

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates
[Hansard]

Legislative Assembly

TUESDAY, 6 JUNE 1871

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 6 June, 1871.

Questions of Privilege.—Adjournment.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. ATKIN rose to bring under the notice of the House a question of privilege. He had observed in the *Courier* newspaper of the previous day, a letter signed "Richard Sexton," which reflected in the most unbecoming terms upon certain statements made in that House, by the honorable member for Toowoomba. It was not his intention either to justify or verify the statements made by that honorable member on the occasion referred to; but, he believed, it was one of the privileges of Parliament, that a member of Parliament could not be called to account out of doors for statements made within the walls of that House. If that was not so, then honorable members would frequently be brought into a discussion with the public outside. He would read the portion of the letter of which he complained:—

"I see by your issue of yesterday, the 31st ultimo, that Mr. Groom had stated in his place in the House that I obtained signatures to the petition against railway extension, forwarded from this town, through misrepresentations, and that many who did sign it had since requested me to erase their names. I can only say in reply, that the whole of his statement is false."

Now, he would put it to the honorable the Speaker, whether it was not an encroachment upon the privileges of the House, that such a statement as that should be published. As far as the statement itself was concerned, he might state that he had seen a gentleman who signed the petition referred to, and who told him that he would not have done so had he known the purport of it. He did not intend to clothe the remarks he had made with a motion, as he did not think it was worth while to take that notice of anything said by Mr. Sexton, an individual of whom the honorable the Treasurer might be able to say something, but of whom all he (Mr. Atkin) could find out was, that he was an individual who, a short time ago, was sent to gaol for contempt of the Supreme Court. He would not conclude with a resolution, as he did not think it, as he had observed before, worth while to do so; but, he considered, it was as well to let it be known, that statements of that kind could not be made with impunity.

The COLONIAL TREASURER said that he entirely disagreed with what had fallen from the honorable member. First, he differed strongly with him as to the character of the gentleman whose name was brought forward, and, he thought, there was nothing clearer than that the honorable member wished to take up a position in that House, that he was afraid to take outside its walls. In the first place, as honorable members knew, the proceedings of the Parliament had been so much

criticised outside lately that he did not see why the gentleman referred to should be selected by the honorable member as an example. Again, he did not take the same opinion of the letter as that taken by the honorable member, as he considered it was very moderate, and the honorable member was not in a position to say whether Mr. Sexton was right or the honorable member for Toowoomba was right; therefore, the discussion was altogether out of place. He would take that opportunity of objecting to the honorable member speaking of Mr. Sexton as he had done, because he happened to be committed to gaol on one occasion, as it was not for anything discreditable or dishonorable that he had been placed in such a position, but simply because he had acted on the advice of his lawyer. He believed that nothing was known against the character of Mr. Sexton, and, he thought, when the honorable member spoke against the reputation of a person outside of the House, he was going beyond the position of a member of Parliament.

The SPEAKER said that persons who wrote letters to the newspapers, positively contradicting statements made by honorable members in that House, whether those statements were true or untrue, were guilty of misdemeanors, and consequently rendered themselves liable to punishment. The question was, whether that should be known, so that parties would be more careful.

The matter then dropped.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. DE SATGE said he rose to a question of privilege. By the *Courier* newspaper he was reported to have said, during the discussion on the vote for improvements at Rockhampton:—

"That he considered that the town of Rockhampton was not qualified to demand any large expenditure. He thought that the sum of £1,000 would be sufficient to provide all the offices that were required there. He had lived in Rockhampton for a considerable time, and he had never heard any great complaints as to the insufficiency of the public office accommodation."

Now, he never made any such remarks; but what he did say was, that the people of Rockhampton did not wish to rush into the same rash expenditure that the people of Brisbane had done. Then, with regard to the sum of £1,000 being sufficient—he never mentioned such a thing, but merely that the honorable member had mentioned a vague sum, and did not say what he thought. He (Mr. De Satgé) had a great objection to quarrel with the Rockhampton people or with those of other towns with which he was acquainted. The whole of his speech was wrong from beginning to end; and he might state that whatever position the *Courier* had in Brisbane, it had tried to vilify him on every occasion.

Mr. ATKIN said he most distinctly recollected hearing the honorable member say

what he was reported to have said, "that the town of Rockhampton was not qualified to demand any large expenditure."

Mr. DE SARGE would most distinctly deny it; also, he never mentioned £1,000.

Mr. ATKIN said he did not hear the honorable member mention £1,000, but he said that Rockhampton had no right to ask for such a sum of money.

The matter then dropped.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. McILWRAITH said he intended to conclude the few remarks he had to make by moving the adjournment of the House. His object in rising was not for the purpose of making a formal motion so much as to enable the Government to have an opportunity of stating what they intended to do. It must be apparent to the Government, as well as to honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, that the real business of the Government was not to deal with the business as it stood on the notice paper—not to deal with the Customs Bill which stood next on the paper, or with any other business put forward by the Government—but to come to some conclusion on the subject which had been agitating the public outside for the last three weeks—not only the last few weeks, indeed, but for the last twelve months. He would now put the matter before the Government, and it was a matter of indifference to him whether he would be considered obstructive in so doing; for, in fact, he meant to be obstructive, as he believed it would be the best means of facilitating the carrying on the business of the country. Now, the position of the Government at the present time was, that they said that they intended to carry on business because they had a majority, but which the country did not consider a majority. He was satisfied that they had no majority for the purposes of carrying on the business of the country; but, admitting that they had, and he had admitted it because he believed the business of the country should be carried on by a majority, and until a fortnight ago he believed for that reason that the Government were entitled to carry on the business even with the majority they had. He did not believe at first in the tactics which had been mentioned as those which should be the tactics of an Opposition—namely, that they should simply oppose the Government proceeding with any business; but after waiting for a whole week, he had arrived at a different conclusion. He was satisfied that anyone who had listened to the debates during the last fortnight, and had watched the proceedings carefully—how the legislation was carried on at the present time—would be convinced that the Government were not in a position to carry on the business of the country any longer. Prominent among the honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House was the honorable the present Treasurer, who told honorable mem-

bers of the Opposition that they should submit to a majority. That also was his idea, until he found good reasons for altering his opinion on the present occasion—reasons which he would shortly give to the House. But he would first ask whether there was any honorable gentleman in that House from whom an appeal of that kind could come with a worse grace than the honorable the Treasurer, inasmuch as he it was who formed that majority. There were at present sixteen members on the Government side of the House, and there were fifteen members on the Opposition, without including the honorable the Speaker, and had it not been that the honorable gentleman moved away from their side without one word of explanation to the country—without any explanation to the Opposition—without any explanation even to the honorable members of the Opposition, with whom he had not only been connected politically but, from the same pursuits, professionally—they would now be in a majority. The honorable member had left them, and had never explained either to the House or the country why he had changed over; and yet he had the assumption to come forward and tell honorable members of the Opposition that they must yield to a majority—a majority formed by the honorable member himself. There had not been any honorable member who had been a stauncher supporter of the Opposition than that honorable member, who now said to that side of the House, "Obey us," or rather himself. He had always considered that the honorable members for Ipswich and West Moreton had done more than anybody else to destroy the Constitution; but the honorable member had beaten them altogether, and, by his conduct, had destroyed it more than any honorable member who had ever sat in that House. He had always watched the honorable member, because he believed that his opinions generally were accurate; and he knew now that the honorable member was in a most uncomfortable position, and had listened most patiently to see if the honorable member could justify the course he had adopted. The honorable member knew very well that if he spoke against his conduct his private opinions had always been inclined in his favor, and he could not refrain from expressing his astonishment why the honorable member should have taken up his present position—a position the honorable member had a right to explain to the House as well as to his constituents. The honorable gentleman had stated on a former occasion that he would not support the Ministry because he did not approve of class legislation; but who had done more than that honorable member to encourage that class legislation by his moving to the opposite side of the House? The honorable member had been most loud in his denunciations of class legislation, and had himself set an example of encouraging it by the course

he had adopted; and now the honorable member wished to lecture the members of the Opposition, and to tell them that they must give in to the majority formed by him. With regard to the accusation of obstructing the business of the House, he (Mr. McIlwraith) considered he was perfectly justified in adopting his present course, and he thought from what he had seen of the conduct of business during the last week, he had great reason for doing so, looking at the manner in which the Government majority was made up. He did not intend to say how it had been made up, but he would only point out to the House, and to the country, the position that the honorable the Speaker ought to occupy, and also the honorable the Treasurer; the positions of both of which honorable gentlemen had been gained in such a way that the reasons for them could not be stated honestly. He did not believe either the honorable the Speaker, or the honorable the Treasurer, could state plainly why they were not in the positions they should occupy. The Opposition had wished to do what the Government had done. They wished to form a majority, as the Government had, and they thought they could not do better than follow up what they had been doing for the last week—namely, by obstructing the Government, and putting their object for so doing firmly and honestly before the country. That was the real secret of the obstruction of the Opposition, and was the spring which influenced honorable members on his side of the House. He could only express his hope that they would remain firm, and so carry out the obstruction as to be productive of beneficial results to the country. He thought that if there was one idea prevalent, as to the discussions of the last fortnight, it was that they had tended to remove what was to him very distasteful—namely, the distinction which had always been drawn between squatters and other classes of the community. He thought, at any rate, it had done that. If he was allowed to mention what had occurred in the smoking room, he might mention that the honorable the Minister for Works had talked of the Opposition having been effectually muzzled upon that topic; but he (Mr. McIlwraith) thought they had been effectually muzzled by common sense, as he could not see why there should be any difference between squatters and other members of the community. He had seen one thing, however—that his side of the House was fighting against monopolies in every shape. Considerable prominence had been, for instance, given to the town of Dalby, with regard to the question of railway extension; but what, he would ask, was the position of the people there? Was it not a monopoly? Presuming the railway terminus was taken away, there would be nothing but squatters, or people connected with them. So that they were fighting against a monopoly in Dalby. Supposing a Government clerk

or an officer of the Government were asked for his opinion as to the desirability of doing away with the office on which he depended for his living, it was not likely he would depreciate its importance; and to appeal to the people of Dalby, and to ask them whether they were in favor of an extension of the railway, was much the same thing; as it was not likely they would like to be wiped out of the map. To ask for the opinion of the honorable the Treasurer was simply to ask them; no matter what they thought of the position of the colony, they would say that the colony could not afford railway extension. Could any man go to Dalby and fail to see how it was placed? Then again, there was Ipswich, which was another monopoly. There the whole system of the place depended upon not extending the line to Brisbane, and honorable members who represented that oligarchy knew that—they knew that were there railway extension, Ipswich would be wiped out. Following out the idea of monopoly, he thought they met with it in another way—in dealing with the lands. Now that part of the subject had been most ably grappled with by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley when he spoke of the monopoly on the Darling Downs. He (Mr. McIlwraith) had the honor a few days ago of taking a trip with the honorable the Minister for Works, along the line from Toowoomba to Warwick—along a line as good as ever he saw, and capable of carrying any amount of traffic. They passed through some of the finest land in the world, and about every six miles they came to a house of some sort. When they arrived at a station, a solitary horseman rode up, most likely attracted by curiosity more than by any other motive. They were on a visit of inspection at the time—and he noticed that the passenger traffic was always represented by the name of a “Mr. So-and-so, he has been here.” But, after the station master saw that he had made a mistake before strangers, he mentioned some other names. Still, the traffic at each station was represented by individuals. There was a monopoly there, which, he thought, he had seen an inclination on both sides of the House to grapple with. It had been said of the outside squatters, that they were monopolists, but he thought they did not deserve that name when compared with the men on the Darling Downs. It was the policy of the Land Bill, and the monopoly of the people on the Downs, which had ruined and was still ruining the colony at the present time. He might speak out, because as a squatter he would not like to be identified with the class he alluded to, in any way. Yet the honorable member for Clermont wished to shew that the outside squatters were better off than the men whose runs could not be resumed by the Government, at any time, until after six months’ notice. The men on the Darling Downs got their ten years’ leases until the Parliament said they wished to resume them;

whilst the outside squatters had a lease for twenty-one years, but out of which any Ministry could turn them without the action of Parliament. It was to prevent Ministers doing that, that was required; and he believed that the country ought to look and see that the men in whom they ought to trust should be men who were interested in letting people have lands for only one purpose—namely, for the settlement of the colony. What did they see now on the Darling Downs? Why, that the original squatters were compelled to buy lands they did not require, and that all the land-sharks of the colony had settled on the Downs. He could sympathise with the position of squatters, when he saw the class of men they had to contend against. When he saw how the lands were in the hands of monopolists, he would like to know that not an acre of land would be parted with, instead of going to men who would not allow trade to be taken to them. Already he found he had been speaking more for class interest than for general legislation; but it seemed *apropos* to shew how the outside squatter had been dealt with, whilst the lands in the settled districts had been given away and wasted. There was one idea expressed in part of the present debate which had gone a great way to make him better pleased with the sentiments of his side of the House, and that was, the position in which this colony stood in regard to the lands, to the home country—that the lands had been handed over to this colony by the mother country, not for the purpose of dividing among the persons at present in the colony, but as an outlet for the surplus population of Great Britain. Now he considered that the Governments of the colony had behaved very badly under that trust; so much so, as to justify the mother country inquiring what had been done with the lands. It was absurd to suppose that the British Government handed over the lands of the colony to be divided amongst us. The honorable member for East Moreton had mentioned how many thousand acres had been sold, which was a proof that the lands were being divided amongst the people now in the colony. He was positive that the lands of the colony should not be exchanged in any other way than for immigration, which was an essential gain to the colony, as it led to settlement, or in some other way that would give a revenue to it. He believed that every immigrant imported into the colony was worth a certain amount of money; and, therefore, he could be looked upon as a tangible asset. He looked upon railways and public works, which were connected with immigration, as tangible assets; and the Government were, therefore, perfectly justified in investing the public lands for those two things; but that was no reason why the colony should not pay its own expenses as it went on. Let honorable members look at the position of the colony for a moment. They would see that they

started with more facilities than almost any other colony in the world. They started with a rent roll of £107,000 from the outside squatters, which could be possessed nowhere but in this colony. In America, for instance, the backwoods were worth nothing to the Government, and they never got a penny from them until they were settled; and, in fact, revenue had to be used for the purpose of settling them. But here there was a rent roll of £107,000 to start with; and if honorable members would look at the position of the colony now, they must confess that whilst they had spent all the money, they had left very little tangible assets behind. What was the state of things? They found that the colony owed a debt of over four millions sterling, and that the assets of the colony, including, of course, public works, and the sum spent on immigration—which were tangible assets—amounted to £2,253,000. That left an amount of £1,252,999 for which there were no tangible assets. That was the money the colony actually owed—money that the English Government gave to it—and in addition to that, the security on the lands had been sold. There were two and a quarter millions borrowed, besides the security handed to us, beyond the money given by the Home Government. If the subject was viewed from that point, he thought a good deal of light could be thrown upon many other questions brought before that House; but as he did not wish to take up a great deal of time, and as the honorable member for Fortitude Valley was more able to deal with an abstruse subject like that than he was, he hoped to hear that honorable member bring it forward in his usual eloquent way. But to return to the subject of immigration, which he considered was the most important which could occupy the attention of the Legislature, and which was intimately connected with public works; indeed, if it were not, he should be as staunch an opponent to railways as any honorable member in that House. The honorable Minister for Works had stated that every man who was brought to the colony cost the country £16. Now, he had once heard a similar argument brought forward, which the honorable member seemed to consider as humorous; but it was a fact that there was nothing which was constantly producing money that was not worth its original cost, and that was the case with immigrants. But there was another way in which he might see the value of immigration. Considering there was any amount of land; considering that it was rich not only on the surface, but underneath; rich in wealth that was not known, but which only required to be developed, there was sufficient to shew that immigrants were required. But if the honorable member did not agree to that, he would ask him to look upon a man as a taxable machine that was worth £46 7s. 1d. Granting that man was a taxable machine—that there could be profitable work made out of him in the colony—

every man who was introduced into the colony was worth £46 7s. 1d. That was the way to look at the common laboring man. He would ask him to look at other countries where they prefer labor before current coin. Let him look at Africa. They did not have coin, but exchanged their slaves—they bartered in human labor. Look at America, again—a man there at one time was worth a thousand dollars, and would any honorable member say he was not worth more than that since freedom had been given to the slaves in that country? There was no honorable member in that House who had done more to injure immigration than the honorable the Minister for Works. He was a member of a Government which promised and was pledged to encourage immigration, and yet it was well known that he had done all he could to check it. He thought the House would forgive him if he went back to first principles, to shew how they affected his argument. The honorable the Minister for Works had accused members on his (Mr. McIlwraith's) side of the House of not having read up on railway matters before they went to the House to discuss them, and he (Mr. McIlwraith) had certainly had a great hesitation in addressing the House upon a subject on which he was said to have no knowledge; but the honorable member would, he supposed, give the members of the Opposition credit for having read their Bible at some time or other. To go back to first principles, he would refer to Adam in the garden of Eden. He was not put down there with a cheque for £107,000 in his breeches pocket; but he was put down as simply a human being, and with great success. He thought it must be satisfactory to look back upon the history of the world and see the progress of immigration since Adam was first put down in the garden of Eden, without a penny in his breeches pocket, and without even breeches. It did not cost £16 to put him in; he was there as a free immigrant. That part of the Bible had always left a very strong effect on his mind—that the best thing was done by man stretching out beyond the garden of Eden. In this colony, there was exactly similar country before us, and, he thought, they could not do better than to work their Immigration policy after the first example they had before them. He had spoken at much greater length than he had any intention of doing when he first rose; but he had spoken for the purpose of bringing forward the subject they had had before them for the last fortnight, so that it should not be any longer prolonged. He was perfectly certain that the Opposition were pursuing a proper course in obstructing the business, and that they would be wrong in allowing the Government to carry on business when they had shewn that they were perfectly unable and incompetent to carry it on. He was not alluding to the personal qualifications of the Ministers; but if he was challenged to do so, he would not

have the least hesitation in going through the Ministry and shewing that a much better—a more able and competent Ministry could be found in that House. He had no intention of doing that; but, he had no doubt that such would be found to be the case before the debate was finished on Thursday night. He wished to tell the Ministers what the result of the session would be—not giving to the country what it required and was crying out for—but giving to Ipswich and West Moreton what they both wanted. The discussion of the whole of the previous week had pointed out to one of two things—whether the country was to be governed by an oligarchy of Ipswich and West Moreton or not. The Ministers were governed now by that oligarchy, and so long as that was the case, the true interests of the Opposition would be to obstruct them, and to decide whether the interests of the honorable members opposite or those of the whole colony were to give way. He would conclude by moving the adjournment of the House.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that the motion of the honorable member had certainly come rather unexpectedly upon him—considering the first motion on the business paper for that day—even after the opposition which had been carried on for the last two weeks. It had taken him by surprise, although, from the whole tenor of the Opposition, he must confess he did not hope for anything much better than continued opposition. He did think, however, that, before that factious opposition was resumed that day, the next motion on the paper, which was for the purpose of paying a tribute of respect to their late lamented Governor, would, at all events, have been allowed to pass by acclamation of that House. That motion had been so placed by him on the paper, last week, that the House, and through it, the country might have an opportunity of acknowledging, and in some small way paying a tribute to the memory of a great and good Governor, and that there would be an opportunity of shewing that the great encomiums lavished upon the late Governor after his death were not mere idle words. But it appeared that things had arrived at such a pitch, that not even to the great and good would that tribute of respect be paid, and that the members of the Opposition preferred to follow their factious course, to even right or justice. He was very sorry, indeed, to find it—there was no necessity for it whatever—inasmuch, as the motion for adjournment could have been made after the resolution he referred to had been allowed to pass, and before anything like Government business had been brought forward. He hoped that action would go forth to the country—that such was the opposition that the Government received, that, as it was seen by the Government that they would not be allowed to pass their Estimates, and they had placed a resolution on the business paper to shew

their respect to a great and good Governor, such a resolution was not allowed to be brought forward by a factious Opposition. The speech which they had just heard from the honorable member for the Warrego, was alike throughout—it was nothing but a tissue of contradictions from beginning to end. The honorable member commenced by telling them that the honorable the Treasurer was the majority, and ended by saying that the honorable members representing Ipswich and West Moreton were that majority. He had not now risen to reply to the speech of the honorable member, but merely to say that he had intended to make his statement to the House that evening. But the honorable member had anticipated him, and no doubt for a very good object. Now he would ask, what had they seen during the last three weeks to carry on the business of the country? Why, that because a minority of the House could not have their own way, nothing was to be done. That the whole course of business which was intended to materially benefit the country, was to be thrown on one side for purely factious purposes—that the Bill for electoral reform, for which the Opposition had taken credit to themselves, and which they had declared to be a good and useful measure, was to be thrown overboard, because they could not get what they cried out for. They had been told by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, the other evening, that the Electoral Bill, which was admitted to be a liberal measure, and which was to confer the franchise on a vast number of people, was not to be allowed to proceed any further. And why? Why, simply because the Opposition could not get the Ipswich and Brisbane Railway.

Mr. LILLEY: No, no.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: That was what the honorable member said, and he (Mr. Palmer) hoped it would go forth to the country—and he would take good care that it did—as the programme of the great liberal party, that because they could not get their twenty-five miles of railway, they would not allow the business of the country to proceed. Now he had sat, and he hoped he had listened with great patience to the debates that had taken place during the last fortnight; and he took great credit to himself for so doing, as he had on several occasions had hard work to keep down his temper; but he was happy he had done so. He had listened to, and marked most carefully, all the arguments that had been brought forward by the honorable members opposite, to justify them in stopping the business of the country; but he had never yet been able to arrive at one good reason for the unprecedented course which had been taken by the Opposition. He was certain that there was no record of the proceedings of the Legislature in any other colony, which would shew that where a majority had been fairly beaten, they had gone on with a factious

opposition, and had stated that they would still persist in a course of preventing the business of the country from being proceeded with. Now, what was the history of the present Opposition? What were the grounds on which it was founded? To see that, it would be necessary to take a look at the past. They had upon the table of that House, at one time, no less than three notices of motion on the subject of railway extension. Honorable members on the opposite side seemed to have a fear of each other, and so, in order to forestal each other, they took advantage of the forms of the House. It had been a most lamentable thing for the honorable member for North Brisbane, Dr. O'Doherty, to have his motion taken first—a motion not simply confined to the question which it should have been confined to—namely the adoption of the report of the Royal Commission on the extension of the Railway from Ipswich to Brisbane, but embodying the principle of railway extension generally; so that had the House agreed to the report of the Commission, it would, by the terms of the motion, have committed itself to a system of general railway extension. He need not comment upon the fate of that motion, as it was well known that it was met by an amendment of the honorable member for the Leichhardt, and negatived. The next motion tabled was that of the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Atkin, which asked for a specific sum of £750,000 for railway extension, both North and South, and then, on the principle he supposed that it was believed that the more they asked for the more they would get, the honorable member for Fortitude Valley brought forward a motion contingent upon the House going into a Committee of Supply, for a million of money for the same purposes. Now, it appeared to him quite clear from those motions that the honorable members of the Opposition at the time did not agree very well together, and that the one did not know what the other was doing. Admitting that the motion of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley was a contingent one, still all three motions would have to be brought forward, or had been placed on the paper with that view, before his honorable colleague the Colonial Treasurer had made his financial statement. That he considered was without precedent, and was quite uncalled for. He thought if those honorable members were in earnest about the railway, and were not in such a hurry to put out the present Ministry, they would have waited until the honorable the Treasurer had made his financial statement, and they had, he would tell them, made a great mistake in not doing so, as then they might have had the Government at a disadvantage, for they could have prevented them from doing anything until the question was disposed of. But they were in such a hurry to get the places of the present Government that they were rushing to see who

should be the first to bring forward a motion. They had tried one motion and had been defeated, and it was, no doubt, their duty as a minority to give in; as unless they did so there would be an end to all legislation, for he maintained that four or five ordinary determined and vigorous men on the Opposition side of the House could put a stop to the business of the country as effectually as a minority of fifteen. That was the position at present, and there could not be any legislation whatever if, after being fairly beaten, a minority should determine that no further business should be proceeded with. He would like to ask the House or the country at large, where was the use of rushing into a large system of railway expenditure at the present time? The country was improving, which fact he believed would be admitted even by the Opposition. The settlement of the country was improving, as there was not less than an average of thirty tenants going on to the lands every week now, and he thought that was a very fair proportion in a country like this, which was sparsely populated, and which they were told was under a squatting Government, whose object was to lock up all the lands. Now, a more unfounded statement had never been made than that the present Government, either collectively or individually, wished to lock up the lands. Since he had entered that House, he had himself assisted in every way to promote the alienation of the land and to settle population upon it. That he could truly say for the Ministry, and he challenged any honorable member, or the country, to contradict him when he said that there was not a single instance, since the present Government took office, where an individual had been deterred from settling on the land. They had even gone further than he believed they had any power to do, and had made a rule to the effect that so long as a man paid his rent no forfeiture should be made, and none had taken place. Did that look like opposing the settlement of the land? He would repeat that settlement was increasing, that the financial condition of the colony was improving, that new industries were springing up, and more people were settling upon the land. Nay, more; that if things were to go on for a year or two, and no change took place, they would be in a position to go in for a loan of much greater magnitude, and to obtain it on much more advantageous terms than they could now, notwithstanding the astounding telegram which had appeared in the local paper, that the £2,000,000 Queensland loan had been taken up. He must say, referring to that, he at first thought it might have emanated from the Opposition; but he had made inquiries of the Government agent in Sydney, and had been informed that such a telegram had come. Well, supposing the Government were willing to rush into the system of railways, and to go to the market for a loan of £750,000, or a million, as was

proposed by honorable members opposite, what would be the result? They would have the farmers leaving their farms which were just fenced in, they would have miners leaving their claims on the diggings; they would have tradesmen rushing away from their employment; and the whole country, which was now settling down in a fair way of progress, would be unsettled for the three or four years for which the works would last. The people would, in fact, enjoy a butterfly existence, and then, when the money was all spent, would come a crash similar to that in 1866. The temporary excitement which shopkeepers—those in Brisbane especially—so dearly loved to bring about, would soon pass away, and then would come poverty and distress. He was much afraid that country storekeepers would not find such an expenditure to be to their interest, because the tendency of all railways was centralization, and it was well known that people would deal in the metropolis, even if they had to pay more money there for a bad article which could be obtained elsewhere at a lower price. What would they then have, but a state of things which he almost dreaded to look forward to? After the temporary prosperity which would be produced by this money having been spent in the construction of the railways, they would have a return of the state of things that existed in 1866. They would have to form relief camps, and pressure would be brought to provide assistance to the unemployed. They would then see men leaving the colony in swarms. Having rushed for men for the completion of the railways—for they would not be content with the labor that was in the colony—and having rushed for navvies, all those men who would be brought here, when the works were completed, would leave the colony, if they were not provided for out of an impoverished Treasury. Besides, there would be a large increase occasioned to the indebtedness of the colony. He had been for years an opponent to the carrying out of railways through a sparsely peopled country. He had always considered that it was a mistake to do so, and he still held that opinion. He thought they could not have had a more unfortunate illustration than the one put forward by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, when he referred to the railway from Newcastle-on-Tyne to Shields. The honorable member, however, forgot to state that it was population that made the railway there.

