different and superior article from what they were now sending into the market that they would greatly increase their receipts; and so, in the course of time, get over their difficulties. Now, for that and many other reasons, he was inclined to take a very hopeful view of the future of the colony. They had never, till lately, recognised the idea of endeavoring to produce anything but the one article, and that was their principal article of export—wool; and for that product they had been prepared to go any length, and to import everything they required. But now they had other pursuits advancing to take a principal place in the progress of the colony. They had now got the cultivation of cotton firmly established as one of the agricultural pursuits of the colony. He believed that nothing would now prevent cotton-growing from becoming a permanent industry; and, already, their exports of cotton were very large. Then their gold mines were gradually being developed; and it was known that their copper mines were as extensive and as rich as the copper mines of South Australia, or anywhere else; and, lately, they had commenced to work silver mines. It might, therefore, very reasonably be expected that the mining interest of the colony would be very considerable in a few years, and lead, with other industries, to a large increase of the population. It was only beginning, now, to be acknowledged that the colony should grow wheat, maize, potatoes, and other articles of consumption, for which large sums of money were now sent out of the colony. The increased population engaged in sugar and cotton growing, and mining pursuits, would all be consumers of those articles, so that there would be a sufficiently large and profitable market for such products as to induce agriculturists to direct their attention to the raising of those articles. At present, they sent out of the colony, to South Australia, no less a sum than £250,000, for wheat and flour. Now, he thought there were few who would not acknowledge that, if the people engaged in growing wheat in South Australia, could be transplanted to West Moreton to grow wheat there, and the £250,000 that was now sent to South Australia were spent in West Moreton, it would greatly add to the prosperity and comfort of the people of the colony generally. The £250,000 would be spent here, and those

producing the wheat being also taxpayers, would assist in reducing the formidable debt of the colony. Now they could reduce their present burdens only by an increase of the population, and by an increase of callings for them, so that they might not only be producing certain articles of export, but also such articles as were required for consumption in the colony, and which articles they had now to import. Sugar was another article they were now producing, and he believed that the cultivation of that article would soon be proved to be successful; at the very least in so far as supplying the colonial market was concerned. He looked on it as one of the most hopeful things for the Australian colonies that those views were everywhere acknowledged. It was not long since he saw a statement to the effect that notwithstanding the diminution in the price of wool, Victoria was in an exceedingly prosperous condition. That was attributed to the fact that there were so many other things produced there that that colony was not now so dependent upon the article of wool, as it previously was, or as other colonies still were; so that when there was a serious depreciation in wool, the general prosperity of the colony was not particularly affected. To use a common expression, so long as a colony had all its eggs in one basket, it could not but be subject to fluctuations. He did not wish to depreciate the wool producing interest, but what he wanted to see was other articles produced in the colony besides wool—articles that were required by the wool producers. Now, that was a notion that was rapidly gaining a footing in this and the other colonies, and it was one which, being carried into effect, would tend to promote and ensure the stability of their prosperity. He hoped the Government, and the colonists generally, would learn a lesson from the difficulties they had passed through, and see that it was sometimes better to do without a thing they had not themselves the means of paying for than to obtain it by borrowed money. He believed that it was from the easiness they had in borrowing money some years ago, that they were led into that extravagance, which in due course had produced the difficulties they had since suffered from. He would now wish to say a word or two about what was spoken of as the comparatively heavy taxation of this colony. He did not mean to deny that the taxation was heavier than any of them liked, but a considerable portion of what was called taxation, was really not taxation at all. It was said that, in this colony, the people were taxed at the rate of £7 a head for every man, woman, and child. Now he denied that such was the case, though the figures would, at the first blush, allow of such a conclusion. But it must be remembered that the manner in which the Government was carried on in all the colonies was altogether different from what it was in

older countries. They could not compare the rate of taxation here with the rate of taxation in older countries. They could not, by merely taking the total amount of the revenue, and dividing it by the number of the population, say that the result showed the taxation was heavier here than in other countries; and for this reason—that there was no local taxation here. There was no taxation, besides that, for the general revenue, except those in towns, for municipal purposes. Here the Government were asked for innumerable things that were provided for out of the public revenue, but which, in England, were provided for by special rates; so that the general revenue in England, and other countries, did not show the whole amount of taxation as it might be said to do here. In fact not one-half of the taxation in older countries was shown by the general revenue. The item of £100,000 for railways next year, could not be regarded as taxation, for it was not an amount that was raised by a charge levied equally upon all, but by a charge made for particular services rendered; and the amount so produced could not, therefore, be set down under the head of taxation. The appearances were far worse than the reality; and it would not do for them to go and make out that things were much worse than they really were. He did not see why receipts from the sale of land by auction, or from conditional purchases, or from selectors, should be set down as taxation, for they were payments for which full value was given. And he might say the same as to the amount derived from the assessment of runs. With the exception of the customs duties, all the heaviest items that went to make up the revenue could not be spoken of as taxation, and should not be included in the calculations when comparing the taxation of this and other countries. As to the tariff, he thought it would be found that this colony had the lightest tariff of any of the Australian colonies. From what he had stated, it would be seen that he could not join at all in the cry of the people of this colony being ground down with excessive taxation. In conclusion, he had now to thank the committee for the attention they had given him. He hoped that honorable members had been able to follow him with the aid of the figures that had been supplied, and that he had succeeded in clearly showing them what was the present financial state of the colony. If he had not succeeded in doing so, as the debate would have to be adjourned, he would be happy, at any time, to give any further information that might be required, or to remove any misapprehension that might have arisen in the mind of any honorable member. But the figures would show so clearly how things really stood, that there need be no misapprehension at all. He did not know if it was necessary that he should detain the House any longer; but he would reiterate that while the financial condition of the colony

was such as to require the carrying out of a policy of caution and rest, and the exercise of the most rigid economy, it would be necessary for the committee to support the Government in their attempts at retrenchment, and enable them to go on in the course he had stated, in order to avoid further borrowing; and if that were done, there would be an actual surplus, though a small one, on the current revenue for the year. He was quite satisfied that the colony was now in a sounder position than it had ever yet been; and, looking at the progress that was being made in the establishment of new industries, the production of new articles of export, the stronger disposition that now existed towards self-reliance, and a more independent position, and, he would say, a decreasing disposition to look for prosperity to Government expenditure, and an increasing disposition in the country districts to extend agricultural production, he could not but regard the present state of the colony, as extremely hopeful. He took an exceedingly sanguine view of the state of the colony, and if the Estimates should be dealt with as the Government proposed, he was satisfied they would be able to show a surplus at the end of the year.

The CHAIRMAN then reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Tuesday next.