Mr. LILLEY: No, no.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: But here, on the opposite side of the globe, it was argued that railways would make population. He did not see that the railways to Dalby or Warwick had had much effect in increasing the population of the country through which they passed, and he did not believe that a railway between Brisbane and Ipswich would have much effect in that way either. He had no doubt but the railway would be made.

It was, as he had repeatedly stated, only a question of time. No doubt there would be such an amount of pressure brought to bear, that it would have to be made; but he was not the man to make it. He would never belie his opinions and principles by doing so. With respect to the extension of the northern line to Expedition Range, that was a different question, for there was a distinct promise made when the Warwick line was completed, that before any further railway works were carried out in the southern portion of the colony, the northern line should be extended from Westwood. There was a distinct promise made to that effect; and, although he would not contend that the present House was bound by that promise, he would contend that the public faith should be maintained. The extension of the northern line was a work that was justly due to the North, and ought to be carried out for the benefit of the people of the North. He was of opinion that the northern line, when completed, would be found to be one that would pay, as it would pass through a country where there were very rich copper mines; and, besides that, it would command the traffic of extensive pastoral districts. For those reasons he believed the line would pay when completed, if constructed on economical principles. If constructed on economical principles—more economical, even, than those on which the first portion of the line was constructed—it would, he believed, be found to be the only line in the colony that would pay. He believed, also, that the extension of the line was very much wanted; but he also believed, that by waiting for a few months, and allowing the committee that had been appointed to inquire and report as to the extension of the northern line, to complete their work and bring up their report, it would be found possible—considering the cheap systems of railway construction which had been advanced, and the question was only yet in its infancy—he believed that if they did so they would be enabled to complete three miles of railway for the same amount as it would cost to construct two at the present time. He did not believe that the honorable member for the Leichhardt, Mr. Scott, had any intention whatever, in bringing forward his amendment on the motion of the honorable member for North Brisbane, Dr. O'Doherty, for the adoption of the report of the Railway Commission, to shelve the question of the extension of the Southern and Western Railway from Ipswich to Brisbane. He believed that the committee was asked for solely for the purpose of getting information as to the various systems which had been projected of constructing railways on a cheap scale, with a view to the extension of the northern line as economically as possible. He had no doubt that when the committee had completed their labors they would bring up a report and evidence, which would shew that railways sufficient for the requirements of the colony

could be constructed at a much cheaper rate than hitherto. He believed also that the result of the inquiries of the committee would be of much advantage to the colony, both now and for years to come. As to the northern extension, a high rate of speed was not required on it. A speed of five or six miles an hour would be sufficient; and a railway fitted for that rate could be constructed on a very cheap principle. It was, however, quite different with respect to the Brisbane and Ipswich line; for it could not be constructed on a cheap principle. He did not believe that it could be constructed more cheaply than the lines to Warwick and to Dalby, for the same rolling stock would have to be used upon it. Honorable members on the Opposition side of the House had pinned themselves down to this proposition—that the extension of the northern railway should go on simultaneously with any further extension of the lines in the southern district of the colony. Now, he felt bound to support the interests of his constituents. He had been agitating for the extension of the northern railway for some time, on the ground that it would confer a great and needed benefit on the inhabitants of the northern district, and also because he considered that it would only be an act of justice to that portion of the colony that such a work should be carried out; and he was satisfied that it would also be of much benefit to the general welfare of the colony. It was quite clear to him that it was only those who were resident at the main termini or feeding-ends of the line who would be principally benefitted by it. His constituents in the Port Curtis district would not be benefitted by it; and he believed it would be positively injurious to the people at Broomsound, which was a very large and important district. It therefore behoved him to act with extreme caution when he supported the extension of the northern line. He felt it to be his duty to see that it should be made on the cheapest principle on which it could be made, so that the additional taxation which it would occasion might be as light as possible to the inhabitants of the colony. He had been several times charged during the debates which had taken place on the railway question, with having deceived honorable members as well as the people outside as to his views with respect to the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane; but he could not see how it could have ever been supposed, from anything he had ever said, that he was in favor of the extension of the line. Further than saying that the line would no doubt have to be made, and that so far it was only a question of time, he had never uttered a word in support of it. On the contrary, he had repeatedly said that he would not support it, as it would run alongside a good road and a navigable river. He would defy anyone to say that he had been inconsistent in his conduct in respect to the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane.

He fully explained the consistency of his conduct in the matter a few evenings ago. What he said was very fully reported in the *Courier*, but it was omitted from "Hansard."

Mr. ATKIN : The House was then in Committee of the Whole.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY : During the session of 1870, and just before the dissolution, he had to give certain advice to His Excellency the Governor, which would be found at page 113 in the tenth volume of "Hansard." It would there be found that he concluded his advice as follows :—

"And finally I would submit to your Excellency that there is a distinct and important issue, on which the opinion of the country ought at this time to be taken—i.e., whether a very large addition is to be made to the debt of the colony, and consequently a very large increase on our present heavy taxation, by borrowing money to enter into a very expensive and extensive system of railway contracts; or whether we should confine ourselves to the policy set forth in your Excellency's Speech, of borrowing only enough to meet our liabilities, complete the railways now contracted for, and put the roads of the colony into passable condition."

That did not look as if he was an advocate for railway extension. Well, so far as his recollection served him, he stated much the same thing in his address to his constituents. For the satisfaction of honorable members on the point, he would read the portion of the address to which he referred. It was as follows :—

"The question which you and your fellow colonists have to decide, is a momentous one. Are you prepared to send in men who will advocate and carry, if they can, an enormous increase to the already very heavy debt of the colony, that increase to be devoted almost in its entirety to the construction of railways which cannot in any possible way benefit three-fourths of you, but which every man of you must help to pay for? Are you prepared for increased taxation on every article of daily use—on the necessities as well as the luxuries of life? Or would you rather support me, and others who think with me, that railways, if constructed—and I hope they will be constructed—should be paid for out of the ample lands of the colony, and not by the sweat of our bodies and proceeds of our brains?"

Well, in his hustings speech, he said much the same. After that, therefore, anyone who twitted him with being inconsistent in the matter of railway extension, must be a very brave man indeed. The position taken up by the minority was this:—They contended, while preventing the business of the country from being carried on by the Government, that the Ministry should resign, so as to allow of certain members on the Opposition side taking their places. He never heard of such reasoning in all his life; but, in fact, it was a mere farce to call it reasoning. All that was said by honorable members on the Opposition side of the House simply amounted to this: "We know we are in a minority, but we want your places." Now, he could tell

those honorable members, that so long as he had a majority, he would continue to hold office, however much it might be to his personal advantage and comfort to leave it. There had been no reasoning advanced from the other side of the House. All that had been said by honorable members opposite consisted only of assertions; and amounted only, he might say, to something like firing blank cartridge. Still, it was not pleasant sometimes to sit even in front of the firing of blank cartridge. If he were to consult only his own private interests, he would resign, and allow honorable members on the other side the opportunity of forming a Ministry. But there would be no good in his doing so. If the Government were to resign, they would shew a great amount of cowardice, as regarded themselves, and at the same time they would act untruly towards those who had so consistently supported them. He did not see that there would be any benefit to the country by the present Ministry resigning, and allowing honorable members on the Opposition side of the House to take their places. The fifteen members on the Opposition side of the House might be able to form a Ministry, for it did not require much brains to be a Minister. With well-trained under secretaries—and he was glad to be able to say that the under secretaries in the several departments of the Government service were all well-trained men—a Minister of the Crown had very little to do except to see that justice was done; and that was what the present Ministry had endeavored to do. Such being the case, he did not think it would be at all difficult for any five men to carry on the Government of the country, provided they were honest in their determination to act in a way calculated to promote the welfare of the colony. He maintained that there would be no use in the present Ministry going out, in order to allow another Ministry to come into office who could not carry on the Government of the country, because they would be in a minority. What good, he would ask, would be gained by such a course? Supposing the present Ministry did go out and a Ministry consisting of members now on the other side of the House came in to-morrow, what could they do? The state of parties would be just as it was at present. The new Ministry would go before their constituents, and probably be elected; but when they met the House they would find this indomitable majority of sixteen, who now sat on the Government side of the House, arrayed against them. He was certain that it would not be possible for any Ministry that might be formed from the Opposition side of the House to carry with them a single member who now sat on the Government side of the House. He felt fully justified in making that assertion, for the present Government, and their supporters had been well tried during the present session. If the present

Ministry went out and another Ministry came in, they would, no doubt, dissolve the House, and then there would of course be an appeal to the country. Well, if that was the case, he was sure that some honorable members who were now in the House would not come back again—at least, for the constituencies they now represented. Some might be returned for town constituencies, but certainly not for the same constituencies as they now represented—or rather, he should say, misrepresented. During the last week there had been, in the course of the discussions which had taken place, a great deal too many personalities interchanged; but he hoped there would now be no more of them. He thought he had shewn to the House, that the Government was willing to go on with the business of the country; and honorable members who had so well supported the Government on the present occasion, had also well shewn that they were willing to do so. The members of the Government and their supporters, in addition to that, had shewn that they were willing to allow private business to be carried on—notwithstanding the obstruction that had been raised by honorable members on the Opposition side of the House to the carrying on of public business. Honorable members on the Opposition side of the House had obstructed business every day, and had even gone the length of obstructing business on the days set apart for private members. He thought he could see as far through a milestone as anyone else, and he fancied that the Opposition had adopted the course of tactics they had pursued in this matter, to fag out the Government and their supporters. But if they thought that they would succeed, they were very much mistaken. Honorable members opposite knew well that there were members on both sides of the House who could not, because of private business requiring their attention in the country at a particular time, remain in town throughout the year. The whole of this Opposition reminded him of the fable of the boys and the frogs—what was play to the boys was death to the frogs. So, in this case, it might be said that what was play to town members was death to those who were engaged in pastoral pursuits, and who, consequently, had, at a particular period of the year, to go up country to attend to their private business. Those honorable members, it was well known, had to return to their stations at a certain period of the year; and no doubt the Opposition thought that they might be able to continue their present line of tactics until country members had to leave, and that then the Government would be in a minority, and they would be able to defeat them. Now, he considered it to be his duty to resist any such attempt. As he had a majority of honorable members on his side, he held that he should not submit to any course the Opposition might adopt that would have the effect, or be

likely to have the effect, of leaving him in a minority; and he did not think it would be well for the country if he were to do so. In reviewing the state of affairs, he saw there were two courses before him, either of which he might adopt, in order to combat the opposition which had been raised to the policy of the Government. He might have applied to His Excellency the Acting Governor for power to prorogue the House; and he thought that if he had done so, and had shewn to His Excellency what was the state of matters, and the temper of parties on both sides of the House, His Excellency would have granted him authority to do so; and he considered that His Excellency would have been fully justified in granting him such a measure of authority. However, he had not troubled His Excellency with any advice on the subject; because he thought that the House was quite able to decide for itself as to the course that should be taken. He had, therefore, come to the conclusion that it would be better to propose an amendment on the motion now before the House, in order that the House might be afforded an opportunity of deciding the question for itself. He very much regretted that he should feel it to be his duty to propose any amendment that might have the effect of delaying the carrying on of the business of the country; and the amendment he intended to propose might be considered to have that effect; still, while feeling the grave responsibility that would rest upon him in bringing it forward he felt it to be his duty to do so. He was sorry that he felt compelled to submit the amendment he intended to propose, for several reasons. The Government had commenced the session at the proper time of the year—at a time when, as he expected, it would have been possible to get through with the business of Parliament in time to enable the House to be prorogued before the busy period for country members arrived; and so as to enable some honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, as well as some honorable members on the Government side of the House to attend to their private business when their personal attendance at their stations was especially required. Not long ago he received a letter from a friend of his who knew a good deal about public affairs; and he said he considered that what this colony required was not so much legislation as administration. Well, he flattered himself that the present Government was as competent to administer the affairs of the colony, and to preserve the interests of the people, as any Government that might be formed of members on the Opposition side of the House; and he would not therefore give way to the Opposition. The amendment he had to propose was—

That there be added to the motion for adjournment the words, "To Tuesday, the 7th day of November next."

Mr. LILLEY said he was not unprepared for this attempt to outrage and invade the

privileges of Parliament. He was not unprepared for this attempt to govern the colony solely for the interests and the convenience of a particular class. But the honorable the Premier was mistaken in his estimate of the honorable members who occupied the Opposition benches if he thought they would allow him to succeed. Honorable members on his side of the House would sit there for weeks in order to defy the Government and their supporters, to defeat the just wishes of the country by the course the honorable the Premier had proposed for adoption. Before proceeding to analyse the address of the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, he desired to say that he regarded it as very temperate in tone; and considering the severe trials to which he had been subjected during the past week, and knowing his sharpness of temper, and how much he must therefore suffer from the attacks which had been made upon his Government, he must say that the honorable member had restrained himself remarkably well. His speech would have been in exceedingly good taste if it had not concluded with the extraordinary proposition that the House should be adjourned for a period of twenty weeks. The amendment proposed that the House should be adjourned for five months. The honorable gentleman, after a vote of want of confidence being carried against him, appealed to the country, and returned with a majority; but it was owing to the support he received from members of the Opposition that he was able to carry through last session. The Opposition supported the Government last session in their schemes of taxation, which helped to produce that surplus in the revenue which it was expected the increased taxation would yield. Now, the honorable member was not only opposed by honorable members who had the voice of the colony on their side, and who virtually formed the majority of the House; but he had also a majority of the Legislative Council against him, at any rate, so far as regarded the question of railway extension; and yet, knowing all that, he resorted to this shift of adjourning the House till the seventh of November, that he and his colleagues might be able to carry on the government of the country for several months longer. The amendment which the honorable member had proposed was a miserable attempt to defeat the just and proper action of the Legislature in respect to the public affairs of the country. The honorable gentleman was altogether mistaken if he did not think that under the circumstances it would be his better course to resign. On the occasion of a Ministerial difficulty in New South Wales, the Ministry asked the Governor for power to dissolve the House; and the late Sir William Denison, who was then Governor, informed the Ministry to the effect that he would not object to grant a dissolution once they obtained supplies, but that he considered, if a Ministry

could not obtain supplies, it was their duty to resign. Now he held that they were all bound to respect the opinion of a gentleman of Sir William Denison's experience in respect to public affairs; and he therefore maintained on that authority, that it was the duty of the honorable the Premier to test his power to carry through supplies, and if he found that he could not do so, it would then be his duty to resign. In what better position would the honorable member be when the House met in November than he was in now? Did he desire by this amendment to weary out the Opposition? If he thought so, he was very much mistaken. Did he think that during the five months that would elapse he would be able to bribe another honorable member to leave the Opposition side of the House? If so, he would tell the honorable member that he would not be able to do anything of the kind, for there were only men now on the Opposition side of the House, whom it would be impossible to bribe. Did the honorable member think that, during the five months of adjournment which he proposed, he would be able to do something of the same kind as he had done during the last twelve months? He could tell the honorable member that, notwithstanding the strong support he received from the Ipswich and West Moreton members, and others who sat on the Government side of the House, it would be impossible for him to induce any of the honorable members now on the Opposition side of the House to take a seat on the Government side of the House. The course of the honorable member at the head of the Government was very clear, and he would at once follow it, unless he was ignobly holding on to office, which he affected to despise. He was astonished at the want of knowledge which the honorable member at the head of the Government had displayed, as to the rules and forms by which Constitutional Government was directed. But for the amendment with which the honorable member concluded his speech, he (Mr. Lilley) would have addressed the House in as pleasant a humor as he could, and as regarded the members of the Government, in the most courteous manner possible. But the amendment, which he looked upon as an attempt to override the rights and privileges of Parliament, had somewhat raised his temper. The honorable member at the head of the Government had briefly aired his opinions on the subject of railways, and in doing so had said that he would not be at the trouble to answer the speech of the honorable member for the Warrego. Now, he believed there was a very good reason for his saying that. He did not think that the honorable gentleman could have answered the able speech of the honorable member for the Warrego. If he had attempted to do so, he would have utterly failed, for he did not possess the metal to answer such a speech, which was one of the ablest, in favor of the extension of rail-

ways, that had ever been delivered in that House. It was quite manifest that the honorable the Premier had not sufficient knowledge on the subject of railways to enable him to even attempt to answer the speech of the honorable member for the Warrego. All he was able to do was to repeat the old argument of there being a navigable river and a good road between Brisbane and Ipswich, which clearly shewed that the honorable gentleman had been under the training of the members for Ipswich and West Moreton; and their policy had been already well exposed and condemned. It would have been far better for the honorable member, whether he believed in railway extension or not, that instead of bringing forward an amendment like this, he had advised His Excellency the Acting Governor to dissolve the House, and so have sent every member back to his constituency for re-election. If His Excellency had refused to comply with such advice, then it would have been the duty of the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government to have resigned, and to have allowed the government of the country to pass into other hands. That was the course he ought to have pursued. But was it to be supposed that the House would allow a Ministry which had been defeated to remain in office?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: No, no.

MR. LILLEY: Yes, defeated; and that because they were not in a position to carry through supplies. The House, he maintained, had been insulted by this amendment, which had been made on behalf of Messrs. Cribb and Foote. Did anyone ever hear of such a statement being made as the one which had just been made by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, to the effect that the Government of the colony should be carried on by administration, and that there was no need for legislation? They were told that administration was all that was required.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: No, no.

MR. LILLEY: When they found the head of the Government putting forth such opinions, his incapacity for conducting the business of the colony was not much to be wondered at. The honorable gentleman had said that it did not require much brains to be a Minister; as there were good and well-trained under secretaries, who were in every way able to inform Ministers as to matters of detail. By this it would appear that all that was required for the government of the colony was that they should have a Ministry and well-trained under secretaries. By such statements as those, it appeared to him that the honorable the Colonial Secretary did not altogether fully understand the duties of his position. He (Mr. Lilley) had always considered it to be the duty of the head of the Government himself to devise a policy that would be suitable for the country, and submit it to Parliament for approval and legislation. He must say that he never heard a lamer address, or one that was

characterised by such narrow views, as the one which had just been delivered by the honorable the Colonial Secretary. It would have been far better for the honorable member if he had not delivered an address containing such narrow views of his duties and those of his colleagues. Before he proceeded farther to analyse the address of the honorable member, and to contradict some misrepresentations which he had made, accidentally perhaps, there was one point in his speech which he would wish to refer to. The honorable the Premier had said that the Opposition was so moved by faction, so little animated by a sense of right and justice, and so eager to commence obstruction, to-day, that they would not, on that account, allow the first motion on the business paper, which had reference to the erection of a monument over the remains of the late lamented Governor of the colony, Colonel Blackall, to be taken up. Now, there never was a more unjust accusation made. He would yield to no one, either in the House or out of it, in the matter of respect to the memory of the late Governor; and he was sure that every honorable member on the Opposition side of the House would say the same for himself. Every honorable member in the House, he believed, entertained the deepest respect for the memory of that much loved gentleman. But who was to blame for this motion, which had for its purpose to pay respect to the memory of the dead, being brought forward at a time when the Opposition members of the House had a serious duty to perform? Who was to blame for its being brought forward and made a subject of discussion? Certainly not the members on the Opposition side of the House. There would be no hesitation on their part to accede to the proposed grant for a monument to perpetuate the memory of the late Governor—but let there be no acclamation about it. He was convinced that every honorable member would equally like to pay every respect to the memory of their dear departed friend. For the honorable the Premier, who had tabled the motion, to accuse the members of the Opposition of obstructing its being brought forward, and to carry a claim for party purposes, was perfectly monstrous. He hoped that such a course would not be pursued again. As he had already stated, no one could more respect the memory of the late Governor than honorable members on the Opposition side of the House. Let them all acknowledge that, and forbear to say that anyone on either side of the House would mention his name for party purposes. The honorable member had said that he (Mr. Lilley), and other honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, were anxious to hurry into office. Now so far as he himself was concerned, he was not anxious for office, and he could assure the honorable gentleman that in the opposition

he now made to the policy of the present Government he was not actuated by any desire whatever to be in office. At the same time he would tell the honorable gentleman that he (Mr. Lilley) had determined that should his services be required by the country, his services would be rendered, and that without a shilling of pay; but he would not say that he would not, if called upon, endeavor to form an administration; and if he took office he would do so as the advocate of railway extension. The honorable the Premier had stated that he could not advocate railway extension; and he would give the honorable gentleman credit for frankly stating that, in saying so, he only expressed the opinion he had entertained, and openly avowed, for years. The honorable gentleman had said that railways did not tend to the settlement of people on the land. Well, they had the example of America before them; and there it had been proved that railways had greatly facilitated settlement. But for the railways in America there would not have been one-half the population on the prairies that there now was. The honorable member also stated that railways tended to centralisation, but he (Mr. Lilley) maintained that their tendency was to decentralise both population and industry. In every rural district of England through which there were railway lines the population had been nearly doubled. It seemed to him that the honorable gentleman could not have studied the question, or that he might have read some books about it; but if so, they must have been very badly written books, and from which he had only obtained wrong information. He had never known anyone so obstinately persistent as the honorable member in opposing the construction of railways. The honorable member said all this opposition was merely with the view of securing the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane. Now, what was the use of repeating an assertion which had been denied, and had been refuted over and over again, unless it was in order to deceive the country? The Opposition advocated the construction of railways wherever they could see that railways would be useful. They believed in the construction of railways wherever it could be shewn that they would conduce to the settlement of population and the development of the resources of the colony; and they believed in the introduction of immigrants and affording them every facility to settle all over the country. That was the policy of the Opposition. As to railways paying, it was well known that in England very few lines hardly paid at all—and a railway that had neither beginning nor end could never be expected to pay—and that was the case of the railways in this colony at the present time. For some years, several railways in England paid at the rate of three per cent.; and now they only paid at the rate of one and a-half per cent.; but see the great advantage they had in-

directly been in the way of settling population, and developing the resources of the country through which they passed, in England, Ireland, and Scotland. As to the construction of the Brisbane and Ipswich line, the question of time to which the honorable the Premier had referred might mean seven or eight years; and it was clear from a statement that was made the other night, that the extension of the northern line was to be put off for a year or two. The honorable member at the head of the Government, in referring to the northern line, had spoken in a way that might lead to the belief that honorable members on the Opposition side of the House objected to the extension of the line to Expedition Range. Why, the fact was that he (Mr. Lilley) had always been in favor of the extension of the northern line. At first, he opposed the construction of railways; but when they were commenced, he thought they should be gone on with, wherever it might seem they would be beneficial directly or indirectly to the inhabitants of the districts through which they passed or to the colony generally. He did not see why, if it could be shewn that they would be payable even indirectly, they should not be extended both in the North and South, or why central Queensland should not also have a railway. When railways were first projected, he was one of those who thought that tramways would be quite sufficient for the requirements of the districts through which it was proposed that railways should be carried. When railways were commenced in New South Wales, Sir William Denison, who was then Governor of that colony, told his Ministry that they ought not to go on with the construction of railways in small pieces. Now, that advice was very applicable here. He did not see why they should not construct railways, if they saw that railways would tend to the opening up and settlement of the country, and thereby contribute indirectly to the public revenue;—or he should rather say directly, because of the settlement of population they would induce. Now, he had said over and over again, that if he were asked to vote for the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane alone, he would not do so; but that he would vote against it. He had always advocated the extension of railways; and that the Government should borrow money for the purpose of extending them, wherever it was found that it would be for the benefit of the districts through which they would pass, that they should be extended. He believed that they should take up a general and well considered plan of railway extension, and so deal with the introduction of immigrants, that no heavy burden in the way of taxation should be cast upon the present inhabitants of the colony; and that the greatest facilities should be afforded for the settlement of immigrants on the soil when they arrived here. Brisbane would derive much benefit by the extension of the line from Ipswich, and so

would Rockhampton by the extension of the northern line to Expedition Range. The honorable the Premier had asserted that the Opposition were in a minority; but he (Mr. Lilley) maintained that the Opposition were not in a minority, but that, virtually, they had a majority. If four senseless men could be found who would carry on a factious opposition to the Ministry in the matter of the construction of railways, then he would admit that the honorable member at the head of the Government would be fully justified in not giving in; and that he should act on the instruction of Wellington, at Waterloo, not to give in; but when the honorable member found himself opposed by fifteen intelligent men, on a question of public policy, it was, he considered, his duty to give in to them. The honorable member at the head of the Government had stated that the motion for the consideration of the report of the Royal Commission, on the subject of railway extension, was brought forward at a particular time, for factious purposes. Now, he denied that such was the case. The motion of the honorable member, Dr. O'Doherty, for the adoption of the report of the Commission, was brought forward at the proper time. The members of the Opposition side of the House had the support of the country with them; and they demanded not only the construction of railways, but also that the Government should enter upon a bold and progressive course of policy. It might have been better if the motion for the adoption of the report of the Royal Commission on the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane, had been left over until the honorable the Treasurer had made his financial statement; because then the whole question as to the financial condition of the colony, and the possibility of extending their railways, could have been simultaneously discussed; but while he said so, he maintained that the motion had been brought forward at the time when it was proper that it should be brought forward; but it was quite clear to him, that if the motion for the adoption of the report had been deferred till the Colonial Treasurer had made his financial statement, it would not have led to any difference in the policy of the Government, so far as railway extension was concerned. The object of Dr. O'Doherty's motion was merely for the promotion of railway extension generally. It was for the consideration of the report of the Railway Commission; and he (Mr. Lilley) thought it was the duty of the House, in courtesy to the Commission, to take up their report and deal with it, and give it full and mature consideration. It ought not to have been met by the amendment of the honorable member for the Leichhardt, Mr. Scott. He could not regard that amendment otherwise than as an attempt to shelve the whole question. The honorable the Premier had himself avowed that such was the case, when he said that he was not in favor of the extension of railways in the

South at all. He was only in favor of the extension of the northern line to Expedition Range, and that only because he thought it would only be fair that some money should be spent in the North. The honorable gentleman had spoken, and with the utmost truthfulness, of the growing prosperity of the colony. Now, it was to assist that prosperity, and with a view to increase it, that he thought they ought to have railways, and to enter upon a policy of great national progress. It was because he believed that they should have national aims that he advocated this policy. If the Government considered that the extension of railways, and European immigration on a large scale, were not desirable objects, what, he would like to ask, were their aims? If their policy was one of inaction, they knew that such a course of policy had already been condemned by the House, and by, at least, three-fourths of the people outside. It appeared to him that the Government had no other line of policy which they could substitute for the one they had proposed, and which, as he had just stated, had been condemned; and he ventured to say, notwithstanding the boasting of the honorable the Premier, that if there were a general election to-morrow, a large majority of the people of the country would be found to decide in favor of going on with railway extension.

HONORABLE MEMBERS: No. no.

MR. LILLEY: The honorable members for Ipswich cried out "no, no," but that, no doubt, was because they heard only the opinions of their own constituency. Now, when he was last at Rockhampton, attending the assizes, he found that a strong feeling existed there in favor of the extension of railways; and that not only of the northern line from Westwood to Expedition Range, but also of the line from Ipswich to Brisbane. He had always had a strong feeling in favor of the demands of the people of the North, for he had always felt the justice of their claims; and also because he believed that ultimately it would be found that there were not richer districts in the colony than in the North, either for agricultural or pastoral pursuits; and it was well known to everyone that those districts were exceedingly rich in mineral wealth. As regarded agricultural land, he had no doubt that, with population teeming into the North, there would yet be found spots in the northern districts fully as rich as any portion of the Darling Downs, and which would go far to put down the cry about the Darling Downs. Now he maintained that it was their duty to introduce a policy that would prevent the valuable agricultural lands there from being alienated against the settlement of a large and industrious population, as had been the case with the lands on the Darling Downs. It was, he maintained, their duty to follow a line of policy that would enable England to pour out her surplus population, which was poverty

there, into the bosom of this colony, where it would be wealth. Now, a man who had high and responsible duties entrusted to him, should be actuated by a just and laudable ambition to carry out those duties. For his own part, he believed that if the Government of Queensland was boldly, faithfully, and honestly administered, this colony would soon become not the least in importance of the colonies on the Australian continent. The honorable member also said that he deplored the construction of railways on the ground that it would cause so much to be drawn from the Treasury. Also, because the prosecution of such works would draw the digger from the diggings, the farmer from his farm, the tradesman from his shop, and the blacksmith, stonemason, and other operative workmen from their present situations. Well, the answer to such an argument was this—that if the digger should be taken from the diggings for a time, his place would be filled by another digger; if the farmer should leave his farm for a time to go and work on the railways, his farm might go to ruin in the meantime, but his place would be taken by another farmer; and it would be the same in the case of tradesmen and operatives,—but the colony would still have the benefit of their services; and that in a way which, while highly advantageous to the progress of the colony, might also be very profitable to them. Now, if the land was opened, so that those, who, having been engaged on the railway works for some time, and had saved some money, could invest it in the purchase of such a quantity of land as was within the measure of their means, the probability was, that there would soon be a large and industrious population settled on the lands, and that it would not be at all necessary to draw on an impoverished Treasury for relief camps, or to provide assistance to anyone whom it was desirable to have in the colony, in order to prevent him leaving the colony. It was most unfortunate that when the Gympie Gold Fields were discovered, the lands all throughout the district were locked up. The successful diggers there had not the opportunity of taking up land in the neighborhood of the gold fields, and settling upon it, for the purposes of cultivation; and honorable members on the Government side of the House, persistently resisted the opening of the lands so that the diggers might obtain possession of them; and honorable members knew the difficulty there was in getting a Bill passed for that purpose last year. Now, he would admit that the honorable the Premier had always been in favor of the opening up of the lands; but the honorable gentleman did not view the question from the same point as he (Mr. Lilley) did. In his opinion, a great amount of the taxation of the colony should be borne by the land, in order to provide for police protection and public works; and the way that could be done, would be by letting

the lands at a quit rent. The land, he also maintained, should bear the charges for schools, in order that education might be as free as possible to everyone in the colony. A quit rent, he maintained, would bring in a very large amount of revenue to the colony. By adopting such a line of policy, they might be able to make shipping and commerce free—perfectly free. Now, when he said that, it would be seen that he was not a protectionist. On the contrary, he wished to see commerce as free as he wished to make education. The honorable the Premier, he knew, wished the lands to be sold at a cheap price; but he wanted, at the same time, to see them taken up in large blocks. That might, and, in all possibility, would, secure to a few people, who might settle on the lands, the opportunity of doing well, on a large scale; but what he (Mr. Lilley) wished to see was a large number of people settled on the lands and doing well in a small way. The honorable gentleman had also said that, in a year or two hence, it might be possible to obtain loans in the English market on better terms than at the present time. Now, he would ask the honorable member, how he could say so unless he possessed the gift of prophecy? He (Mr. Lilley) did not see that it would be possible to obtain a loan in the English market on better terms than at the present time. The crash of 1866 had been referred to, but what, he would ask, caused that crash? The honorable the Treasurer, who was also then the Treasurer for the colony, knew that it was owing to a want of foresight on his part. He was in such a condition that he had not scarcely a sixpence in the Treasury. The fact was that he was almost in the position of having to go to the pawn shop.

THE COLONIAL TREASURER: No.

MR. LILLEY: Well, the Government had to get £30,000 from Mr. Campbell, of Sydney.

THE COLONIAL TREASURER: At that time the Government was under agreements that would have enabled them to carry out all their engagements, but for the smashing of the Agra Bank.

MR. LILLEY: Why, the honorable gentleman was in the position at that time, as Colonial Treasurer, that he could not find as much in his box as cash a cheque for thirty shillings—and then he had to resort to the proposition for the issue of greenbacks. He hoped the honorable member would be able to place the financial affairs of the colony in a better position, especially if he got the proposed five months' recess. Then, again, as to the settlement of the lands, they were in this position, that instead of being able to give good lands to those who were prepared to settle on the soil, they were only able to give them rubbish, because the best lands for agricultural purposes were locked up. He hoped they would never again see such a state of things as existed in 1866. He would only add, in

conclusion, that he knew very well that railways would not make population; but he knew that they would facilitate the settlement of population, and induce people to go and settle in districts where they would not go if such facilities did not exist. The honorable the Premier had characterised the illustration which he (Mr. Lilley) had given, to shew the extent to which railways were calculated to promote settlement, when he referred to the case of the railway between Newcastle and Shields, as an unfortunate one. Well, he remembered the time, when he was a boy—and it was about that time that the Newcastle and Shields Railway was commenced; and he remembered, also, up to manhood—up to the time of his coming out here—that the population along the whole of the line had greatly increased from the time that it was opened. He also remembered how much the construction of the railway between Newcastle and Shields contributed to the deepening of the Tyne. It had also been stated that Newcastle was the head of navigation on the Tyne; but he could inform honorable members on the Government side of the House that that was not correct, except as regarded vessels of a certain tonnage. As to the effect of railways in that district, he might refer to the case of Elswick, which, previous to the establishment of railways, was a private estate, where there was a number of market gardens; but now it was all built upon and covered with large streets. Then as to the railway between Newcastle and Carlisle, when it was first made, one portion of it ran along a gentleman's park, but the whole of the country through which the line passed, was now covered with large towns; and yet with such evidence, the honorable the Premier said that railways did not facilitate the settlement of population. Now, railways also facilitated the development of the resources of the country; and the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government admitted that, when he advocated the extension of the northern line to Expedition Range. He could assure the House that the members on the Opposition side had no desire whatever to obstruct the business of the country. They only desired to express their objection to the policy propounded by the present Government. Honorable members could see that there was room for a wide distinction between postponing the business of the country and postponing the business of the Government, for a period of five months. He would only further add, that if at the outset of his remarks he spoke a little too sharply, he did not wish to do so. He was aware that sometimes he spoke with a degree of strength and animation more than usual; but when he did so, it was not with the intention to wound but only to convince.

The Hon. R. RAMSAY said the few remarks he had to address to the House would not render it necessary for him to go back to the remote period, to which the honorable mem-

ber who had introduced the motion had referred. His object in rising was to explain his reasons for the vote which he was about to give. Before doing so, however, he wished to refer to one passage in the speech of the honorable member for Warrego, who had expressed the opinion that honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House had not acted properly in allowing the difference of terms on which the leases under the Alienation Act of 1868 were resumed, and those under the Pastoral Leases Act of 1869. He believed the honorable member was not in the House, at the time; if he had been, he would have known that the difference arose entirely through honorable members now on the Opposition side. Those on the Ministerial side had done everything they could to get that passage altered. He (Mr. Ramsay) individually left no stone unturned to attain that object. He not only spoke in the House against it, but he had several private interviews with the honorable gentleman who had charge of the measure, until the honorable gentleman was annoyed at his persistence, and told him that he would jeopardise the Bill in opposing it. On that he gave way. He mentioned the matter merely to disabuse the honorable member's mind. On the other side of the House there were very few honorable members who took so much interest in that point as he had taken, and as honorable members on the Ministerial side had taken with him, to make that Bill a good measure. Now, he would leave that subject, and proceed to the one more legitimately before the House. He had not hitherto taken any part in the debates pursued by honorable members opposite since the amendment of the honorable member for Leichhardt, Mr. Scott, had been carried. It appeared to him that there would be very little advantage in it. He thought that honorable members opposite had made up their minds to a certain course of action, and it was unlikely that anything that could be said on his side of the House would have any effect in changing their views. But such a long time had elapsed since, that it was time something was done. Three weeks honorable members had sat and seen all business suspended by the action of the Opposition. The House had heard from the honorable member who led the Opposition, that that Opposition would not allow one of the most popular and important Bills the country had seen to proceed another stage. They had heard from the honorable member for Warrego, that he intended to persevere in that course. Therefore it was quite evident that the course which had been pursued so long was intended to be continued. Let him take a short review of the position in which honorable members on the Opposition side had placed themselves by the course they were pursuing. The political question had been very fully and very ably discussed, and a decision had been arrived at by the House, on a division, when every member

was present. The minority, after that, ought to allow themselves to be bound by that decision. But they had pursued what he believed was an unprecedented course, and what was certainly an unconstitutional course, that of opposing all further legislation; and they said to the majority, "Unless you yield to our views, unless the majority give way to the minority, we will not allow any further business to be transacted." Was that a course that, at any time, was at all likely to be successful? Did the Opposition think that the majority, after they had waited so long—after having sat, night after night, and listened to their arguments, and failed to be convinced by them—were likely to yield to bullying? What had been refused to every argument the Opposition could adduce, would not be yielded to their threats. Was it likely, was it possible, for the Ministerial side to retract all they had said, to retreat from their position, and to do what the Opposition wished? If the Opposition thought so, they were very likely to be disappointed. What was there in the antecedents of honorable members on his side of the House to lead the Opposition to think that they would find such pliability in the Government or their supporters? This Government had carried out their measures as much in their entirety as any Government in the House. It would be in the recollection of honorable members that they had a great trial of strength, last session, when honorable members opposite kept the House up till ten o'clock in the morning; and how did that end? Did the Government give in? No; the Opposition gave in most completely. The honorable member who led the Opposition, then, and who led them, now, said he had an important committee to attend, and he would not act in opposition any longer. But he (Mr. Ramsay) believed the honorable member did not attend that committee, on that occasion! So that in giving in, that was merely an excuse brought forward for so doing. He did not blame honorable members for the course they pursued, for having given way then; he only blamed them for having carried it on so long. And, he thought, if they had taken to heart the lesson which was taught them, then, they would not have carried on this present opposition so long. Let them look at what had given rise to this extraordinary proceeding on the part of the Opposition party; let them see whether the question at issue was one that deserved such extreme measures as had been adopted. Let them suppose that a stranger from Great Britain arrived here, and found the existing state of parties in the House, what would be the first question he would put? It would be, "What has caused this?" He (Mr. Ramsay) could conceive him saying, "I can well understand that some great constitutional principle has been infringed; that the Government have interfered with the liberty of the people in some way that it is

quite impossible for the representatives of the people to overlook." He could conceive the astonishment of such a stranger when he was told, in answer to his question, that there was not any question of principle involved at all; that it was merely a question of expediency, whether twenty-five miles of a railway should be made now or a little later. That was the question.

HONORABLE MEMBERS on the Opposition side of the House: No, no.

HONORABLE MEMBERS on the Ministerial side: Hear, hear.

The Hon. R. RAMSAY: It was. It was upon that question that the present proceedings rested, and that alone. He would concede this much: that the leaders of those measures—men who, in America, would be called the "wire-pullers"—had no such object; that they did not care a bit whether the railway was made or not; their object was totally different; their object was to embarrass the Government, and so seriously to embarrass them, as to compel them to resign. That could be the only object of those honorable members. They had selected the railway question because they thought it was the only question upon which they could best unite as an Opposition. He thought they had acted judiciously; there was a multitude of counsellors to advise upon it. By adopting that question, they secured, by means of the Brisbane and Ipswich Railway, the seven Brisbane votes; for the House all very well knew that the members for East Moreton were in reality members for Brisbane.

Mr. ATKIN: No, no.

The Hon. R. RAMSAY: At any rate, it was a very general opinion that they were; and it was certain that that question had secured their votes. He did not think that if the railway was for a distant part of the district of East Moreton, say the Logan, or that end of the country, it would have secured them. The promised extension to Roma had secured a couple of western votes.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: No.

The Hon. R. RAMSAY: He thought so. And he thought that it had proved the falsity of the old adage that "Old birds are not caught with chaff"; for two remarkably fine birds had been caught. He believed they had been rummaging for the grain of wheat already. They would not find it. There was nothing but chaff. Then the promise of northern extension had secured the support of the representatives whose wits, it had been said, were not sharpened by personal interest. He thought that those whose wits were sharpened saw through it, and saw the folly of it, and that they would never get it in the way promised. But, there was one vote not yet accounted for. That was the vote of the honorable member for Wide Bay. What was it that tempted him? For certainly he had been promised no railway. He (Mr. Ramsay) fancied that that honorable member would not accept such a thing; for this was

the way in which he spoke six months ago:—

"The honorable member [for Drayton and Toowoomba] appeared to be disappointed that no provision was promised in the Speech for those great undertakings which had landed the colony in its present position, and which he (Mr. King) hoped they had seen the last of for some years."

That was the way in which the honorable member for Wide Bay spoke six months ago. Now, he was found going in for an extempore railway policy of which he did not know the end. It was a policy that would cost a million of money. He did not know how the honorable member's vote was secured, and he did not intend to inquire. It might be possible that there was a *quid pro quo*, in some shape or other. He would not venture to offer a suggestion as to what it might be. The Opposition had boasted of the recruit they had gained in him. Well, the Government might as well set him against the recruit they had gained. A great deal had been said about the Colonial Treasurer coming over to the Government, but not a word of the honorable member for Wide Bay, who had spoken as strongly as any man could speak against the railway policy. In the voting, there was neither a gain nor a loss, because what the Government missed on one side they found on the other. He (Mr. Ramsay) thought from what he had said that it must be evident that the Government could not yield to the present pressure. It would be a piece of extreme weakness in them to do so. What, then, ought they to do? Ought they to resign? When the honorable member at the head of the Government did him the honor to ask him his opinion on this subject, some time ago, he told his honorable friend, most decidedly, not to do anything of the sort; that it would be a dereliction of duty in him to do so; that his business was to stick by this colony as long as a majority would stick by him. He hoped and trusted the Colonial Secretary would do so. No Ministry could provide against such a course as the Opposition now pursued. He had said already that that course was unconstitutional; but it was permitted by the regulations which governed the proceedings of the House. It was in the power of any four members in the House, and of any two, in committee, to protract the proceedings as long as they pleased. There was not any check upon them but good sense and good feeling. He believed that good sense and good feeling never had failed in the House of Commons. As far as he could find out, there was no precedent for such a proceeding as the present one of the Opposition, pursued for so long a time. He was quite sure that good sense had failed honorable members in the House; and he was afraid that it would tell against them all for a long time to come. But, what would be the good of the present Government resigning? They knew that if they did so, the Opposition could not carry a measure

without the assistance of the Government. The Opposition could not form a House. The Government might resign, and they and their supporters could stand outside the bar, at half-past three o'clock, and there would not be a quorum; the Opposition would be unable to go on. It would be utter madness for them to do anything of the sort. But, what was to be done? It would be a dereliction of duty in the Government to resign. If the Opposition would not allow the Government to carry on, they knew very well that it was impossible for many honorable members to stay in the House beyond a certain time. There was no course open but that proposed in the amendment brought forward by the Premier. Look at the position of honorable members from the country. The Opposition were deliberately placing them in this dilemma: that they must remain here during the whole year, 1871, to the neglect of their own business; or, in order to transact their private business, they must go away and leave their friends in a minority, or leave the business of the House in the hands of the party in whom they had no confidence. It was the duty of the head of the Government to relieve them from that position; if not in one way, then in another. The course the Premier had pursued was the right and the proper one; and he (Mr. Ramsay) hoped that the amendment would be carried by the House. No doubt, the representatives of the constituencies were bound to attend in the House as long as they could do the business of the country, without reference to their own private affairs. But, when one side, a large section, of the House, said they should not perform their public duties, it was not incumbent upon them to come down to be a useless appendage of the House. He granted that what the Premier proposed was an extremely undesirable measure, and it was one which he was sorry the honorable gentleman was obliged to resort to. But it was not to be avoided. He was prepared, as far as he was individually concerned, to come down every day in the session—if there was any chance of doing the business of the country—every day for the rest of the year, rather than that the business should not be done; but there were others in such a position that they could not do as he could do; and it became a duty of the Government to relieve their supporters from a difficulty in that respect, and not to require them to attend the House uselessly. There was no other course but the course adopted by his honorable friend and colleague; and, therefore, he must support the amendment.

Mr. ATKIN said he was excessively glad that the Government had been so much stimulated by their fishing trip down the Bay, last week, that the House had got a statement of the intended policy of the honorable gentleman at the head of affairs. It really was a very creditable statement to him and the party represented by him. When he

came down to the House, this afternoon, he expected, and he believed a great many honorable members on the Opposition side of the House thought, that they would be asked to suit the convenience of the Ipswich and West Moreton members by adjourning for the Ipswich races; and they would not have been unwilling, perhaps, to do so. But the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government had gone farther, and managed to "kill two birds with one stone." He imagined he could get rid of the very unpleasant position in which he found himself, and also enable the Ipswich and West Moreton members to go to the races. He imagined that he would change his position, if not to find one of comfort, that he would find himself in power when the most noble the Marquis of Normanby arrived here;—and that was of considerable importance to the honorable member. But, he (Mr. Atkin) ventured to say that a more extraordinary course, a more unconstitutional course, a greater violation of the rights of a community possessing representative institutions, than the course proposed by the Premier, was never taken before; and, to his great astonishment, it was supported by the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay, who had admitted that he had recommended the course proposed as the best to get rid of the difficulty of the Government. That that honorable gentleman should recommend such a course, was surprising—one so contrary to the law of England—

Mr. FERRET: No, no.

Mr. ATKIN: The honorable member for West Moreton said "No, no." That honorable member so often got up and spoke on legal questions, and so often contradicted honorable members who understood them better than himself, that it was to be supposed he had acquired some credit as a "bush lawyer," and therefore considered himself an authority. The course of the Government was, he (Mr. Atkin) asserted, contrary to the law of England; and there was a statute in the Statute Book to prevent such a course being taken, as it gave the Crown the right to prevent it. The House were bound by the usage of the Imperial Parliament, and there was no doubt that the Governor of this colony had powers given to him under the Statute of George the Third, to prevent such an adjournment as this. Honorable members would find, if they referred to the forty-eighth page of May's "Parliamentary Practice," the following paragraph:—

"A power of interfering with adjournments, in certain cases, has been conceded to the Crown by statute. The 39 and 40 Geo. III., c. 14, enacts that when both Houses of Parliament stand adjourned for more than fourteen days, the Queen may issue a proclamation, with the advice of the Privy Council, declaring that the Parliament shall meet on a day not less than fourteen days from the proclamation; and the

Houses of Parliament then stand adjourned to the day and place declared in the proclamation; and all the orders which may have been made by either House, and appointed for the original day of meeting, or any subsequent day, stand appointed for the day named in the proclamation."

That took it out of the power of a majority, obtained as the Government majority had been obtained, to act in a tyrannical manner. That statute applied to this colony, as probably the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government would find, when the proper representations should have been made to the Crown. In such a matter, the most noble the Marquis of Normanby would think for himself, and would see fit to issue a proclamation convening Parliament at an earlier day than the Colonial Secretary proposed. The honorable member for Western Downs had "let the cat out of the bag," when he said there was no other course to be adopted than the course taken by the Premier. There was, as the honorable member knew, another course;—that was, for the Premier to go to the Governor, and to put the position of the House fairly before him, and to ask him to prorogue Parliament. How were the Council to be disposed of? Had the Government a majority there, to adjourn to the same day that the Assembly were asked to adjourn to? The Council, if they liked, could keep on the session still. The honorable the Colonial Secretary dared not to ask the Governor for a prorogation. It would have been an insult to His Excellency's common sense to have done so—as much so as if he had asked him to stand on his head in the middle of Queen street;—and, if he had, the honorable gentleman would have been sent about his business. The honorable gentleman, knowing that, adopted the present course, backed by a majority pledged to go against the wishes of the country—to postpone legislation: till when? Why, to the very day that his honorable friend, the member for Maranoa, in a prophetic mood, last year, recommended the Government to call Parliament together—till November—till a time that would exactly suit him. The debate would, no doubt, be a long one, and he meant to go into several matters which had been raised by the Premier and the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay. He would first refer to what had been said by the last speaker, who, with a certain charm of style, had a sophistical manner of putting his arguments, which caused honorable members on the Opposition side of the House to look with great suspicion upon them: when they were divested of surplusage, it would be found that there was very little of either sound reasoning or sound sense in what the honorable gentleman said. He had said that the present matter was simply a minority saying to a majority, "You must give way," and that the Government were not going to give way. It was nothing of the sort. Where was the honor-

able member for Eastern Downs? If he was in his place on the floor of the House, to carry out the pledges which he had given to his constituents when he was returned, the Government could not claim to have a majority. Did the constituents of that honorable gentleman suppose for one moment, when they entrusted their interests to his care, that he would be placed in the position which he had been placed in, obedient to the voice of the party on the Ministerial side of the House? Where would be those who proposed the unconstitutional adjournment, if that honorable gentleman had not betrayed his party and broken his pledges?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: Order.

MR. ATKIN: He had been sent to the House by his constituents to do his duty, and while he had a right to stand on the floor he would speak as he was justified in speaking of the public conduct of any honorable member. He would speak the truth. He did not wish to say anything offensive to any man; but in honor and honesty he must speak; and, if the truths that fell from him were unpleasant to certain ears in the House, that was not his fault, but their misfortune. He, whether called to order or not, would say anything he liked of any representative, within Parliamentary bounds. When the late Treasurer got up, and, with his specious eloquence, compared the recruit gained by the Ministry with the recruit the Opposition had gained, he forgot one important feature in his comparison—that the Opposition had nothing but principles to offer; whereas the recruit on the Ministerial side, whatever might be his motives, had been put into a salaried office. But the country could judge for itself. When the honorable member for Wide Bay came to the Opposition side, that was supposed to be a minority, what could he have hoped for? If the House was to believe the Minister for Works, the honorable member for Wide Bay was going against the wishes of his constituents. What for? Had the Opposition place or pay to give him? The honorable member had come down to the House unpledged to any party; and, when he saw what was done, last session, he said, on the very last day of the session, five minutes before he left the House, that the conduct of the Government had convinced him that he could not support them. During the recess, what had been the action of the Government? Where were the rewards, or where was the proclamation of rewards, that the House had decided should be offered for the discovery of new gold fields? There was a dereliction of duty on the part of the Government. That alone would be sufficient, if there were not many other grievous questions, many other grievous causes, for the honorable member for Wide Bay to take up the position he did. The late Treasurer had gone on to say that the railway question had been selected very judiciously to catch the

members for East Moreton and Brisbane, whose votes were certain to have been given on that question because the honorable members for East Moreton were Brisbane representatives. As far as he (Mr. Atkin) was concerned, he denied that he represented the town at all. He did represent the interests of the town, because he believed that any member representing a southern constituency, who had the welfare of the colony at heart, or who advocated those principles which must, if given effect to, benefit the whole community, must advocate the interests of Brisbane. But, as for being a delegate for or from any single section of Brisbane, he denied it altogether. The honorable gentleman had gone on to say, in the same strain, that if a vote had been taken in the outside portions of the district of East Moreton, say the Logan, on the railway question, the effect on the return of members to represent East Moreton would have been very different from what it had been. He (Mr. Atkin) had before pointed out in the House—and if the honorable gentleman would turn up the files of papers of last August, he would find it out for himself—and it would be found in a paragraph at the close of that celebrated advice which the Colonial Secretary had given to the Governor—that one of the questions on which the Government went to the country was that of the railway; and upon that very issue he (Mr. Atkin) polled a majority of two to one against the ablest candidate who had been brought forward by the Government. Why was that gentleman defeated? Simply because he was an opponent of railway extension. That was a sufficient refutation of the statement of the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay. He imagined the honorable member thought it was on the black labor question the gentleman referred to had been defeated in the outlying districts of East Moreton; but that was not the case. There were large numbers of Polynesians employed, on the Logan particularly, and yet his (Mr. Atkin's) majority was as large there as, if not larger than, in any other part of the district. That completely did away with the statement of the honorable member. As to what had been said in reference to the Opposition stopping the progress of business, and the picture which the late Treasurer had drawn of the effect of the present state of affairs on a stranger coming to the country and finding, as he had said, the whole public business obstructed, and no principle involved but merely a question of five-and-twenty miles of railway—a statement which had been so often repeated that there might be some danger of its being believed, if it were not as often denied—it was evident to any person who had listened to the debates in the House, and who had not got his information from reading the papers, which gave a very faint idea of what was done, that there were a few larger questions than that at issue. He should endeavor,

before he sat down, if his voice did not fail him, to put before the House and the country some of the questions contended for by the Opposition. The Colonial Secretary had said he wished it to go before the country, that the Opposition preferred the places of Ministers to legislation. Last session they were repeatedly taunted with being a divided and a disorganized Opposition; that they had no leader; that they were divided in all their plans, and only united for factious purposes, to drive the Government out of power. Everybody knew that independent men, possessing independent ideas, not afraid of compromising any party, having to assert their own views on particular questions, were held more loosely together than a party in power. Since last year, he (Mr. Atkin) would ask, had a single great question of principle arisen upon which the Opposition had not voted like one man? And, when necessity arose for a struggle, when the conduct of the Government proved to the Opposition that they had nothing but a compact front to shew, the Opposition shewed by their action that there was no disorganization, and that they could unite to have their principles carried out. Their action, during the present session, shewed that there was neither disorganization nor division. So far from wanting place, it was very well known that the Government, last year, owed their position entirely to the support of the Opposition. The Government had shewn themselves excessively yielding; they had allowed their tariff to be moulded, by the Opposition, into a protectionist tariff, such as would satisfy the honorable member for Northern Downs, their present Treasurer, and the greatest protectionist in the House. Every single item of importance was interfered with by the Opposition. The duty on beer was increased; they opposed the duty on flour; they increased the duty on salt; they increased the *ad valorem* duty to ten per cent.; and the then Treasurer swallowed their modifications with an extremely good grace. Then, the Government had come down with an extremely liberal programme—additional representation and some other important measures were promised. The year was nearly at an end, and pressing financial matters required to be carried out; the House were assured that the Government would meet Parliament early this year, and that honorable members must be satisfied with merely looking at the measures then. Naturally, the House were satisfied with the appearance of the Government programme; they believed in the promises of the Government of fair representation and liberal immigration. An Agent-General for Emigration had gone home who, he (Mr. Atkin) was sure, had the confidence of the majority in this country. But, upon the assembling of Parliament, he found that during the recess the Government had, by their proceedings, by their unjustifiable and unwise interference

with the honorable gentleman's arrangements at home, driven him from his position, and, meantime, appointed in his place, with indecent haste, another gentleman who, while in this colony, was in no way favorable to immigration. In that respect the Colonial Secretary had broken his promise to the House that the whole question should be brought forward this session, and that they should be consulted as to whether such an expensive department as the Emigration Agency at home, was wanted.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I do not remember it.

Mr. ATKIN: It was promised, at the wish of the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thorn. He gave the gentleman credit for a certain kind of ability which sufficiently justified the respect in which he was held in the neighboring colonies; but the appointment of Mr. Archer as Agent-General for Emigration justified the conduct of the Opposition. If there was not to be immigration to Queensland, let the question be fought out fairly; and the Government would, if they won, repeal the Immigration Act and let the country know the truth; and let the monstrous sham that now existed be done away with, of a gentleman representing the colony at home who could not encourage immigration hither unless he lied most vilely whenever he happened to appear on a platform. He (Mr. Atkin) would quote the publicly expressed opinions of that gentleman upon this colony as a field for immigration, and upon the very Act he was now appointed to administer when it was passing through the House; but before doing so, he should refer to the correspondence which had taken place between Mr. Douglas and the Government. To the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government who had spoken so feelingly about the capacities of under-secretaries—the Under-Secretary of his department had written a great many of the letters in that correspondence—he would make a suggestion which he hoped would be taken in good part; that, if that correspondence was a specimen of the way in which the correspondence of the Government was conducted, the most valuable addition that could be made to the library of the Colonial Secretary's Office, would be "The Polite Letter Writer." The first interference was when Mr. Douglas went home. It would be found that the assisted rate for single men emigrating had been £4 per head. Under the Act the assisted rate was £8, but the lower rate had been in existence up to the time of his going home, and he continued it; and wrote to the Government stating that he had done so, and asking for instructions on the subject. The Government wrote back to him, and before he could possibly have had time to receive their letter and to act upon it, they wrote again to say, in respect of a certain vessel despatched out

here, which would not have filled up if he had not acted as he had done, that they entirely disapproved of his action, and that

"the amount charged short on account of the assisted passengers by the 'Indus,' amounting to the sum of £292, has been made a surcharge against your salary."

Not satisfied with that, the Government instructed him to do away altogether with free passages; and this was what Mr. Douglas said in reply, under date 9th September, 1870:—

"SIR,—The Australian May mail brought me positive instructions to raise the charge for assisted passages to single men from £4 to £8.

"I am now instructed by your telegram from Sydney, bearing date, Brisbane, 17th June, not to 'give free passages to any but female domestic servants' "—

That bore out the celebrated passage that appeared in the correspondence from the colonial Governors to the Colonial Secretary at home, and connected the present Government in a very suspicious way with it. He went on to say—

"I must presume that this instruction is final and imperative.

"The scope of the immigration must, therefore, be considerably diminished; and though I certainly have no wish, as I have certainly no right, to call in question the policy which has guided the Government in coming to this decision, I cannot help expressing regret that such a decision should have been arrived at so inopportunistically."

Then he said—

"In reference to that class of persons to whom it has been customary to give what are called free passages, namely, to young married couples, with not more than one child, chosen from the agricultural districts, I should wish to express my personal opinion that they are a very highly desirable class; and that the colony, in denying itself the possession of these young, hearty people, in the prime of life, submits to a loss which, from an economical point of view, must necessarily be very highly estimated.

"To a community desiring to possess itself of capital in its most enduring and fructifying form, I can conceive no class of persons who would appear to be more eligible than those to whom I refer. There are none, certainly, who would settle down more contentedly and usefully in the land of their adoption."

The last paragraph was:—

"If it is intended to give real effect to the Immigration Act of 1869, and if there are means at disposal for such a purpose, I trust that at a convenient time for such a purpose, the Government"

certainly a Government whom he knew to be hostile to immigration, and whose enmity he was certain to incur—

"may see fit to reconsider a decision, which is not favorable to the cause of immigration."

Those were sentiments which did Mr. Douglas honor. Well, the Government said that there were no means disposable for such

a purpose. How dare they, after pledging themselves to carry out an Act of Parliament in its integrity, take such action during the recess, and then not have the courage to come down to Parliament and ask for some decision upon their action. A very liberal offer was made by a number of gentlemen connected with emigration in the mother country to Mr. Douglas, for transmission to the Government; and if the Government had had the slightest desire to introduce immigration to the colony, and at the cheapest possible rate, he (Mr. Atkin) thought the House would agree with him that they should have acceded to the proposition made to them. Mr. Douglas said:—

"The accompanying correspondence I forward for the information of the honorable the Colonial Secretary.

"Several of the gentlemen whose signatures are attached to this memorial did me the honor of calling on me. In their efforts to assist immigration, they are actuated by unselfish and patriotic motives; but I have pointed out to them that it would require special legislation to give effect to their views in Queensland."

Then a copy of a letter from the Secretary of the "Emigrant and Colonists' Aid Corporation" was enclosed. The Society requested—

"1st. That the Queensland Government shall assign to the Corporation a tract of land, about 10,000 acres in all, comprising forest and cleared land"—

By "cleared land" they meant ordinary country for grazing. Country gentlemen at home did not understand the colonial terms:—

"suitable for pastoral purposes, and scrub land, capable of irrigation, and suitable for agriculture; and especially so, for the culture of sugar-cane, cotton plant, coffee, indigo, arrowroot, maize, &c., &c. The land to be situate on a navigable river, or arm of the sea, capable of being made accessible to ships of 600 tons at least; the locality to be chosen, if possible, in the proximity of mountainous ground, so as to admit of the selection of good and healthy sites for villages.

"2nd. That the only payment to be required of the Corporation, be the survey fees.

"3rd. That the grant in fee-simple be made conditional on the land being occupied and cultivated, or fenced in for pastoral purposes, in the following proportions:—That, within one year from the date of the grant, not less than fifty souls shall be settled on the land free of expense to the colony; and that within two years, not less than 200 souls shall have settled on the land."

That was strongly recommended by Mr. Douglas; and a memorandum was forwarded to the Government, signed by the Duke of Manchester, Lord Denbigh, Sir George Elliot, Lord Sherborne, and other gentlemen, which memorandum set out:—

"Instead . . . of throwing every possible difficulty in the way of the acquirement by the Corporation of land within the confines of Queensland, it appears to the Corporation that, for the under-mentioned reasons, every facility should be given it to acquire, by purchase of pre-emptive

leases, lands in every way suitable for the cultivation of sugar, cotton, arrowroot, vines, or other crops requiring a small outlay and small area, to admit of new colonists to earn an easy livelihood."

Then the following reasons were given:—

"1. That every immigrant increases the annual revenue of the colony by nearly £3.

"2. That it increases the demand for labor so soon as the immigrant has become a farmer.

"3. That the presence of the immigrant and his family furnishes an increased demand on the general supply market; and, in consequence, lends fresh impetus to the producer.

"4. That, by a judicious co-operation with the Corporation, the lands so handed over to it might be selected with a view to the colonization of lands lying along the course of a projected line of railway or telegraphic communication, thus affording it labor, supervision, and protection; and, at the same time, holding out inducement to capitalists to invest their money in the pursuit of agriculture in the vicinity of the newly established labor market."

It went on to say:—

"It must be remembered, however, that the Corporation do not come as suitors to the Governments of colonies—

"1. Because they consider that the advantage the action of their system would have in promoting the interests of the colony would fully balance any concession, other than financial, which such colonies could possibly make to the Corporation; and

"2. Because the Corporation have received such favorable offers of assistance from foreign Governments as to enable them to carry out their scheme quite independently of the British colonies."

How solemnly pregnant were the words in this last paragraph!—

"It is only in a patriotic view, therefore, that the Corporation urges the Colonial Governments to pause ere they drive away from the lands under British rule the wave of immigration, which is ready to pour out its riches over their uninhabited and uncultivated districts."

Now, as had been pointed out in the correspondence, that was not a pauper emigration. Those emigrants were selected from the very best class of agricultural laborers, and from the very best class of mechanics. If the Government had thought that such were desirable for this colony, they could have come down to the House and asked for authority to carry out and secure immigration of so desirable a character under the system proposed. What did they say?—

"The Government observe with satisfaction the interest taken in emigration to Queensland by the gentlemen whose names are attached to the prospectus referred to; but it is not in contemplation to give effect to their views by the special legislation which would be required."

Yet they had put an Oyster Bill into the Governor's Speech! and they were afraid to come down to the House to ask, at all events, the opinion of the House upon the advisability of a system like that—where, for 10,000

acres of land, a settlement of the country by 200 persons was guaranteed. Why, four times that amount had been "dummied" by honorable gentlemen sitting on the Ministerial benches, who had taken up the land illegally, and with the knowledge of the Government—who had taken it up by fraud and perjury.

Mr. FERRETT: No.

Mr. ATKIN: The next paragraph he would read was from that celebrated report of the Immigration Commissioners:—

"In Queensland, an Act, recently passed, lessens the inducement to the introduction of immigration by discontinuing the issue of land orders to ship-pers who provide them with passages."

Mr. Douglas had replied to that and pointed out that it was untrue. What did the Secretary to Her Majesty's Commissioners at home do about it? "If," he wrote—

"the Commissioners could have had any doubt of the correctness of their view that the demand for immigrants in Queensland, and therefore the encouragement held out to their introduction, is less than it was some years ago, it would be set at rest by subsequent despatches from the Government written in answer to specific inquiries from the Secretary of State on the subject."

Those were the despatches from the Governor.

"From these despatches it is to be gathered that with the exception of female domestic servants, the demand for unskilled labor in Queensland is at present limited—and that the class most wanted, is that of men with some capital, capable of cultivating their own land, and likewise employers of labor, rather than laborers."

The whole result of that correspondence shewed very clearly other than impartial action of the Government, from beginning to end; not only to disapprove of immigration, but to throw every obstacle in the way of the Agent-General at home. In fact, Mr. Douglas said so in his report, addressed to the Colonial Secretary:—

"In August I went to the Western Highlands of Scotland, in consequence of information I had received that a considerable number of eligible and hardy emigrants might be obtained from Islay and Skye; and I then entered into a provisional arrangement with Messrs. Aitkin and Lilburn for the dispatch of one of their "Ben" line of clippers from the Clyde in November. By granting a certain number of free passages, I have no doubt that I could have obtained a very fair shipment of excellent people from the Islands; but, while taking steps for this purpose, I was instructed by telegram to grant no more free passages, and I was at the same time informed that my land-order warrants would not be recognised. Under these circumstances, I felt that I had no other alternative but to abandon my efforts in this direction, and I at once returned to London without further loss of time.

"The further alterations rendered necessary by the operations of the Act being restricted to granting only assisted passages to agricultural laborers and other eligible persons from the country districts, added to the increased difficulty in obtaining domestic female servants, who were at that time, and still are, in demand for New

South Wales, Victoria, and New Zealand, rendered it impossible for me to fill ships at regular intervals; and I therefore found it necessary to postpone the departure of both the 'Light Brigade' and the 'Star Queen,' which last ship left on the 21st December."

So that under the restrictions of the Government, Mr. Douglas was unable to carry out the system, even on the moderate scale allowed. The Government said they were going to have immigration, and they appointed an Agent-General. If the House required any disproof of what they said, it would be found in the appointment of Mr. Archer. Notwithstanding their majority, the Government would not be sorry to carry the proposed adjournment, to get rid of the motion of condemnation which stood on the notice paper in his (Mr. Atkin's) name. On that point, he believed there were many honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House who, however they supported the Government generally, and however strong party men they might be, could not conscientiously vote in favor of them. He might inform the honorable member at the head of the Government that he had been promised one vote, if his motion was brought forward. Mr. Archer was a gentleman with whom many honorable members had sat in the House; and he was one of the ablest exponents of the views held by the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay. He was a man who professed to be more liberal than he really was. At all events, he was a man who had clearly put before the House and the country that he was in favor of the immigration of Polynesians. He (Mr. Atkin) found in the numerous volumes of "Hansard" the following passages, of which, for exact reference, he could give honorable members chapter and verse. Speaking of the general condition of the country, in reply to an honorable member of the Opposition, Mr. Archer had said:—

"But now time had falsified all the brilliant dreams he had indulged in; and this colony, instead of being the brightest jewel in the Crown, probably was in the most abject position of the colonies of Great Britain."

He then went on to speak of the "miserable condition of the colony," and of "its being ruined"; and said that Queensland was "probably one of the poorest of all the colonies of Great Britain"; and then he asked:—

"How did the honorable member account for the great poverty of the colony, for the stagnation of every branch of trade and industry?"

If anyone had been told that those statements were made by a candidate for the office of Emigration Agent, he would say that the man who had uttered them must admit that he had lied, or he lied when he tried to induce people to come to the country. Next, Mr. Archer spoke of the enormous taxation of the colony,

and made a statement perfectly untrue. He said that—

"Queensland, though not a wealthy country, was overridden with taxes."

Well, since that was spoken, the taxation had been largely increased; and, unless the colony was a better field for immigration now than it was then, what would be thought of Queensland or the people?—

"No country in the civilized world was so heavily taxed as this colony, not even those that had to bear the burden of heavy war expenditure. In every part of the civilized world the people were not nearly so heavily taxed as the people of this colony."

And he had talked a great deal of nonsense about the taxation being seven pounds a-head. His (Mr. Atkin's) honorable friend, the member for Warrego, had very clearly pointed out to him that error; that the taxation was not four pounds a-head; whilst revenue receipts from railways, electric telegraphs, and such works, could not by any possibility be made out to be what was called taxation. The revenue actually received from taxation was £370,000, out of which £170,000 was paid on spirits, wine, tobacco. Nobody would say it was a hardship to raise revenue from those articles. Now there was a great deal of nonsense talked about the heavy taxation of this colony, and he had been reading something which bore upon the subject of taxation in England in the year 1815. For instance, with a population of 13,400,000, the national debt of England in 1815 was £760,000,000, or £56 14s. 4d. per head, whilst the revenue was only £66,000,000. So much for the arguments brought forward by the honorable member with regard to taxation. Anyone acquainted with literature could go to the time of Queen Anne, and see what taxation was then; or should read Dean Swift's pamphlet—as no doubt most honorable members had—about the frightful state to which England was driven by the immense national debt. He could assure the House that the arguments from the honorable member for Western Downs and the honorable the Minister for Works—from the honorable member for Leichhardt, and from almost every honorable member on the opposite side of the House—would have called forth thunders of applause from the Parliament in the reign of Queen Anne. After the gentleman referred to had made those fallacious statements about the taxation of this colony, he went on to give his opinions on the question of immigration. He stated that he believed this was a good cotton-growing country—that, of course, must be assented to by the honorable members for West Moreton—but that the colony did not offer any great facilities for the employment of English capital. That was another statement of the gentleman whom the Government had selected to induce men of capital to come out here. He (the gentleman above quoted from) believed that—

"Every person who wanted labor should find it for himself, as it was not the duty of the State to

supply him or anyone else with labor. He had no idea that the people should be taxed to bring laborers here. The money that had been spent upon immigration he looked upon as worse spent money than that spent on railways."

Now, did the Government suppose that the country, or any section of that House not actually under orders to support the Government, believed that they were sincere in their desire to encourage immigration when they made such an appointment as that of Mr. Archer? Now he would ask honorable members to listen to what that gentleman went on to say:—

"He thought the colony hardly in a position to offer employment with good wages to immigrants, for there was sufficient labor in the colony, and six months hence wages would be still lower. He did not think it right to attract people to this colony in order to reduce the wages of those in it."

But about a week before the honorable member left Rockhampton for England, he stated that the sugar-growers would find it impossible to carry on their operations profitably without the employment of cheap labor, and that the introduction of Polynesian labor was necessary for the successful cultivation of the sugar-cane and for its manufacture. So that at the very time that he did not approve of more white men being introduced into the colony, to lower wages, he was quite inclined to support the introduction of black labor. Mr. Archer went on to say:—

"He could not see that the Government were justified in holding out any inducement of this sort to the laboring men of England."

Yet that gentleman had been entrusted to hold out those very inducements which he said that the Government were not justified in holding out. When the appointment of an Agent-General for Immigration was being discussed, that gentleman said he thought that such an appointment was not necessary. He (Mr. Atkin) must say that when he heard the appointment had been accepted by Mr. Archer, he did not believe that he could have taken it, nor did he see how, as an honest man, he could accept it. If he intended to carry it out so as to give it the minimum effect of the Act of Parliament, he would have to belie all his previous acts and statements. There was another phase, however, in which Mr. Archer's appointment presented itself. That gentleman was known to be a large squatter, and a most active partisan in the cause of Separation. Indeed, he was supposed actually to be at home as the paid agent of the Northern Separation League, and when that was mentioned, it was said that he was not a paid agent. But so palpable was it, that, speaking of the appointment, the *Rockhampton Bulletin* said, "The North would gain by the removal of Mr. Douglas' obstructive influence"; and the *Northern Argus* had pointed out the great advantage of having its agent in such an influential

position as Agent-General for Immigration. And the Government were perfectly well aware that Mr. Archer was, or was supposed to be, the paid agent of the Northern Separation League. At a public meeting at Rockhampton, at which Mr. Archer was present, after resigning his seat in that House, a vote of thanks was about to be passed to him, and, of course, he retired for the time. On his returning, the chairman, addressing the meeting, said—

"It was his pleasing duty to tender him the thanks of the committee for his services in the cause of Separation. He trusted that a better opportunity would be presented for expressing the public feeling of indebtedness to him for his services." * * * *

Mr. Archer said, he

"would do all in his power; he had not believed in Separation for a long time, but he recognised its necessity now, and he would devote his energies to obtain it."

There was a gentleman, who had promised to devote all his energies to obtain Separation, appointed Immigration Agent. But he (Mr. Atkin) was not after all so much surprised at that, when he found that the honorable member at the head of the Government had so far forgotten his position as Premier of the colony, that he signed a petition to Her Majesty praying that the colony should be sub-divided. He would say that the honorable member had forfeited his place when he signed that document.

Mr. FYFE: Oh, no.

Mr. ATKIN: The honorable member had forfeited it; his action was most inconsistent with his position. But what possible surprise could there be in the honorable gentleman's appointment of Mr. Archer, when he himself was guilty of such a dereliction of duty in signing the petition? Why even the honorable member for Western Downs, the late Treasurer, disapproved of the conduct of his honorable colleague. Now the country was in this position, that they had a Government which was going to adjourn the House till next November; they had an immigration agent who did not believe in immigration, who was acting as a paid agent of the Northern Separation League, and who was most strongly of opinion that the North should repudiate their share of the debt of the South—a gentleman who said that in the event of the North being separated from the South it was not likely that it would be responsible for the debt of the South. He would ask whether, after hearing the opinions of Mr. Archer, honorable members opposite considered that gentleman was worthy of the confidence of the Opposition? He considered that immigration was of more vital importance than railways; but it was not only in respect to immigration and railways that he opposed the Government, but as regarded the representation of the people, a subject on which he would touch presently.

It was the conduct of the Government in respect to those matters that had made the Opposition take up their stand, and, backed by the people of the country, call upon the Government to either change their policy, or give up their places to others. Their policy must be one of which even they themselves must be ashamed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No, no.

Mr. ATKIN: He believed they were. Then again, with regard to Mr. Archer's statement that money spent upon immigration was worse than upon railways. Against that there was the able argument of the honorable member for the Warrego, which shewed that it was better to pay £16 for the introduction of an immigrant, as he was soon worth £47. Those two opinions were very different certainly. To shew the effect of immigration in America, he would just quote from "The Statesman's Year Book":—

"The United States acquired their actual power and greatness mainly through immigration. From 1775 to 1815, immigration into the country was very small on account of the American revolution and the European wars, not over 3,000 or 4,000 a-year arriving during this period. When peace between England and America was re-established in 1815, immigration took a fresh start. The famine of 1816 and 1817 gave the first powerful impulse to a larger immigration from Germany. In 1827 there were 11,952 immigrants from the United Kingdom, against 7,709 the previous year; and in 1828 the number rose to 17,840, sinking again in 1829 to 10,594, and in 1830 to 3,874. The increase continued every year of European disorder or revolution, or national distress. In the decade from 1845 to 1854, there came 1,512,100 Irish immigrants to the United States; but since the latter year the numbers fell off to less than one-half the yearly average of that period. The failure of their political reform attempts, brought many Germans into the United States, the greatest number coming in 1854. From 1845 to 1854 inclusive, the number of German immigrants was 1,226,392. In 1856 every immigrant arriving in New York was questioned as to the amount of money he had with him, and the average of 142,342 comers that year was found to be 68 dollars 8 cents. This course was abandoned, however, as it was found that the full amounts were not truly stated; but it was shewn that the immigrants possessed a larger sum than is actually held by the residents of a community. It is estimated that the German immigrants alone, brought into the United States annually an average of about 11,000,000 dollars. Each man has clothing, tools, and valuables also, the amount of which with his cash capital is estimated at 150 dollars. In 1859 there arrived 250,000 immigrants at New York, augmenting the national wealth that year by 37,500,000 dollars. From 5th May, 1847, to 1st January, 1859, 4,038,991 immigrants arrived at New York, which number represented a total increase to the national wealth of 5,149,713,525 dollars."

Now in the face of that the honorable member had the audacity to say that the colony was making a bad bargain by introducing immigrants at £16 a-head.

Mr. RAMSAY: They did not pay for them in America.

Mr. ATKIN: He would admit that they did not now pay for them and that this colony did; still the colony was always a gainer—even if it paid £20 a-head. He would now come to the great question touched upon by the honorable member at the head of the Government, when he said, after admitting the desirability of public works, that people were leaving the colony by swarms, and that it would be found that we were importing people for the benefit of the other colonies. That was simply nothing but clap-trap, for he (Mr. Atkin) had had statistics of population since Separation supplied to him by the Registrar-General, which figures, he presumed, might be fairly taken as accurate; and what did he find? They found that on the 1st June, 1860, the population of Queensland was 25,000. From that date up to the 1st January, 1871, the increase of the population by births over deaths was 19,000. During the same period the increase to the population by intercolonial immigration was 18,000; the population at the end of 1869 was estimated at 110,000. Taking the increase of births over deaths, intercolonial and other immigration, it would be found that the increase of births over deaths last year was 3,000, and that altogether the population had increased to 115,000. From that, taking 62,000 as the total increase of births over deaths, intercolonial immigration, and the number of persons in the colony at the time of Separation, it would be found that 53,000 remained to represent those who had been introduced under all systems of immigration. So that taking the actual number introduced, namely, 57,264, and deducting from that the 53,000 remaining in the colony, there would be a loss of 4,264. Now, would honorable members tell him that that was not an extraordinary small loss—a very small proportion to lose considering the bad government from which the colony had suffered? It was well known that there always would be a floating population, as there was everywhere, so that the loss had been less than might have been expected. He did hope that for the future, honorable members would cease making the statements they were so fond of making, that the immigrants introduced by the honorable member, Mr. Jordan, had left the colony. If there had been fair land laws for the settlement of the colony, it would have been found that the loss would not have been anything like so great; but, considering the disadvantages they had labored under, he thought the loss was very small indeed. That was one ground he wished to go forth to the country as the cause of his opposition to the Government; but there was another, and a very important one. It would be in the recollection of honorable members that, last session, the Government promised to come forward this year with a very liberal scheme of representation.

When the House met there was nothing of the kind, and it was only when he introduced a measure that the Government promised to support it, and he, in deference to them, consented to withdraw his. Now, after the Government had consented to adopt his scheme, with some modifications, they should in all sincerity have introduced a similar measure; but what was the line pursued by them? He found, on looking over the last Census, that the adult male population of the colony was 39,000—of that there were 17,000 in six electorates, and 22,000 in the remaining electorates. Those six electorates returned seven members, whilst the remaining electorates, representing 22,000 male adults, returned twenty-five members. That was not a state of things that any Government honestly wishing for increased representation would countenance. But they came in with a Bill which ignored the town of Rockhampton, with its large population, and which gave East Moreton, with its 16,000 inhabitants, one member. But to shew how insincere the Government were—to shew how their ideas, instead of going forward, had been retrograding for four years, he would refer to a Bill, which was the Additional Members Bill that Sir Robert Ramsay Mackenzie left in his office, when he was going home, and to which he consented, and which he requested to be allowed to pass, on being defeated on a vote of want of confidence. The honorable member and his colleagues had approved, not only of an Additional Representation Bill, but also of a Redistribution Bill. Three years ago they proposed to give ten additional members. To East Moreton, 2; Wide Bay, 1; Kennedy, 1; Drayton and Toowoomba, 1; Rockhampton, that was now actually considered unworthy of one, 1; and so on; and, also, created two new districts. Now, if the honorable member at the head of the Government had come down with such a Bill as that, every honorable member of the Opposition would have supported him, and they would have waited until the people were properly represented before they took up their present position, as then they would have been under a liberal Bill, and would have consented to be guided by a majority. But could the honorable member suppose that they could be satisfied when they saw that the Government had no intention of introducing a measure to equalise representation? Could the country be surprised to find that they who represented the majority of the population—who represented the wishes of those whom the Government never wished to be represented, had taken the stand they were taking? He did not think so. He thought that if they had acted otherwise than as they had acted, they would have failed in their duty to the House and the country. Even the honorable member for Wide Bay—so strongly did his constituents feel upon the question—was pledged to oppose all supplies until the question of

representation was fairly and honestly taken up by the Government. Well, it had not been honestly dealt with—the Government had adopted nothing but subterfuge, and the Opposition were therefore justified in the action they had taken. But in what position were the Government? They were not able to go into Supply, knowing they would be met with the appointment of the Agent-General for Immigration. Then what were they doing? They were adopting an unconstitutional course—a course against the constitution of England. He did not envy the Government their victory, for victory it would be that night—as he believed that the result of their course of action would be to rouse passions, to stir up class against class, in a way that he—although he was never supposed to be very moderate in his views—would be very sorry indeed to see. The people would be up in arms, and the flag of progress would be floating throughout the colony. As a proof of how the feeling was gaining ground in all parts of the colony, in favor of the stand taken by the Opposition, he held in his hand a telegram which had been addressed to his honorable friend the member for Fortitude Valley, from Maryborough, where there had been a large meeting, stating that the people were in favor of new public works, based upon local taxation, and asking what was the policy of the Opposition. To that a reply had been sent, that the Opposition were in favor of all railway extensions. The honorable member opposite, Mr. Cribb, looked pleased; but it was a great thing to get up a public meeting of the kind in a town where an adverse dominant clique had been existing for years, and to find that the principles of the Opposition were favored in a town where the Walshites had reigned for so long. He hoped it would go to the country that the position the Opposition had assumed was not from factious motives. They had supported the Government at one time—they supported them last session as they promised great reforms, which held in the promise but broke in the hope. Proclamation had been made, which the honorable the Minister for Works, with the mischief that characterised him, broke the first week he was in office; and when it was found that the Government, instead of being honest and initiating a large list of measures that they promised last year, were frittering away the time of the country—when they found that immigration was entrusted to Mr. Archer—when they found that the Government refused to go even into the consideration of the extension of railways, then the Opposition considered it was their duty to act as they had done. He would now move—

That the words "7th November" be omitted, with the view of inserting the words "Wednesday, 7th June."

Mr. JORDAN said he certainly was very glad to hear the honorable the Premier speak

in the manner he had of the hopeful condition of the colony. The honorable member told them that the revenue was increasing; that, on an average, as many as thirty persons a week were settling upon the land; and that the position of the colony was so sound that he had no doubt that, in a year or two, if things went on as they were, the colony would be in a position to go in for a much larger loan. Now that was very satisfactory, but he was rather surprised to hear the honorable member give his reasons for not going on with railway extension now. If the honorable member thought that in two or three years hence we should go in for a great deal more money, how could he reconcile that with the picture which he drew of the effect of borrowing a million now?—farmers leaving their newly fenced-in farms, shopkeepers leaving their employment, diggers leaving their claims. There would, the honorable member said, be a general dislocation, and the whole colony would be turned into navvies, as in the old digging times of the colonies, when judges, dignitaries—he (Mr. Jordan) was not quite sure about clergymen of the Church of England—and all classes bought picks and shovels, and went off to the diggings. And so, the honorable member said, it would be if we borrowed a million of money to make the twenty-five miles of railway between Ipswich and Brisbane—everybody and everything would be dislocated. But what the honorable the Premier most deprecated was that farmers would leave their homes. Now, within the last two or three weeks, it was surprising to see how honorable members opposite had been in favor of the farmers. Until lately, the Polynesians, with their fine open countenances, were the great pets of those honorable gentleman; but the only objection the honorable the Premier could now urge against the extension—after three or four weeks had been spent in the discussion of it, during which he had not had the courage to speak—was that, if we made the railways, everybody would become navvies, and the farmers would leave their homes. Now he (Mr. Jordan) thought that it would be a very good thing indeed if there was something to give the farmers to occupy their spare time. He was one of those who with others did not believe in black labor. He wanted to see his countrymen make the colony their home. And again, he and others did not believe black labor was profitable. For their part they would be very well satisfied if they had a farming population around them, and could avail themselves of their labor during part of the year. He, himself, had been considerably benefitted by employing, as laborers, farmers who had settled on the land in his district, when it was time for cutting the cane,—and he did the same when his machinery arrived. The farmers around him, as soon as they heard the machinery had arrived, went to him, and volunteered to put

it up; but he did not think it proper to employ many of them then. Influenced by one bad man, the whole body of his men, on one occasion, went to him, and told him they were going to leave—just at a very critical time; but being surrounded by a great many neighbors, he said, “Very well, you can go at once, I can get on very well without you; but I do not wish to turn you away.” All went back to their work. Now, how was he able to take that independent position? Why, because he was surrounded by farmers who were willing to help him—by men who were making an honest living, and who knew they could come to him at any time; and he believed that if all sugar planters were surrounded by farmers, they would be quite independent of Polynesians. It would also be a great benefit to sugar growers if they could depend upon getting the assistance of farmers in any emergency. So that they were not afraid of any little public work that might attract the farmers for a time. He was surprised to hear the honorable the Premier repeat the absurd ideas of other gentlemen, as he was generally so cautious in what he had to say; and he was surprised to hear the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay, reiterate what had been said over and over again, that the whole question raised by the Opposition was, the making of twenty-five miles of railway. That was not the case, as it was making the northern line, at all events, and extending railways generally. By the action the Opposition had taken, they had affirmed the principle of general railway extension. They did not wish to spend a lot of money immediately; but they considered it was the right time to go to the market to borrow money. The honorable the Premier had quoted a very correct opinion, that what we wanted in this colony, was, not so much legislation but wise administration. But whilst that was what was wanted, that was what they were not likely to get from the present Government. During the last session the legislation was admirable; but it was not to the Government that the country was indebted for that legislation, but to the Opposition. The administration was left to the Government; but it was most unwisely and unfairly administered, as might be seen on reference to the greatest of all questions. Providence had given them one of the grandest estates in the world. They had only to look at the vast extent and richness of the country, in every respect, to be satisfied of that. All that was required was population, and industry, to develop the resources of the colony. It was almost useless for them to be here legislating, for a few months, year after year, seeing they had such a grand estate. All they wanted was population, labor, and industry, in order to develop the resources of the colony, and to make it one of the greatest countries in the world. If they had those requisites, and good legislation and wise and

honest administration, they would have very little cause for trouble as to taxation or the increase of debt. As to immigration, what they required was an efficient man to represent, throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain and Ireland, the advantages which this colony offered as a field for immigration. The best man they could possibly find ought to be sent home for that purpose. Now, he maintained that, if they had searched the colony through and through, they could not have found a better man for the purpose than Mr. Douglas. He had no doubt that, if that gentleman had been treated better than he had been, he would have travelled throughout England and Scotland and Ireland, and delivered lectures respecting the suitability of the colony as a field for immigration; and had he done so they would have had such a stream of immigration as they had some years ago. They would have had *bonâ fide* capitalists—men of large capital—men of small capital, and industrious men, coming out here to occupy and cultivate the land. The immigrants he (Mr. Jordan) had sent during the first three years brought a million of money with them; but when they came here, instead of being able to get good and suitable land for agricultural settlement, they were only able to get rubbish. They, in consequence, lost their capital, they became broken hearted, and then they sent home accounts to their friends that were injurious to the colony. But Mr. Douglas, evidently, was not a man according to the hearts of the present Ministry. If Mr. Douglas had been treated properly he would have succeeded in sending out a large number of people to this colony. He could not have failed to do so had he received anything like fair treatment, and the colony would soon have been placed in a most prosperous condition. He had no doubt that the resignation of Mr. Douglas was satisfactory to the present Government. The Government had not stated to the House that they regretted that a gentleman of Mr. Douglas' "great ability, long experience," and thorough belief in the colony as a field for immigration—should have resigned his office. There was not a word upon that point. But, in the absence of that, and with the correspondence between the Government and the Agent-General, which he moved for last session and did not get, but which was now in the possession of the House, he thought there could be no doubt that the interference by the Government with the regular despatch of ships, by their sudden and peremptory orders to discontinue free immigration, excepting only that of female domestic servants; their taking out of his hands a very important part of the duties he went home to fulfil and handing it over to the Imperial Crown agents; the unreasonable fault the Government found with Mr. Douglas, because some persons—he supposed sailors or full-paying passengers—were found on arrival here not to be in a perfect state of health;

he (Mr. Jordan) thought that those proceedings on the part of the Government were so vexatious and annoying that no gentleman with a particle of spirit was likely to submit to them. Besides that, Mr. Douglas wrote a letter to the Government—and his letter would be found in the printed correspondence—giving his reasons for charging £4 instead of £8 for assisted passengers. Instead of making any reply to what appeared to be the weighty reasons given by Mr. Douglas for the course he had adopted, there was a letter written by the Under Colonial Secretary, Mr. Massey, in which Mr. Douglas was informed that the difference between the £4 and the £8 would be charged against his salary. In that matter, he must say that he thought the Government had treated Mr. Douglas with great discourtesy, if not with injustice. He thought it no wonder that anyone possessing high gentlemanly feeling should, under such circumstances, resign his office. As to Mr. Archer, who had been appointed the successor of Mr. Douglas, he was a gentleman of position, of ability, and honesty; and it must be admitted by everyone, that he was a credit to the colony. Now, while he said that, he must also say that, considering the views Mr. Archer held on the subject of immigration, and as to the suitability of the colony for agricultural pursuits, he was not, he thought, fitted for the office of Agent-General. Mr. Archer had, over and over again, maintained those views while he was a member of the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Archer had repeatedly stated that it would be doing an injustice to bring people from the other side of the world to attempt to make a living here by agricultural pursuits. Yet that was the gentleman whom the Government had said they "were confident would fulfil the duties of his office thoroughly and well, should he accept of it." Now he was of opinion that the Government did not believe Mr. Archer would accept of the office; and that they thought thus to secure to themselves the manipulation of immigration for another year, without the interference of Parliament; or, if they supposed that Mr. Archer would accept the office, then they must have been confident that he, being a man of truthfulness and honor, would, in the course of his lecturing, say nothing contrary to the opinions he had always expressed in the colony, and that would be likely to attract an agricultural class to come here and settle upon the land. He (Mr. Jordan) believed that in that way the best interests of the colony had been sacrificed. All that Mr. Archer could, as an honest and honorable man, do in the way of lecturing about the colony might be summed up in a very few words. He could tell the people in Great Britain that it was a very hot country and that it was suitable for the growing of sugar and cotton and most tropical products, but that it was not suitable for agriculture; that there was an abundance of black immigra-

tion, and that, therefore, the colony was a good place for men of capital to come to and enter upon any other industry but that of agriculture. If Mr. Archer were asked at any public meeting at which he might be lecturing—as he (Mr. Jordan) was frequently asked—what were the capabilities of this colony for agriculture, he would have to say that it was not fitted for agriculture. Mr. Archer, as an honest and honorable man, could say nothing else, according to the opinions which he advocated here. He (Mr. Jordan) believed that all that was wanted here was capital, and labor—immigration, and ample facilities for the settlement of small capitalists on the land. He would repeat that he considered the best interests of the colony had been betrayed by the course the Government had taken in this matter of immigration. He next came to the question of Separation. Now, did they not all know that Mr. Archer went to Great Britain with the avowed intention of “carrying to the foot of the throne” the views of a section of the community who demanded separation at Dawes’ Range? Mr. Archer, as a private gentleman, had a perfect right to his own opinions on that question, and to carry them, if he thought proper, to the foot of the throne; but when the Government of the colony, knowing his intention, lent their assistance, as a Government, to the carrying out of his views and intentions, they, in his opinion, were guilty of little less than a crime. How could they, in any other way, have more effectually endorsed Mr. Archer’s views on the question of separation at Dawes’ Range? He was not himself opposed to Separation individually, if it could be shewn to him that it would be beneficial to the interests of the colony, either in the North or the South; but he maintained that there could hardly be two opinions as to the injurious effects that would result from separation at Dawes’ Range to the interests of the whole colony. Yet this was the gentleman whom the Government had sent home as Agent-General for the colony. A good deal had been written on the subject of emigration in the leading English papers; and they had received the report of Sir Clinton Murdoch to Sir Frederick Rogers; and also by the same mail the leading articles in the *Times* and the *Standard* on that report. Now, in reference to some of the statements made by Sir Clinton Murdoch, who was the chairman of the Imperial Board of Immigration, the *Standard* remarks:—

“The Board is an embodied paradox, and seems to exist for the purpose of proving that there is no necessity for its own existence.”

They ought to remember when dealing with this question, that immigration, as it was viewed by the Imperial Commissioners, by the Poor-law Boards, and by British philanthropists, and in the sense in which they were willing to promote it, meant one thing—

namely, an immigration of paupers; but that immigration, in the sense in which British colonists were willing to pay for it, meant quite another thing, and an entirely different description of persons—namely, persons possessing some capital, and chiefly such as would be likely to succeed as settlers on the land. The Board were perfectly correct so far in stating that there was no very great demand in the colonies for labor—meaning that there was no such demand as would dispose the colonists to fall in with the present movement in England for the wholesale deportation of the helpless classes at the expense of the colonists. Now, the Legislature here did not contemplate by the Act of 1869, the immigration of the poorer classes in England. Those who were paupers in England were paupers because they did not like to work—and that class of persons would do better for themselves by remaining where they were—where there were workhouses for their accommodation, asylums and hospitals, and any number of gentlemen who had the means and disposition to support such charitable institutions. But, in Australia they had no such institutions, nor did they desire to have them here. The Immigration Act of 1869 was passed for the purpose—not of introducing a large number of free immigrants at a great expense to the colony, but the immigration of a class of persons who would pay their own passages—chiefly the agricultural class, who would be likely to settle on the land, and who would bring their families with them to assist them to work their farms. Mr. Douglas’ instructions—a printed copy of which he (Mr. Jordan) held in his hand—were in strict accordance with the provisions of the Act. The number of full-paying passengers was practically unlimited by those instructions. Should the number of full-paying and assisted passengers not amount to six thousand in the year, Mr. Douglas was empowered by his instructions to make up the number with free passengers; but, beyond that, his instructions gave him no authority for the introduction of free passengers except only female domestic servants. The emigrants whose introduction to this colony was contemplated by the Act were leaving the United Kingdom at the rate of nearly 200,000 a-year. They went chiefly to the United States, taking with them millions of money annually. Most of these would be willing to emigrate to the British colonies, provided they were in possession of the requisite information as to the climate, the soil, and resources of the colonies. Let them not be told that the facilities of emigration to the United States, the shorter passage and smaller cost, must necessarily continue to attract the bulk of this class of emigrants to the United States. The Act of 1869 provided a perfect remedy for that, by promising forty acres of land for any adult member of a family whose passages were paid in full to

the colony. Such grants are available for all who are disposed to settle on the land—for agriculturists, not shopkeepers, or clerks, or professional men, but for *bonâ fide* farmers. Suppose such a system as that put forth by Mr. George Potter, recently, in the "Contemporary Review." That of

"A co-operative immigration association composed of the younger sons of gentlemen with a little money and plenty of pluck, sheep farmers, graziers, agriculturists, hinds, shepherds, blacksmiths, carpenters, &c.—those are the necessary elements for success in such a co-operative association."

It was added that it was by such a system that Greece colonised the shores of the Mediterranean, and dotted them with prosperous settlements that continued for ages. He had recently read in a Melbourne paper—*The Australasian*, of May the 13th—of such a co-operative association having been formed in Great Britain, and choosing Tasmania for the field of its operations. Now, with the facts before them, that so many of the class he had referred to went from Great Britain to the United States every year, and continued to go in spite of all the obstacles that could be placed in their way, and with the fact also before them, that public attention had recently been specially directed to various systems of immigration, would anyone endeavor to maintain that it was of no use to adopt a system of lecturing in Great Britain, and that a gentleman, duly commissioned as the representative of this colony, who was well qualified to lecture, who was able to set forth the capabilities of the colony, and who was authorised by an Act of Parliament to promise forty acres of land for every adult member of a family coming here under his directions, as a full paying passenger, will not find an ample field for the employment of his talents as a lecturer in Great Britain; and prove by a system of lecturing in the great centres of population, that such a course was alone necessary to the successful accomplishment of his mission? When they took into consideration the millions of people there were in England, and that two or three thousand felt obliged every year to emigrate, and that at every meeting in large towns there would be found a great many who desired to know where they should go to, it must be clear that an able and duly authorised lecturer would be attentively listened to. The people would soon find out whether he believed in his own recommendations or not. They would soon find out whether or not he painted his picture too highly. He maintained that if Mr. Douglas had not been discouraged from lecturing in behalf of this country, they would have had hundreds of people landing on the shores of this colony of the right class as the result. The Government were trying to prevent emigrants coming out from Britain to this country, but they were bringing in blackfellows in shiploads. They knew that Mr. Douglas

went home intending to lecture, and why he had not done it. They found that out by this correspondence, which was a disgrace to the Government. He felt he ought to apologise for addressing the House at such length; but there was no harm in his doing so on the present occasion, inasmuch as no business was to proceed, and the time had to be occupied. Indeed, for that matter, they might have readings from "Pickwick," which might perhaps be a little more interesting—such, for instance, as the contests between the editor of the "Batanswill Gazette" and the editor of the contemporary paper. That would be more interesting than anything he could say. However, to return to the subject:—Mr. Douglas, as they all knew, went home to lecture, and he had instructions to do so, but he (Mr. Jordan) believed that he had been discouraged in that respect, and he could understand that such may have been the case, from his own experience. When he (Mr. Jordan) arrived at home, he waited immediately, as in duty bound, on the Imperial Commissioners, and was most courteously received by Mr. Walcott, who gave him some most useful information. That gentleman informed him, however, that in his opinion, lecturing would not be successful; and he produced from his drawer, a letter which he said had been written by one of his principal agents in one of the large shipping ports, and read a long paragraph from it, referring to his (Mr. Jordan's) mission, in which a very decided opinion was expressed, to the effect that the lecturing would be barren of results. Mr. Walcott added, that lecturing, as a means of promoting emigration to the colony, had been repeatedly tried without success. He did not mention that to discourage him, but rather to prevent his being discouraged in case his lecturing should prove a failure. In every place which he visited to make arrangements for lecturing, he met with the same discouragement in the expressed opinion of the principal residents, who told him that he would not succeed in obtaining an audience, and had he contented himself with the ordinary method of simply announcing the lectures by advertisements and hand-bills, such failure as was predicted would, no doubt, have been the result. But he adopted a different method—visiting every place a fortnight before the lectures were to be delivered, he obtained an interview with most of the principal residents in the town and neighborhood, and solicited the favor of their attendance at his lectures. By doing so, he secured the opportunity of meeting the objections that were very generally entertained by persons of position and influence at home against immigration—by the statement of certain facts, by pointing out to them the numbers that were annually leaving Great Britain, the amount of capital they took with them, the class of persons who left the United Kingdom, and that most of them took their money, their energy, and

their enterprise to the United States; and that they thereby almost ceased to be customers for British manufactured goods; while persons going to the Australian colonies were consumers of British goods to nearly twenty times the amount that those were who went to the United States. By such means, he succeeded in almost every instance in securing the presence, at the lectures, of a considerable portion of the principal gentlemen of the locality where the lectures were delivered—the chief magistrate presiding at the first lecture, and one of the church dignitaries, or the vicar or rector, at the second or succeeding lecture, and the platform was generally crowded with gentlemen holding leading positions in the neighborhood. This secured another essential to success. It had the effect of securing lengthened reports in all the principal journals in Britain; and he succeeded in almost every instance in getting the editors to insert leading articles on the subject of the lectures. It must, also, be borne in mind, that by this means for every ten who listened to him, hundreds read the reports of his lectures that appeared in the newspapers. The result was, that, in the course of three years, seventeen thousand persons came here, who brought with them at least a million of money. He had been informed that the clerk in charge of the London office had discouraged Mr. Douglas from lecturing, unlikely as it seemed; it was said that he had given an opinion to Mr. Douglas unfavorable to that course, and that he had thereby influenced Mr. Douglas against lecturing. He (Mr. Jordan) should have regarded this information as incredible; but it seemed to be borne out by Mr. Douglas' own report on immigration, under date 1st of March, in which Mr. Douglas stated that the clerk in charge of the London office had been in charge since January, 1863. Now, as they knew that Mr. Douglas was incapable of misrepresentation, the only conclusion that he (Mr. Jordan) could come to was, that he had been so informed by the clerk in charge. In reference to this statement he had only to say, that it was incorrect. The clerk in charge was engaged by him in 1863, and he was glad to accept of the appointment at a salary of £125 a-year, which he (Mr. Jordan) had increased from time to time. He was not then the chief clerk. The chief clerk was Mr. Traer, until, he thought, the latter end of 1865; but neither of those gentlemen were in charge of the London office. The whole of the duties were always directed by himself, until he found it necessary to come back here in 1864, because of the action of the Executive in their interference with the immigration, by regulations adverse to its operation. He gave charge to the two senior clerks, with instructions to act during his absence. With that exception, the clerk in charge was never in charge for the Government until the Government made him so in

1867; and yet, in the report, it is said he had been clerk in charge since 1863. It would appear Mr. Douglas supposed that it was he who had organized the whole of the immigration system. Such was not the case, for he (Mr. Jordan) himself organized the whole of the arrangements, from beginning to end, by which the immigration system was established and carried out. When Mr. Herbert took over the office in 1866, he went over the whole of the books with him (Mr. Herbert); after doing so he called his attention to a large bundle of letters which he (Mr. Jordan) had sent to the office when he had been absent on his lecturing tours. In calling his attention to those letters he made a remark to the effect that the contents of the letters would prove one thing—namely, that though frequently absent from the office, whilst engaged in lecturing, he had himself managed the whole of the business of the office by his own instructions. He also explained to Mr. Herbert all the regulations, and convinced him that it was he (Mr. Jordan) who had organized the system in all its parts; and that every plan and form had been prepared by himself; and yet it would appear Mr. Douglas supposed that it was the clerk in charge who had organized the system, the arrangement of the books, and the management of the office; and that the credit of all this was due to him. When the clerk in charge was placed in that position by the Government, he (Mr. Jordan) saw at once a difference in his demeanor. Some time after, he asked him, in the event of his not returning to London, to get him appointed as his successor as Agent-General. That was when he was leaving in the latter part of 1867; but he told him that he could not do so, and he gave him one reason for refusing his request, though he might have stated others. The reason he gave him was that he wished to see a gentleman appointed to the office who could properly represent the colony in Great Britain—a gentleman who had been resident here and had held a position in the colony, and who would be qualified in that and other respects to set forth in Great Britain the suitability of the colony as a field for immigration. To his surprise, the clerk in charge had then the coolness to tell him that he did not believe in lecturing, and that seemed to bear out the supposition that he had influenced Mr. Douglas against lecturing. He recommended to the Government of this colony that the clerk in charge should be retained in office, because of his general usefulness and his acquaintance with the general details and working of the immigration system. But his usefulness in that respect would be more than neutralised if, forgetting his own position, he should attempt to discourage the Agent-General in the performance of what he (Mr. Jordan) considered to be a most important part of his duty. He might farther state, when he was leaving for this colony in 1864, he

appointed the clerk in charge and the chief clerk, Mr. Traer, to act conjointly for the few months he expected to be absent; because he considered it desirable that two persons should be left in charge during his absence, and that especially, as Mr. Traer was a relative of his own. He found a letter in the correspondence from the clerk in charge, in which he states he had much toil and anxiety in reorganizing the agency. But their extensive agency was the agency of the Black Ball line, with some additions he (Mr. Jordan) had made, and in renewing the free and assisted emigration. The agents selected the emigrants, and the clerk in charge had to do little more than to address and stamp the circulars, and forward them to the different agents throughout the country. The part of the first paragraph of Mr. Douglas' report which led him to fear the clerk in charge had endeavored to secure to himself the credit of the general organization of the immigration department at home read as follows :—

"His long experience and perfect acquaintance with the duties of the office and with the general subject of emigration, coupled with the readiness he shewed to supply me with information on all matters of detail, enabled me to enter upon an examination of the system with some confidence. The state of the books and of the official records satisfied me that the management of these had been in admirable hands, and further experience has caused me to regret, in the interests of emigration to Queensland, that any change was made as regards the administration of the office by a gentleman who appears to me to have very justly enjoyed the confidence of the Government."

The whole of the latter part of this paragraph certainly conveyed an impression not in accordance with the facts of the case, inasmuch as the whole of the organization, in all its details, was completed by himself. His attention had been called to a paragraph which was published in the *European Mail*, of the 24th March, 1871, headed "Anglo-Australian," in reference to the resignation of Mr. Douglas, and the appointment of his successor, in which the following sentence occurs :—

"It is sincerely to be trusted that the colony will not send anyone home to supplant him (the clerk in charge), but will avail itself of his great experience in the duties which he formerly fulfilled most admirably. Certainly nobody more competent could possibly be selected as the successor of Mr. Douglas. Not being a politician, moreover, and having no special colonial sympathies or antipathies, Mr. Wheeler would certainly be less likely to have difficulties with the Queensland and Home Governments in the matter of emigration than a local nominee."

Now, they all understood how paragraphs of that kind sometimes found their way into such papers as the *European Mail*. In reference to the remarks about a politician, I can only say that if they were suggested by the clerk in charge, such remarks were highly

unbecoming. He could not, of course, say that such was the case; but he was sorry to see that they were published at the same time as Mr. Douglas' report. Reading this newspaper paragraph in connection with the paragraph of Mr. Douglas' report, led to the suspicion that they were so suggested. While unwilling to throw unmerited suspicion upon anyone, he could only say that it would appear to him very indecorous indeed that a mere clerk in a London office, of whose antecedents little or nothing was known in this colony, should venture to deprecate the appointment to the office of Agent-General of any gentleman who had shared the confidence of a Queensland constituency, and had had the honor of a seat in this House, and should recommend his own appointment in preference. As to Mr. Archer, he was a gentleman who would do his duty honestly and honorably; but, as he did not believe in this colony as a field for immigration for people of small capital who might wish to take up land for agricultural purposes, he maintained that Mr. Archer was not the proper person who should have been appointed to the office; and for that reason he charged the Government with having betrayed the interests of the colony, in respect to this vital question of immigration.

Mr. MACDEVITT said the debate could not very well close with either the rejection or the passing of the amendment without some remarks from him. He joined with those honorable members who had expressed the opinion that the amendment was one which was pregnant with very serious consequences to the country, and to those who were responsible for it. He had studied a little constitutional history, and he had been compelled to look a little into constitutional practice; but he had not yet seen, nor had his attention been on any occasion called to, a proceeding similar to the present one, which the honorable member at the head of the Government, with a full knowledge of its responsibilities, had thought fit to commit himself to. Of course, there was a great deal to be said on behalf of the step which the honorable member had taken, as well as a great deal against it. On one side of the House there was a minority, though not as far as principles were concerned; and on the other side there was a majority, but not as far as representative power was concerned. The minority would endeavor to force their policy through, because they were supported by the people outside. If it were a fact that the minority of fifteen, of whom he was one, in taking the course they did take were backed by the preponderating force of public opinion, it became the Government to consider whether they would stand out simply because they were backed up by what was not a substantial but a technical majority. The railway resolutions had been accepted, it seemed, by the honorable member at the head of the Government as a party measure.

When he (Mr. MacDevitt) voted upon the report of the Commission, he did so independent of all party considerations, because he felt it to be a fact that those who were interested in the progress of the colony had the worthy desire to hurry it on from the state of depression in which Queensland had been for some time past, and, as far as they could, to enter into expenditure upon works which there was reason to hope would be reproductive, and which would have a beneficial effect in the development of the resources of the country. Laying aside the question of how far that effect would be produced, he was prepared, at all events, to support the undertaking of public works under conditions which he had named. He represented a district which contributed more than most other districts to the revenue of the country; and one town in that district, the port of Townsville, was certainly the second, or, at all events, the third in importance in Queensland, as far as customs receipts were concerned. In addition to Townsville, there were the towns of Bowen, Cardwell, Mackay, and Norman. They, together, contributed one-tenth of the revenue of the whole colony; and, up to the present time, they had had hardly anything in the shape of expenditure upon public works. Certainly, last session, something was done by the Government, and he gave the honorable gentleman who presided over the Public Works Department credit for having endeavored to do his duty to that district, by providing for the wants of his (Mr. MacDevitt's) constituents; but, by some mistake—and he did not accuse the Government of anything intentional in the matter—the principal item which was supposed to have passed the House, last session, for one of the most important public works in the district, seemed not to have been voted. It was a work for the improvement of Townsville, a town which contributed £3,500 per month to the revenue. He was bound, in justice to his constituents, to oppose any further taxation on the country, of which they would be obliged to bear a part, unless something was done for them; or, to oppose any further taxation which would not be limited to the districts which would be benefitted by the public works for which the taxation was imposed. As to railway expenditure, it seemed to him that those gentlemen who advocated it were willing to incur the responsibility of it for those districts which had the privilege of railways—which were anxious for the luxury of railways—and which would bear on their own shoulders the burden of taxation, to the relief of the other portions of the colony, which had no railway; and that it was not only politic, but best, to let them have it. They only wished to have the sanction of Parliament to spend their money. It seemed to him that the Ipswich and Brisbane Railway and the other proposed extensions were to be made

upon the understanding that the districts which were benefitted by them should be taxed for the purpose of supplying any deficit that might exist between the cost of working them and the interest necessary to be paid upon their cost. Why, then, other districts need not grumble or object. In fact, such a proceeding on their part would be like the dog in the manger: they would neither have railways themselves nor let other districts have them. It was for that reason he had signified his adherence to a railway policy; and he had made up his mind to move an amendment, if the resolution of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley had been carried; which amendment he would now take the liberty of reading, because he wished to draw as much attention as possible to the subject; and because he hoped, from the expressions of opinion that he had heard from all sides of the House, that it would be recognised as a principle, and embodied in their legislation:—

“That if the profits derived from the traffic on the lines of railways to be hereafter constructed by Government be not equal in amount to the interest to be paid on the loans raised for their construction, then the sum necessary to make up this deficit shall be raised by taxation on the land or in some other manner, in the division of the colony in which the railway so constructed shall be situated; and for this purpose the colony shall be divided into three divisions—the central, southern, and northern divisions—which shall be bounded as follows:—

Then, he adopted the divisions of the colony which the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government proposed in his measure for the establishment of “financial separation,” and which were as follows:—

“CENTRAL DIVISION.—Commencing at Cape Palmerston and bounded thence by a line bearing south-west to the range separating the Fitzroy River from the Pioneer River and the Burdekin River then by the said range westerly and southerly and by a spur range dividing Logan Creek from the Belyando River northerly to the 22nd degree of south latitude then by said parallel of latitude bearing true west to the watershed separating the Barcoo from the Belyando River and by the said watershed northerly then by the north-western watershed of the Barcoo River south-westerly to the 22nd degree of south latitude and by said parallel of latitude bearing true west to the 138th degree of east longitude then by said meridian true south to the 26th degree of south latitude then by said parallel of latitude bearing true east to the watershed separating the Barcoo River from the Paroo River and Warrego River then by the said watershed to the Great Dividing Range and the Great Dividing Range to the range separating the Brisbane from the Burnett River and Mary River and by said range to the head of the Mooroochydoore River then by the northern watershed of said river to its mouth and thence by the sea-coast northerly to the point of commencement and including all islands adjacent thereto.

“SOUTHERN DIVISION.—Commencing at the mouth of the Mooroochydoore River and bounded

on the north by the northern watershed of said river bearing westerly then by the range separating the Mary River and Burnett River from the Mooloolah River and Brisbane River westerly to the Great Dividing Range then by said Great Dividing Range westerly to the head of the Warrego River then by the watershed separating the Warrego River and the Paroo River from the Barcoo River westerly and southerly to the 26th degree of south latitude then by said parallel of latitude true west to the 141st degree of east longitude then by said meridian true south to the southern boundary of the Colony of Queensland then by the said southern boundary of the colony easterly to Point Danger and thence by the sea-coast northerly to the point of commencement and including all islands adjacent thereto.

"NORTHERN DIVISION.—Commencing at Cape Palmerston and bounded thence by a line bearing south-west to the watershed separating the Pioneer River and Burdekin River from the Fitzroy River then by said watershed westerly and southerly and by a spur range dividing Logan Creek from the Belyando River northerly to the 22nd degree of south latitude then by said parallel of latitude true west to the watershed separating the Barcoo River from the Belyando River then by said watershed northerly then by the northern and western watershed of the Barcoo River westerly and southerly to the 22nd degree of south latitude then by said parallel of latitude true west to the 138th meridian of east longitude then by said meridian true north to the shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria and thence by the sea-coast easterly and northerly to Cape York and thence south-easterly to the point of comment inclusive of all islands adjacent thereto."

It seemed to him that a proposition like that would be the most suitable and beneficial to outlying constituencies, which, up to the present time, had reason to grumble over the heavy taxation for which they received no advantage; and it would be one on which all sides could agree. From the contention of the Premier himself, the construction of the railways was only a question of time. It was a true principle that only those districts which benefitted by the railways should bear the cost of them, as laid down in his proposal. He was indebted to a friend of his for a fact in connection with a railway movement in his own country, and the fact was this:—At the time when the Midland and Great Western Railway, connecting the east and west of Ireland, was laid as far as Athlone, the board of directors of the company found that they could not carry on their works any further; their funds were limited and their subscribers could not pay up. The inhabitants of Galway and Roscommon feeling that the construction of the railway was a matter of great public interest to them, and anxious, if they could, to procure the construction of it, through an agitation raised in those counties, got a measure passed by the House of Commons, under which they were to be taxed for a line to be made, to the extent of the interest payable upon the loan to defray the cost of the work, if the directors should not be able to make sufficient

profit out of the line to pay the interest. What was the result? That they never had to pay anything. The railway was extended to Galway, and was subsequently connected with other parts of Ireland; and the counties were never called upon to pay a penny towards the interest on the cost of the works. In the same way, he (Mr. MacDevitt) thought the inhabitants of those districts that were interested in, and that could benefit by railways, should be called upon, as they would be willing, to pay for them. If they were willing to undertake the obligation, why, then, such constituencies as Kennedy need not object. The question now before the House involved some other considerations; and he should, with the permission of honorable members, advert to them as briefly as might be, under the circumstances. He might be permitted to remark upon them at some length, considering the latitude that had been allowed to other honorable members. He thought that the matter of representation, the honorable member at the head of Government had made his speciality in that portion of the administration which fell to his lot. As to whether the honorable gentleman was actuated by sincerity in the matter, he (Mr. MacDevitt) did not pretend to say. He hoped the honorable gentleman was sincere. If he was, he had been wonderfully unfortunate in carrying out his views. For the last four years, connecting the period of his holding office formerly with the present, the honorable gentleman seemed to have been bound up in the question, and to have recognised the necessity of the amendment of the representation of the people in the Legislative Assembly. As had been stated by the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Atkin, the honorable gentleman was a member of the Mackenzie administration, and had then found it necessary to introduce a Bill for the purpose of amending the representation of the people. One of the principal items in the programme of the honorable gentleman, as head of a Government, which secured from him a resolution on his (Mr. MacDevitt's) part, to assist him, at all events in getting his measures before the country, and getting his Government a trial, was that additional representation was recognised by him; and the honorable gentleman had bound himself to introduce a measure with that object. The second reading of that measure came on, and the honorable gentleman, in moving it, seemed to be making the funeral oration of the principle itself; because it was impossible to reconcile the manner of his speech with the desire, on his part, that the measure should become law. The House had, on two important solemn public occasions, the most specific avowal, on his part, that it was the duty of any statesman, having the interests of the country at heart—and more so of a statesman leading an administration—to remedy the evil whose existence he avowed. The present session took place, and

—after the promise made by the honorable gentleman, before the termination of last session, that during the recess he would give his attention to devising some better measure for the representation of the people—notwithstanding that promise, no mention was made of such a measure in the vice-regal Speech. How could such conduct as that be reconciled upon any ground of consistency or sincerity? The honorable member had departed from his solemn pledge, given on two occasions. But his inconsistency did not end there. The honorable member for East Moreton, anxious, as he seemed to be generally, to make his career in the House as useful to his constituents and the colony as possible, had thought fit to introduce a measure with the object of improving the representation. It was favorably received, too. The necessity for which it was intended to provide was so well recognised, that the Government thought fit to take the measure out of his hands, and to pledge themselves again to the policy of amending the representation. With what result? Why, the measure the Premier had brought in was of a character that he (Mr. MacDevitt) need not pause to describe; but it fell far short of that which the honorable gentleman himself introduced last session, and to the one to the introduction of which he had been a party in a previous Parliament when he had a place in the Ministry of the day. On those grounds the honorable gentleman had something more to do than to stand, backed by a majority, and growl at the occupants of the Opposition benches, to convince the House that he was sincere in his desire for the good government of the country. He (Mr. MacDevitt) was fortified in what he said by a communication which he had received by the last mail from the “Provincial Committee” at Townsville. They had forwarded to him, for presentation to the House on their behalf, a petition, which, if the amendment of the Government was passed, he should not have an opportunity of doing; and therefore he should take the liberty of reading it:—

“To the Honorable the Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly, in Parliament assembled.

“May it please your Honorable House.

“The following Petition from the members of the Provincial Committee of Townsville humbly sheweth—

“That, while the residents of this town and district contribute at the rate of one-tenth annually to the general revenue of the colony, they are compelled to labor under many grievous disabilities, in consequence of the withholding from them of the money required to carry out necessary public works.

“That your petitioners believe that the disabilities under which they labor would be to some extent removed if a larger share of representation in Parliament were accorded to this town and district.

“That your petitioners therefore pray that your Honorable House may be pleased to devise such means as you in your wisdom may deem best for securing them increased representation in Parliament.

“And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.”

Then followed the signatures of the members of the Provincial Committee. That shewed what the feelings of the country were, and what had induced the honorable member for East Moreton to introduce his Bill for better representation. The outcry of the people against their existing grievances was echoed in the far north, where the colonists labored under the grievances of not having a fair share of the public money expended in their districts, and not having fair representation in the House to make that injustice known. There was another question which he (Mr. MacDevitt) would shortly advert to—and he regretted that the honorable gentleman who was at the head of the administration of Mines was not in the House, because upon this subject he had not acted with his accustomed discretion and tact—that was, the promulgation of rewards for the discovery of new gold fields. Last session the House, after debate, passed certain resolutions, on his motion, requiring that a proclamation should issue offering liberal rewards for the discovery of new gold fields; and they were passed, notwithstanding the opposition of the honorable gentleman and his colleagues in the Government. Under those circumstances, he thought that the Secretary for Works ought to have been particularly anxious to fulfil his duty in connection with that matter; because, inasmuch as the honorable gentleman had thought fit to oppose it, he should have avoided as much as possible even the appearance of backing up his own views against the opinion of the House. Up to the present time no proclamation had issued. He had had conversations with the honorable gentleman, on a few occasions, upon the subject, and he had no doubt, as the result of that conversation, that the Minister was convinced as to the propriety of his own course of conduct. He did not know what could protect a Minister for such neglect, or what could authorise him in not carrying out the resolutions of the House in the department presided over by him. In that respect the Secretary for Works and Mines had not altogether come up to the necessities of his position. He regretted this the more, because the honorable gentleman had shewn zeal in the discharge of his other duties, and in taking cognisance of things placed before him, that other Ministers could not shew; and the way generally in which he managed his department deserved commendation. Coming again to the railway question, as he said at the outset, as far as the interests of his constituents were concerned, they were protected perfectly if in the measures to be taken in the raising of a loan for railway construction

they were freed from paying interest upon the loan. He agreed with what had fallen from the honorable members for Fortitude Valley and Warrego, that the expenditure of money on the railways desiderated would restore confidence in the colony, and in the investment of capital here, and that it would tend to secure immigration, and that altogether our improved state of affairs would be increased and consolidated. With reference to that, America had been frequently cited, and some honorable members, he believed, had refused to be at all bound by the example which that country presented of a railway policy being successful, on account of her great population, and the general agricultural character of her land.

Mr. KING called attention to the state of the House.

A quorum having been formed,

Mr. MACDEVITT continued: If it was denied that the enterprise of American railways and public works was successful in opening up the country, and maintained that those works were only due to the large population and the agricultural character of her lands, it was strange that, in the neighboring country of Canada, where the population and the character of the land were almost equal to those of America, similar results had not followed. A striking contrast was found in the condition of the United States and Canada, the cause of which contrast was pointed out as due, in America, to her public works and railways, which were undertaken and carried out in a bold spirit of enterprise. In proof of what he said, he quoted from Mr. Anthony Trollope's work on "North America," published in 1862:—

"I confess that, in going from the States into Canada, an Englishman is struck by the feeling that he is going from a richer country into one that is poorer, and from a greater country into one that is less. An Englishman going from a foreign land into a land that is, in one sense, his own, of course finds much in the change to gratify him. * * * This feeling was naturally strong in the mind of an Englishman, in passing from the States into Canada. * * * But nevertheless, with all this, I could not enter into Canada without seeing and hearing and feeling that there was less of enterprise around me than in the States—less of general movement, and less of commercial success."

That was one of the most important facts that could be brought to illustrate this debate; the result in America was, that "railways had made the country." He (Mr. MacDevitt) had heard it said—and the honorable member for Western Downs smiled when the remark was made—that one of the most influential and best instructed writers on the subject had laid down this principle, which had been since adopted by the "Westminster Review"—

"Let the country make the railways, and the railways will make the country."

For the reasons stated, he thought the House ought to proceed with the business of the country, instead of adjourning. Let honorable members go on with the legitimate business of Parliament. As had been said in another place, "Her Majesty's Government," in Queensland, "must be carried on." Thus it was that he regretted the amendment which had been moved by the Premier; and he was sure that most of the people of the colony would share in that regret, as they shared in the action of the Opposition, which tended to such an effect as the moving of such an amendment. What could that amendment lead to? The honorable gentleman at the head of the Government would meet Parliament, after the adjournment, in the same condition as they separated; and the same reason for the same course would exist then as now. He might very well answer that the responsibility of that was thrown upon the shoulders of those who obstructed the public business. But, in return, it might be stated that the responsibility was incurred, also, by the great majority of the colonists. What were honorable members assembled to do, but to legislate, according to the representative idea, for the good of the majority; and if, as had been stated, the great majority—according to the agitation that was going on out of doors, that was expressed in the public papers, that was expressed in public meetings—of the country demanded that railways should be carried on, he thought the Opposition were justified in taking the stand they had taken. They had, at their back, the people, the chief element of power in the State; and such an element of power, he (Mr. MacDevitt) thought, did not exist largely in support of the technical majority in the House. It ought not to be conceded for a minute that the minority must bow to the majority under such circumstances. If the *plebiscite* should be taken, to-morrow, that technical majority would be in a great minority; and that was the reply which the Opposition made to the Government. The Opposition might be in a minority of one in the House, but it was true that they were in a majority, as far as representative power was concerned—the people of the country went with them, and they were therefore justified in acceding to the wishes of the people. There was a course which might be pointed out, and which the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, if sincere in his desire that an appeal should be made to the country, might follow, and gratify his desire at the same time. He had expressed the wish so often, and apparently with so much sincerity, that an appeal to the country should take place, when, he was sure he would be returned with a majority, that he could have no dread of such an appeal. Let him give way to the Opposition; the Opposition being in a minority must dissolve the House—there must be necessarily and perforce an

appeal to the country, and the honorable gentleman's dearest wish would be gratified. There was a homely expression that "The proof of the pudding was in the eating;" and there would be no need for the longer practice of that great abnegation of statesmen which induced the Ministry to hold office as the victims of a tyrannical and factious minority, if they would thus arrange for going to the country. If the country was appealed to, they would find how the people backed the action of the Opposition. He (Mr. MacDevitt) would be bound, from what he knew of the constituency of Port Curtis, that if the honorable member at the head of the Government took that course, he would find that there would not be such a triumphant reception accorded to him in the town of Gladstone, as there was at the last election. It seemed that not only from Rockhampton, but from Maryborough—proverbial for discontent and individuality of thought, and thus distinguished from the rest of the colony—communications shewed that they were alike in favor of railway progress. If that telegram, which had been read, was true, and he had no reason to doubt it, he attached great importance to it—for he read the *Maryborough Chronicle* from time to time, which he knew contained announcements of ministerial value, and he respected what appeared in its columns, and he noticed that a railway party had been got up in the town—it was full of promise for the future. As that telegram put it, "The Walshites had no show" at the meeting held there on the question.

Mr. ATKIN: It might facilitate the honorable member's speech if he read the telegram.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: And he would read the resolutions passed by the meeting.

Mr. MACDEVITT: He should be very sorry that the time of the House should be taken up with them, or that he should interfere with the spicy remarks the honorable and learned Attorney-General would make upon them. The existence of the railway party was a great fact, and, taken in connection with the proceedings over the colony, even in Ipswich, it could not be gainsaid. The conduct of the Minister for Lands was most extraordinary. Being a voter of the electorate of Ipswich, as well as being its representative, he had a double right to appear at the meeting, there to give his view on the railway question; but the honorable gentleman appeared to be allied with the party that advocated the extension of a line, not only to Brisbane, but twenty miles further, where nobody lived—where there was a plantation and some blackfellows! Yet the honorable gentleman came down to the House, and said the country could not afford to construct a line to Brisbane! That spoke volumes for the consistency of the honorable member. He (Mr. MacDevitt) did not mean to say that the honorable member's speech pledged himself or the Government to that railway policy which the honorable gentleman

had advocated; but it had been claimed by him, that he was one of the majority. On one side or the other, throughout the length and breadth of the colony, the agitation on the railway question was going on, in support of the conduct of the Opposition. He had been obliged, as it were, to go into the railway question, because a political significance of a party character had been attached to the vote upon the amendment of the honorable member for Leichhardt, Mr. Scott; and that being so, he had been anxious to justify himself both on political and on party grounds. He thought that all the leading centres of population—with the exception, perhaps, of Townsville—from Rockhampton to Warwick, from Brisbane to Dalby, supporting the railway policy, any member who wanted to maintain his position as a representative of the people, fulfilling their views, and filling his place in the House as he ought to do, could not act otherwise than to adopt a pro-railway policy. The amendment, if carried, could not alter the position of parties, or better that of the Government. The Premier would, in November next, find himself, in all probability, in the same position, as regarded his means of carrying on the public business.

Mr. ATKIN: Worse.

Mr. MACDEVITT: Well, in the complications in the House, the honorable gentleman would, in all probability, find himself in a worse position than now. The simple construction put upon his conduct would be, that he had delayed and postponed the public business, and retained office, till the eleventh hour—up to twelve o'clock, as had been said—up to the time when, as last session, he might come down to the House with an *ad misericordiam* appeal, that the finances of the colony were disarranged, and that something must be done to redeem the credit of the colony. He (Mr. MacDevitt) submitted that such a course of conduct was altogether out of keeping with the apparently independent, straightforward character that had distinguished the honorable gentleman up to the present time; and, irrespective of those considerations, the honorable gentleman would regret the step he had taken in proposing such a motion. What would it do? It would produce an angry agitation on the part of the people, whose feelings had been outraged; it would produce meetings throughout the country; it would raise party feeling; it would set townsman against squatter, agricultural farmer against sheep farmer; and there would be such a state of things existing in the colony as the honorable gentleman would greatly regret, for the credit of Queensland. They were drifting, now, into that state in which the Assembly of New South Wales was at the time the Premier of that colony, the Hon. Charles Cowper, introduced a Bill for the purpose of liberalising the land laws. What was the complication of that House, at that time? There was the same technical majority there that

the opposite party had here. And what was the result? A great statesman, and a very moderate man, Mr. Hay—who had, since, filled the position of Speaker with credit to himself, and who had held office in several administrations with benefit to the country—blinded as he was by the feeling of the party of which he was so conspicuous a member, and believing that they would attain dominance in that in which they were opposed to the people, thought himself justified in moving an amendment postponing the second reading of that Bill for six months. That amendment was carried. Mr. Cowper appealed to the country. The condition of things was changed; and an overwhelming majority was returned to support Mr. Cowper in the liberal attitude that he had taken up and maintained. And it was the cry of the squatter party, ever since, that the mob, that the radicals, had the sole authority. If there had been such an anti-squatting reaction there as would thus jeopardise the true interests of the pastoral tenants of the Crown, who were to blame? None but those gentlemen themselves, who, actuated, perhaps involuntary, but notoriously in the conservation of class privileges, and of rights of which they had only a passing tenure, and which they wished to maintain perpetually—those men who wished to build up possession of rights to which they had no title—by their illiberal conduct and legislation, had brought upon their class that reaction of which they had so much cause to complain. Such had been the case in other colonies; but there was no example so exact which he could quote as that of New South Wales. He did not pretend that his political foresight was equal to that of the honorable member who seemed to guide the Ministerial side of the House, but, if he was right, that honorable member would have given a watchword to the anti-squatting party—he would have raised an anti-squatting cry, which he would regret, and which the honorable member himself would regret. He felt that he was taking up the time of the House too long. He cordially agreed with the railway policy, in connection with the opening up of the lands and the encouragement of immigration. It had been said that the contracting of loans, the undertaking of public works, and the bringing of people to our shores, would cause such a state of things as existed when the depression of the colony took place, from which all had suffered so much.

Mr. FORBES: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACDEVITT: He had heard that statement very naturally put forward by the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Wienholt, in the discussion upon the amendment of the honorable member for Leichhardt, Mr. Scott, and it had been re-echoed in this debate, by the Treasurer. But he never heard any argument, based upon figures, or policy, or political economy, put forward in support of the opinion that there would be

such disorder. The colony had survived that crash, and was reviving. Why? On account of the liberal stream of immigration which had been encouraged since the crisis, and owing to the increased facilities for the inhabitants to settle in the interior. If public works were extended, population would be encouraged and increased, and the public burdens would be lessened, and the country would be better able to support increased taxation. It had been said, and he was glad to hear and see it, that the country was recovering. Whether the physician who was treating it would make the cure speedy and complete, was the question. The honorable gentleman who was now Premier, and who formerly held a portfolio in the Government, admitted that prosperity was dawning upon the colony; but this dawn was four years, which was a rather long one. It was about time that daylight was seen, and the sun of prosperity ought to have risen by this time. If the honorable gentleman adopted the proper means, it would shine;—and it must do so, as soon as possible. Bringing the light of colonial history to bear upon the question before the House, he thought the honorable gentleman would not see much of constitutional precedent to justify the course he had taken. The first Premier of Queensland, Mr. Herbert, had been credited, rightly or wrongly, with possessing in a great degree the capacity of manipulating parties so as to keep him in office. He (Mr. MacDevitt) believed that Mr. Herbert was a gentleman who would do anything within the limits of the constitution by which he would be enabled to retain the position of Premier; and he would be the last to jeopardise his position in any way. On the first occasion on which he found himself met by a minority opposing his policy in 1862, he succeeded in getting the honorable gentleman who was now Speaker into his administration. On the railway policy, he was met by the Opposition with a direct negative; and the division shewed, as under present circumstances, that the Government had a majority of one. Well, that Minister who clung to office with a tenacity worthy of a better cause, who manipulated parties, and who was as clever as the present head of the Government, found that he could not retain office under the circumstances, or attempt to go on—that he must go to the country or resign. He did not adopt the expedient of postponing all business, and adjourning the House for five months, or three months, or one day; he took up the position for once, at all events, of an independent gentleman at the head of a political party, and he obtained a dissolution from the Governor, and he went to the country, with his majority of one. There was an exact counterpart to the present complication, from the history of Queensland. Let the courageous Premier now take the responsibility upon himself of acting in such a manner as the Premier of the past had acted. Then there were the “duffing” administra-

tions, which did not present much that the student of constitutional history could learn to any purpose. But the next passage in the history of parties was one which presented a state of things exactly the same as that first mentioned. When the honorable the Speaker was at the head of the administration, four or five years ago, he met the House, and finding that he had a majority of only two—and he, also, had been credited with a desire to hold office under any circumstances, whether rightly or wrongly—he felt that he could not conduct the business of the country, and he resigned.

Mr. FORBES rose to a point of order. He did not apologise for interrupting the honorable member, who should refer to the Speaker as the Minister of the day.

Mr. MACDEVITT: That point of order only required to be condemned equally with the unsound unconstitutional proceedings of honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House.

Mr. FORBES insisted upon the point raised.

The SPEAKER: There was no point of order. He should be very glad if honorable members would act upon the suggestion that had been made.

Mr. LILLEY: Mention the name.

Mr. MACDEVITT: On that occasion, Mr. Macalister thought it his duty to resign the position which he held as the Premier, and he yielded up the administration although in a majority at least equal to that of the present Government. Then, the honorable member for Burnett, Sir Robert Mackenzie, formed an administration; and of that administration the honorable gentleman now at the head of the Government was a member. After holding office for something about two years, the Ministry were met by a vote of want of confidence; and, on the division, they had a majority of one. Sir Robert Mackenzie thought it due to his credit as a statesman to resign. The honorable member for Brisbane, Mr. Pring, would bear him out in all he had said. Three Premiers, one after another, thinking it due to their credit as statesmen, and due to the country, had given up the reins of Government, when they had found themselves supported by a simple majority in the Assembly; and they had thought themselves justified in throwing on the minority the responsibility of carrying on the Government. Now, with those precedents before them—with such a course of constitutional action before them, he could not compliment the honorable the Premier on the policy he had thought fit to adopt. If he were to be governed by reason and common sense, he would wish to avert the very disagreeable reaction which was sure to follow upon the present event. But if he was not—if he persisted to postpone till the month of November the business of the country, he would then find himself in the position that Mr. Herbert found himself, that Mr. Macalister

found himself, and that Sir R. R. Mackenzie found himself, and be in the same place after the adjournment as he was now, with a bare majority of one, and be compelled to do what he should now do with a good grace, namely, to throw upon the Opposition the government of the colony. If it was proved, then, that he had acted rightly, he would soon be able to come back triumphantly, and assert his old position. He did not think he had much more to say, as other business had prevented his devoting much time to the present question, and it was only by paying attention to the debates that he had prepared himself for speaking at all. But he did hope that it would go forth to the country that those who had taken up the position of members of the Opposition had done so because they were backed up by the people out of doors; and he believed that in the long run it would be found that they were justified in the course they had pursued.

Mr. FYFE said it was not his intention to address the House that evening, but the question before the House was one of such great importance that he considered it was his duty to express his opinion, representing as he did the largest constituency in the northern portion of the colony. He thought the debate had taken a great turn since the time when first it was initiated, and he hoped it would come to that conclusion that the North as well as the South would believe in a progressive policy as that which should be put forward by the Government. He considered it was his duty to address himself to the honorable members on both sides of the House. As regarded the honorable members opposite, he believed that they deserved the thanks of the country for having brought the finances of the colony to a more satisfactory state than they had been in; and if those honorable members had only exhibited a little foresight, they would have been entitled to the thanks of the country for years to come. But, because it was found that they were willing to remain in a state of stagnation, the people did not believe in them. At the same time he was not satisfied with the policy of the Opposition; he would not say that the £750,000 proposed by the honorable member for East Moreton, or even the £1,000,000 proposed by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley was sufficient; and, in fact, he failed to see a really liberal policy on either one side or the other. Supposing he were to propose a sum of £30,000 for the town he represented for the supply of water to it, instead of the people having to pay from five shillings to ten shillings for a load of water, that would be reproductive and would not be stagnation; and, although the Government had shewn nothing but stagnation, something better was to be expected from the Opposition. It was something more than a million of money he considered was necessary to be called progressive, and, although he admitted that his constituents might be satisfied with

£750,000 for the purpose of carrying out railway extensions—and for once, he was proud to say, that Brisbane and Rockhampton went hand in hand—still that was not progressive, in the true sense of the word. Although the two places were willing that their railway extensions should be carried on simultaneously; he thought they should do something more than make mere extensions from Ipswich to Brisbane, or from Westwood to Expedition Range. If those extensions only were the policy of the Government, he would not give them his undivided support. He had told the Government that he could not support them also. Much had been said about the banks, but there was no doubt that they had great influence on honorable members opposite; in fact, in his opinion, it was the banks that governed the colony. He happened to know something about squatting, and he was sorry the honorable member for Clermont was not in his place, so that he could bring his language about him and lacerate him, and hold him up as an example, not as a colonial-experienced politician, but as an inexperienced one. It appeared to him that the present Government were destitute of the capacity to see what was required for the colony, as if they had the slightest sagacity, they would know that £750,000 was not enough, but that a more progressive policy was required. But no, their motto was, Stagnation and dummyism. It had been said by the honorable the Minister for Works, that the administration of the Government rested with the chief clerks in the offices; but was that, he would ask, the proper position of the colony—that it should be governed by chief clerks? There were men who would allow themselves to be so guided, fortunately or unfortunately; there were some who had lost money, and they must look to the Legislature to assist them, in any way by which the laboring classes of the community could find employment. The rights of labor were as great in political science as the rights of cattle, or the rights of property. It was not as if we had not a large territory—we had one, and all that was required was, a resuscitation at the present moment. They wanted a policy, by which not only railways, but other public works would be constructed—works required for the colony. The honorable member at the head of the Government, who understood the wants of the North, knew perfectly well that he (Mr. Fyfe) was right in identifying himself with the Opposition, as the honorable member had stated that he was opposed to railway extension in any form. Had that not been the case, he (Mr. Fyfe) would have supported the Government. He had not the slightest hesitation in saying to the honorable member and to other honorable members on the Treasury benches, that they were political hypocrites, and that that was the reason why he, as the only member for the North, with the exception of the

honorable members for the Mitchell and the Kennedy, opposed them. The last time he had had the honor of addressing the House was to ask for some money for the purpose of improvements to the town of Rockhampton, and he was very much surprised to find that the honorable member for the Leichhardt moved an amendment upon his motion. He certainly thought that the vote for the Court House would be favored by the Government; but what was done? Why, that the honorable member referred to suggested that it should be taken out of the money placed on the Estimates. What was the amendment of the honorable the Premier?—why that the whole question of railway extension and of progress should be shelved for five months, during which time the people were to be dumb—that the people of Rockhampton should remain dumb; but he was not that sort of man, and would speak out, as Rockhampton had been dealt with by the present and preceding Ministers in such a way as to puzzle even the most able man as to the cause of the neglect. When he had gone to that House asking for a few paltry hundred pounds for the School of Arts, he had been refused, and the Government had placed themselves in the ignominious position of allowing ladies, by means of getting up a bazaar, to do that which it was the duty of the Government to have done. But he had been told that if he had voted with the Government he would have had the money. There was, however, no hypocrisy about him, and the honorable the Premier knew there was not, and that he would not say one word against him, although he would always try to get all he could for Rockhampton. He would now analyse the policy of the Opposition, which was the extension of railways. He had an interest in those railways, and he wanted to see the two lines extended, one from Ipswich to Brisbane, and the other from Westwood to Expedition Range; but both simultaneously. But he would go beyond the proposition of the Opposition which extended only to railways, as he wanted to expend £30,000 for a supply of water to Rockhampton—and he would mention that he had received from the honorable the Premier and the honorable the Minister for Lands a promise in the matter—and also to other places, and thus he would be prepared to go into the loan market not only for a million, but for two millions, for which ample interest would be given for the portion of it expended on waterworks at Rockhampton and on a railway to Copperfield. He did not believe, however, that people would lend money by the lands being taken up; that was absurd. The only thing they could do was to go into the London market and shew that they wanted the money for reproductive works. He did not suppose that any Ministry would go in for loans for works not reproductive; but still railways might go through some districts which would not make them re-

productive for years; whilst, again, they would be the means, in other places, of developing the great mineral resources of the country, and encouraging industries generally. The Government had had a splendid opportunity, but had let it pass. The opportunity had gone. The writing was on the wall—"Too long have we listened to the bleating of sheep and the lowing of cattle." As he might have another opportunity of speaking, what he now said could be taken as only indications of what he reserved to himself the right to say. His feelings had always been towards the Government, and it was against his wishes that he was now compelled to vote against them. They had shewn themselves thoroughly sincere as regarded the finances of the colony, which was work any clerk could do; but they had shewn no initiatory policy, and instead of occupying a vanguard position, preferred one of stagnation. Speaking of majorities, he might quote the case of Mr. O'Shannessy, when he was Premier of Victoria, and who, when he only had a majority of one, resigned, although at the time he was backed up by public opinion. At that time the vote of want of confidence had been brought forward by Mr. Fellowes, because there was a preponderance of Roman Catholics in the Cabinet. Then, again, Mr. Haines, another Premier, had resigned twice because he had only a majority of one. Mr. Forster resigned because he had only a majority of one, and by doing so he lost his pension. So much for colonial experience on the subject of majorities of one. He wished the honorable member for Clermont, who had talked so much about the necessity of having colonial experience, was in the House, so that he might talk to that honorable member. His opinion was that if the Government resigned, and the honorable member for Fortitude Valley took office and formed a Ministry, there would still be the Ipswich and West Moreton phalanx, and it would be necessary to appeal to the country, and that then the honorable member would come in with an overwhelming majority. He much questioned whether, if that was the case, many honorable members opposite would be returned. He thought that, under the circumstances, it was the duty of the honorable member at the head of the Government to resign. The honorable member could not appeal to the country; it was an impossibility, and he was almost afraid that something would transpire within the next two or three days to shew the Government their true position. He was the only paid member in that House, it was true, but he was sufficiently independent to say that he believed the Government had acted wrong. He would not refer to the question of immigration at the present time, as it would involve the question of the rights of labor and Polynesians, which would take a long time to discuss; but all those questions were

involved in the consideration of the policy by which the Opposition were now guided in voting against the Government. There was nothing in the Ministry to justify the country in supporting them. It was an issue, not of the Government as against the country, but of the banks, mortgagees, and other capitalists, as against the other interests of the colony. He could not understand why honorable members who had been returned by constituencies pledged to carry out certain measures, should not carry them out. With regard to the redistribution of seats, he thought that the Additional Members Bill, introduced by the Government, would give five members to the opposite to two on his side of the House, and that poor Rockhampton was to get only one member, instead of having four, which it should have in comparison with Ipswich. The honorable member for Clermont had tried to make an apology for what he had said about Rockhampton a few days previously, but he thought that both he and the honorable member for Leichhardt would be burnt in effigy when they went to Rockhampton. When he heard the honorable member at the head of the Government express his opinion about railways, the scales fell from his eyes. He did not care much about railways, but he looked upon them as being necessary to the country, and he thought the present was a judicious time for the country to take a turn, and it appeared to him that there never was a better opportunity for the Government to take advantage of the present position of this colony, and to go to the London market and borrow two millions for the purpose of carrying out public works important to the colony; it would benefit and resuscitate the colony, and make the men who advanced such a scheme most worthy of the approbation of the country at large.

The Hon. R. PRING considered that the debate which had been caused through the amendment of the honorable the Premier was the most important that had ever taken place in the colony of Queensland; because it was impossible to disguise from themselves the fact that it was one without precedent in this colony or in any other colony. Therefore, when the honorable the Premier, with a majority of one, undertook to bring forward a motion of the kind now before the House, he must have known that he would imperil his position as Premier, and, at the same time, would imperil and jeopardise the position of the colony itself. He was glad to be able to come to a conclusion that it was not the voluntary act and deed of the honorable gentleman. That it was not his voluntary act he (Mr. Pring) fully believed, because he was induced to do so from the tone in which the motion was made; but it had been suggested to him by the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay, who, he had no hesitation in saying, under the circum-

stances of the colony, had no right to be a member of the Ministry after he had ceased to hold the office of Treasurer. What precedent, he would ask, was there for an ex-Treasurer to retain office in the Cabinet or Executive Council of the country? He would like to know the circumstances under which the honorable member resigned his seat; and what he, of all men, had done for the colony that he should retain a seat in the Cabinet, contrary to the instructions of Her Majesty, which instructions were, that when a gentleman resigned office, he should also resign his seat in the Executive. There was one instance, certainly, to the contrary, and that was in the time of a great cabal, when the first Governor, Sir George Bowen, called in the President of the Legislative Council to assist him with his advice, because of the position in which the colony had been thrown by the then Treasurer. But that was not a parallel for the present case, and the honorable member for Western Downs should be the last of all men to urge upon the Premier, against his own good common sense, to place the colony in a most unprecedented position—a position of stagnation, as it must be, if the motion was carried, as no doubt it would be. He thought more of their position in consequence of the vote, if passed, than anything else. What was their position? The Government, or rather the honorable the Premier, had stated that he could not carry on the Government. Then, what was the honorable member's true position, or what ought he to do? In the first place, if he could not carry on the Government, he did not possess the confidence of the Parliament, which he ought to do. That he did not possess the confidence of the Parliament the honorable member well knew, from two reasons—first, that he could not pass his measures through Parliament; and secondly, because, as he knew, he had the other branch of the Legislature against him. The honorable member knew that he should possess the confidence of Parliament, else he was not fit to advise Her Majesty's agent in the colony as to the proper measures to be taken for the well-being of it. The honorable gentleman had confessed his weakness, and if he had been in a certain position he need not to have been told what to have done, but he would have adopted the only course left to a gentleman in his position. He would have had recourse to a dissolution; and that, in his (Mr. Pring's) opinion, was the only means of severing the great Gordian knot—of solving the great question which had occupied the attention of that House for so many days past; and thus leave it to those who had the greatest right to decide—to the people. In his opinion, the people would very shortly be called upon to decide it. He believed that if the honorable the Premier had taken that course, and was of opinion that the country would endorse the policy of himself and his colleagues, it would have been much better.

Why should the honorable member refuse to give to the people that opportunity which he could not deny they should have, and give them an opportunity of sending into Parliament those whom they believed to be their truest friends? If the honorable member was not in a position to do that himself, what then ought he to do if he still wished to be a true friend to the colony and wished to be an able statesman? Why the course was well marked out for him—it was one which the honorable member knew he should follow—that was to surrender the reins of office into the hands of His Excellency the Administrator of the Government, leaving him to deal with the Parliament as might to him seem fit. His Excellency would, he (Mr. Pring) presumed, according to his instructions, and, if it seemed best to him, dissolve the Parliament; but in all probability no Governor would feel justified in taking such an extreme course. The true course, then, would be that the leader of the Opposition would be called upon to form a Ministry; but it might be acceded that in order to form a position he could see his way no better than the present honorable Premier: but, confessing that, and confessing that the present House would in no way be benefitted by the change so as to enable the country to derive any benefit from its deliberations, still it would have the benefit of affording the country an opportunity of judging of the policy of either side of the House, and sending only those members into Parliament who would represent the majority of the constituents. That object could only be attained by the honorable the Premier placing his resignation in the hands of His Excellency, and that was the only way in which the people could secure to themselves their legislative right to the government of the colony—the colony in which they lived. Because the people did govern the colony in a sense—they were the rulers of the colony through their representatives whom they sent in—in the same way as the Government ruled the House itself in its administrative functions, which it was necessary the House should delegate to a certain party. Now, whilst the honorable the Premier confessed himself unable to deal with those pressing matters which the country required he should deal with, he would not allow any relief to be afforded, because he would not allow the stumbling block between the Assembly and himself to be removed. Now, that was not the true position for any Premier to place himself in, and he (Mr. Pring) could not conceive that any precedent could exist for such a line of conduct, because it would be a precedent that would not only be a very bad one, but one which would provoke continual hostility and anger between parties in the Legislative Assembly, when they should act harmoniously together, so long as the Government had that party which it was always necessary it should have for

good government. Now, the honorable member had not taken that position, as no doubt he considered his own line of conduct was the best; but there again the honorable member had made a great mistake in his (Mr. Pring's) opinion, because he had in an indirect way assumed to himself the prerogative of the Sovereign, and although technically he could move, as he had done that evening, the adjournment of the House for a period of five months, what was the practical result of that motion, and how was he placed by bringing about, so to say, that result? If it was necessary for carrying on his Government that such action should be taken, his constitutional course would have been to have gone to the Governor and advised him to prorogue the Parliament, because the proposed adjournment would have the same effect as a prorogation. But could the honorable member have done so? Could any Governor, in the present state of affairs, accept such a proposal? He (Mr. Pring) thought not, because the first question asked would have been, "On what ground do you ask that I should prorogue the House for five months?" The answer would have been a very simple one, "Because I cannot carry on the Government." Then the next answer would have been, "Then resign." But it was because such an answer would not have been pleasing, the honorable the Premier was driven to adopt another plan, the only difference between the two being that the Assembly will stand adjourned for five months whilst the Legislative Council can arrange its own time for adjournment. Now, he would ask the honorable member whether he was really acting right—whether he was really and conscientiously following the course which he solemnly believed was the best for the interests of the colony. He could not believe the honorable member was, as he had not heard a single argument adduced by the honorable member himself, or by the honorable members on the Treasury benches, to convince him that such was the conviction. He was fully convinced of one thing, if the course of the Government was carried out, that, instead of the colony continuing to progress—slowly though it be—it would considerably suffer. If the amendment was carried it would seriously jeopardise the stability of the colony—and the supporters of the Government would not deny the correctness of that—and if the stability of the colony was jeopardised what was to become of the charge of factiousness which had been brought against the Opposition? He was ready to answer that question, and he proposed to answer it properly, and in the following manner:—They had to consider the state of parties, and the obligations which were imposed on either side, and credit the blame to the party deserving it. If the Government had confessed their inability to carry on the affairs of the colony in the manner they ought to be carried on, then he

thought he might fairly charge the Government with holding on to office when they had no right to be a Government. It might be said that the majority the Government had was sufficient to carry on the business, and that they were prepared to do so, but there he differed from them. He denied that *in toto*. A majority to enable them to do that must be a predominant and not merely a dominant party in the House. And the Government, besides possessing the confidence of the House, should have the confidence of the people, to enable them to conduct public affairs constitutionally. First, he maintained that the Opposition was not a factious Opposition at all; and, in the second place, the majority which the Government benches carried was not a working majority. By all the precedents of Parliament it was absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country, besides for the proper management of the legislature, that the Ministry should be backed up in the House by a strong majority. Now, he entirely dissented from such views, if such were really the views of the Government. He maintained that the Opposition was not a factious Opposition at all. The Government had not a sufficient majority to constitute a working majority, and it was absolutely necessary that they should have a working majority to entitle them to continue in office. It was an established Parliamentary rule that, in order to enable a Ministry to continue in office, they should be sustained by a majority in both Houses, and especially by a majority in the House of Commons—that they should be in the position of receiving a generous support from the House of Commons, and should be able to rely upon the judgment and discussions in that House. In England, a Minister was very careful not to interfere with any of the prerogatives of Parliament. Now, he would ask honorable members on the Government benches to say if they thought they had an adequate majority, in both Houses, to enable them to carry on the business of the country? He would ask them if they had a majority in the Legislative Council? He maintained they had not, for that branch of the Legislature had decided in favor of the railway, and had adopted thereport of the Railway Commission. Had they an adequate majority in this House? No; they had not: they had only a bare majority—a majority of only one. A bare majority and an adequate majority were two different things. An adequate majority was a majority that enabled the Government to carry on the business of the country. Now, that being the case, he maintained that the position of the Government was not one which they should occupy; and he further maintained that one great evil which might result from a weak Government, if allowed to carry on the business of the country with a majority of one, was, that their legislation might be of a character that would be injurious to the interests of the whole commu-

nity. By the Government not having an adequate majority, legislation was impeded—in fact, it was altogether put a stop to. Now, if they were to be guided by conscientious and upright rules, such an impediment should not be allowed to exist. It had been proved by a previous speaker that there was no precedent for this course; and precedents had been quoted to shew that since this colony became responsible for its own political acts, previous Governments had followed a very different course from that which the present Government were pursuing. The course adopted by those previous Governments was the most constitutional one, and the only one that should be pursued under circumstances such as the present. Now, as there was no precedent for a Ministry continuing to hold office if they had not an adequate majority, he maintained that the Ministry being in that position the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government ought to give way. He would, however, do the honorable the Premier this justice—that he did not hold office for any benefit to himself; but he thought the honorable gentleman had taken a mistaken view as to the position of Premier. Instead of taking what was the true position of Premier, he had allowed himself to become the agent, so to say, of the party to which he belonged, instead of ruling the country by an adequate and predominant majority. He might be acting in a way that was contrary to his own feelings. But it might be that, in order to satisfy honorable members who had supported him through an arduous career, he had consented to move in this House a motion, which, if carried on this occasion, he hoped he would never see repeated. That he believed was the position in which the honorable gentleman was placed. If his opinion was correct, that such was the position of the honorable gentleman, then he maintained that it was an act of weakness on his part to consent to hold office under such circumstances. He maintained that a Government should not consider themselves in the position of having to shew that they were thankful to members who were merely blind supporters; but he could believe in a Ministry who received an intelligent support, holding out as long as they felt they would be justified in doing so by the practice of Parliament, and by the rules which guided the British House of Commons in such cases. At present the honorable member was supported by a party which had often been represented as being the curse of the country. Now, he (Mr. Pring) could not conceal from himself, that the honorable gentleman was pursuing a course that could not secure for him much support, or *kudos*, or praise, either at the present time, or afterwards. The motion, if carried, and that by a majority of one, would have the effect of locking up all legislation for five months, and retarding the progress of all business. Now, he would ask, *Cui bono?*

It had been said by the other side, that if the Ministry resigned, and a new Ministry were formed, it would be found, that on the House resuming, the position of parties was unchanged; but he could inform the honorable the Premier, that he would find that if there was a change of Ministry, the present Opposition would be more strongly backed up by all parties in the country, than he and his Ministry were at the present time. If the honorable gentleman met the House five months hence, what better position would he be in, either as regarded himself or the affairs of the colony? Why, the result to himself would be utter disgrace. Then all legislation would have to be delayed till 1872, and they would find themselves in this position, that they would not have the sanction of Parliament for the expenditure of a single shilling for current expenditure, or for public works of any kind; and another result would be that they would have an increased difficulty in obtaining a loan for the purpose of carrying on public works. In November next, the position of affairs would be the same as they were at present. If the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government was not in a position to carry on business now, he would not be in a position to carry on business then. Well, if there was a change of Government, the new Government would be obliged to resort to a dissolution, in order to appeal to the country on the subject of railway extension, and thereby allow the country to decide upon it; but a dissolution would occasion a very long delay, and postponement of all public business. Now he asked every honorable member if that was a position which any of them would like to see the country placed in? He thought it was not yet too late for the members on the Government side of the House, or for the honorable the Premier himself, to reconsider the importance of this question, if he felt he had acted too hastily in the matter, and had come to this conclusion without due deliberation, and without consulting precedents. If he were to do so, he would not shew any want of manliness. On the contrary, if he were to withdraw his amendment, he would shew a high degree of manliness; and by doing so would deserve the credit and esteem of the country. It appeared to him (Mr. Pring) that the policy of the Opposition, which had been so ably expounded by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, had never yet been answered by any honorable member of the Government. It would, he thought, have been advantageous to the country if it had been shewn—that was, if it could be shewn—that the policy advocated by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley was not the correct course of policy to be pursued. But the stolid resistance of the Ministry to meet the arguments of the Opposition, and their refusal to give any explanation of the course it seemed they had determined upon pursuing, did not in any way

redound to their credit. The honorable member for the Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay, had said that the speeches of the honorable members on the Opposition side of the House were characterised by a tone of acerbity. But who was to be blamed for that? Certainly not the Opposition. The policy put forward by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley had not been answered by any member of the Government. It had been said that the whole question had been ably discussed—but by whom? He had not heard any honorable member on the Government side of the House give a reason for not going on with that policy, except that it was not time to go on with it. He had heard it said that one honorable member of the Government was taken into it as Treasurer because he was a man of talent. Well, he must say that he (Mr. Pring) had failed ever to see any talent displayed in the conduct of the honorable gentleman. Take his tariff when he was Colonial Treasurer—and that was the only matter in which his talent was called for. That tariff had to be altered and amended by the Opposition almost from beginning to end. When the honorable gentleman was proposing his tariff, on that occasion, he (Mr. Pring) came into the House at seven o'clock, and found him in a mess; and in a precious mess too. The great questions at that time were free trade and protection, and railways. The very moment the tariff was brought forward by the Treasurer as a free trade one, it was altered to a sort of a protective one; and the House then dealt with it item after item, and the Government were beaten on the whole of their policy, except on the question of railways. In order to make the revenue come up to his estimate, the Treasurer proposed that there should be a tax placed upon flour. Now, why was it that he did not carry the tax upon flour? The answer was, that the Government had not a majority, except on the question of their railway policy. By the amendments that were made on the tariff on that occasion, a considerable reduction was made on the estimate of the honorable gentleman; and it was his duty as Treasurer to have devised means for making up the deficit. But, instead of that, this model ex-Treasurer sat down, and said that the House must make up the deficiency for themselves. He (Mr. Pring) felt sorry for the honorable member on that occasion; and the Opposition took pity upon him, and upon the Government of which he was a member; and the Opposition increased the *ad valorem* duties from seven and a-half to ten per cent., for the purpose of relieving the Government from the difficulty. Now, Sir Robert Mackenzie, when he was at the head of the Government, and in whose Ministry he (Mr. Pring) was Attorney-General, saw his way to reducing the *ad valorem* duties by two and a-half per cent.; but in a few months afterwards the honorable gentleman now at the head of the Govern-

ment considered it necessary to increase the *ad valorem* duties. The Opposition had been charged with being factious, but he denied that such was the case. A factious Opposition was one which, desiring to obtain purposes of its own, systematically impeded that freedom of action which a Government with an adequate majority ought to possess. Now, there was nothing of that kind here; nor had there been anything on the part of the Opposition other than was required of it. A factious Opposition would not receive the sanction of the people or of the public voice; and, therefore, if the Opposition and the public agreed that the policy of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley was a correct policy, and that the policy of the Government was not; and, besides, if the Government was too weak to carry out their policy, whatever it might be, then the action of the Opposition in opposing the Government was quite legitimate. He knew quite well that half-a-dozen men might band together to form a factious Opposition to any Government; but he, also, knew that they would not in such a course receive the support of the other members of the Opposition, for the mere purpose of obstructing the Government. The honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay, had said that he gave certain advice in respect to this question. Now, the honorable member should not have been asked for advice on this or any other question, for he (Mr. Pring) could not look on him as one that should be consulted, though he was a member of the Executive. He did not believe that he would be able to induce the honorable member to change his opinion on this question; but he thought, at the same time, that it was the duty of every honorable member to state his reasons for the vote he was to give. Was the Government during a previous session able to carry out their tariff in its entirety? They were not. Were they able to carry their Elections Bill in its entirety? They were not. And the Premier came down and said they yielded to the Opposition. Now, was that what the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay, called carrying the measure in its entirety? Why, the measure was amended, and that by the action taken by the Opposition, up to the thirty-fifth clause. The only Bill which had been put forward from the Government side of the House, and had been carried in its entirety, was a Bill for the Destruction of Native Dogs. All their other Bills were amended. Then there was the Kerosene Bill, which had also to be amended; and that was a Bill the main provision of which he thought very few of them knew anything about. For his part, he had an apprehension that they might all be blown up by it, especially if they went beyond what was called the "flash test." However, that Bill was also passed through the House by the assistance of the Opposition. Well, though such was the case, the Government still held on to power, and he asked, in

the name of justice, why they should do so. The motion of the honorable member, Dr. O'Doherty, and the contingent notice of motion standing on the business paper in the name of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, both had reference to the question of railways generally; and the motion of the latter honorable member applied to the extension of the northern line. That being the case, he would ask, if it was either fair or proper to state that the objection of the Opposition to the Government was merely because of the objection of the Government to the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane. The honorable the Premier knew well that such was not the case, but he knew that he threw down the apple of discord as between the Opposition and the Government, when he said so. He could not have afforded to pass over this remark unless he had deemed it proper to pass over the whole of his speech from beginning to end. People naturally expected great things from those who occupied high positions, but sometimes they were mistaken. Some persons got exalted on the pedestal of fame before their time; and it was found afterwards that they did not come up to the mark. Now, for his part, he liked to see tried men filling high positions—men who had proved their capability to hold high offices. It had been advanced that the honorable the Premier should stick to his colors, but if the colors did not stick to the Ministry, how could the colors stick to him? The honorable the ex-Treasurer, Mr. Ramsay, had said that he would be guilty of a dereliction of his duty, if he did not do so. Now, he must say that for his part, he was sick of hearing about the advisers of the Government. There was, for instance, the honorable member for Ipswich, Mr. Cribb, who had been designated the "father of the family," as regarded the Ipswich and West Moreton members; and there was now the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay. It had been said that the Ministry had no other course they could pursue than the one they now proposed should be adopted. Well, he could tell them that there was another course for them to adopt, and it was the only proper and constitutional course for them to adopt—and that was that they should resign. But the honorable the Premier had informed the House that he had not even consulted the Representative of Her Majesty in respect to the extraordinary course he had proposed for the adoption of the House. The honorable member had determined that the deliberations of the House should be postponed for five months, and that avowedly without consulting the Representative of the Crown on the subject; and why, in Heaven's name, had he not done so? Why had he taken upon himself to suspend the deliberations of the Parliament for five months without consulting the head of the Government? If it was considered necessary to take the course of

action that was taken by the House of Commons in the time of the reign of George the Third, under somewhat similar circumstances, that, he thought, ought to convince the Government and their supporters that the Government were not now pursuing a constitutional course, or a course that should be followed by any of the colonies comprised within Her Majesty's dominions. He believed that he had touched upon the principal questions affecting the motion before the House; and he thought that he might claim credit for not having travelled out of the subject of debate. He had not gone into those interesting questions, immigration and railway policy, because he had offered his opinions upon them on a previous occasion, when every honorable member had not the opportunity of doing so. It would have been hard upon some honorable members if they had not been able to offer their individual opinions on the present occasion. He had given his opinions conscientiously upon the subject before the House—upon the position of the Government, and upon the manner that the carrying of the amendment would affect the House. He had ventured to lay certain matters before the Government, not with the slightest hope of changing the mind of the Premier, but with satisfaction to himself, that it would go forth to the world that there were men in Queensland who would stand up for the rights of the people—for the carrying out of constitutional principles in the House, even though they were in a minority—a strong minority, it was true, and one that represented the majority of the country. He regretted that the House should be placed in such a peculiar position. He would much rather see a dissolution granted, to-morrow, upon the responsibility of the Government, than the present position. In conclusion, he would venture to offer the opinion that it would be far better for this community if the Premier—if he felt himself in the position to do so—would get a dissolution, and allow the electors to decide upon the issue between parties in the House; so that the credit of the colony might be maintained and the public business carried on; in order that, in future, the Legislature might travel on in that clear and smooth path of constitutional practice which would lead this country far higher in the estimation of the world than it was at present, and, at the same time, inspire confidence in their adopted country in those who had, in all probability, made it their home for the residue of their natural lives.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he shared the regret which had been expressed by the honorable and learned member for Brisbane, in having to debate the question before the House at the present time; but it must be borne in mind that the position was not one which the Government had chosen. It was one which had been forced upon the Government by honorable members sitting on the

other side of the House. The Government had adopted their course with great reluctance, and with a full knowledge of the responsibility of doing so. But the Opposition had left them no alternative. For three weeks the Government had been vainly endeavoring to carry on business; and for three weeks they had been persistently obstructed. They had been told that rather than adopt the course they had taken of bringing forward the amendment, they should have asked His Excellency the Acting-Governor to prorogue Parliament—that they ought to have tendered such advice; and they had been told, also, that it was their duty to have resigned the position they held. He maintained that that was not their duty; for if they, with a majority of one, could not carry on the business of the country, what possibility was there that the gentlemen in the minority could do more? The Opposition could not form a House. Fifteen members would not be a quorum; and, without the assistance of honorable members who now supported the Government, business could not be proceeded with. One honorable member had said that the House should be dissolved, and that the country should judge between the parties on either side. But the question at issue, now, was the very question that the sense of the people was taken upon within the last twelve months. It was less than twelve months since the Government had been assailed by honorable members on the other side of the House, and told that they were not supported by the country, and that the country wished for a policy of progress, and an unlimited extension of railways in all directions; and they had gone to the country, and had fought the question fairly. They were in a majority, and the question was no longer one for the country. The country had expressed its opinion once; and, now, those who had been sent to the House upon that question, having fought the battle, it was the duty of the minority to accept the position.

HONORABLE MEMBERS of the Opposition: No, no.

HONORABLE MEMBERS on the Ministerial side of the House: Hear, hear.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: For the last three weeks the House had heard a great deal about the Brisbane and Ipswich Railway, but nothing had been heard from the Opposition of other lines or extensions.

HONORABLE MEMBERS: Oh, oh!

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Except incidentally, when some honorable member on the other side remembered himself and remembered that part of the programme was a general extension, and he "harked back," and spoke in favor of general railway extension and not alone for the twenty-five miles between Brisbane and Ipswich. It was a question of this line only; and the northern line was incidentally mentioned for the purpose of catching the votes of honorable mem-

bers for Wide Bay, Kennedy, and Rockhampton. To-night, he had got a further insight into the policy of the Opposition. He did not wonder that they had bewildered the honorable member for Rockhampton. They went to extremes, and a telegram was produced by the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Atkin, that the people of Maryborough were with the Opposition and ready to go in for general railway extension. It had been stated that at a meeting held at Maryborough resolutions in favor of railway extension had been adopted. Now, he (the Attorney-General) held in his hand a telegram containing a set of resolutions which had been passed at that meeting, and he might read the first.

HONORABLE MEMBERS of the Opposition: Read, read.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL: The telegram was to the following effect:—

"A large and influential meeting for consideration of railway extension question, as it affects this district, was held last night. Subject freely and amicably discussed, and unanimously passed following resolutions:—

"1. That this meeting regards with alarm and indignation, the effort being made for the further extension of railways by a loan secured on the general revenue of the colony"—

Honorable members of the Opposition had told the House that this was the time when the Government ought to go in for railways. That had been their cry the whole evening. And here was a district brought forward protesting against it as strongly as it could.

HONORABLE MEMBERS: Read, read on.

Mr. STEPHENS: Read it all; it is right enough.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (*reading*):

"and strongly protests against any further loans being made for railway construction, except on a system of district taxation to meet the interest and charges of such loan."

Now, the House had heard nothing of that. There had been no proposition from the honorable members for the city of Brisbane, or the honorable member for Warrego, to have a tax upon the property in the municipality; nor had the House heard anything about it from other honorable members of the Opposition who had spoken, from other towns. It was merely to be one general loan chargeable upon the whole colony. A general loan to make the lines now proposed would be two millions, representing an annual charge upon the revenue of £120,000. He did not think that any honorable member believed those railways would ever pay the cost of their construction. The Northern Railway might pay its expenses, drawing in as it would a large amount of pastoral produce within its scope, and a large mineral traffic also; but the interest would fall to a certainty upon the general tax-payers of the country. The second resolution adopted by the meeting was—

"2. That in the event of a resolution to borrow money for the construction of railways being

carried in Parliament, this meeting demands that the loan be raised for public works generally throughout the colony, allotting to each district its fair quota, in proportion to its wealth and population, to be expended on roads, bridges, railways, or any other public works, as the inhabitants of such district may decide."

That was not a wholesale approval of railway extension, which honorable members had talked about. There was a third resolution—

"3. That, as the effect of constructing large public works in other portions of the colony would be disastrous to the flourishing agricultural and other industries of this district, by withdrawing capital and labor from them, unless a like expenditure be made in these districts, this meeting demands—for the security of the capitalists and laborers here, and for the better promoting of the settlement of the colony generally—that the expenditure of money on public works be made in the several districts simultaneously."

The Wide Bay district, Maryborough, and Burnett had been left out of the calculations of honorable members opposite, altogether. Little had been heard of anything but the short line between Ipswich and Brisbane, except a few chance expressions about a line to Roma, and some soothing words for the northern members relating to the extension to Expedition Range. He (the Attorney-General) said unhesitatingly that the whole intention of honorable members opposite had been to get the twenty-five miles of railway, and to rest content with that, and that there was no sincerity in their pretensions to give more. He thought they were still less to be encouraged in what they proposed to carry out, because the taxation would be increased far beyond what they had any conception of. The debate had passed on from railways to other subjects—to immigration, with masses of statistics, and the squabbles between the Emigration Agent and the Government, seven years ago, with which the House had now nothing to do, and with which their time ought not be occupied. The Government had been charged with obstructing the Agent-General for Emigration, Mr. Douglas. That gentleman had left the colony, it was understood, with the intention of lecturing at home. Practically, he had done nothing of the kind—he had not fulfilled his instructions. He (the Attorney-General) was a member of the Legislative Council, as also was Mr. Douglas, at the time a resolution was brought forward in that House affirming that the Agent-General should lecture periodically—once a month; the honorable gentleman himself deprecated the motion, and, in deference to his feelings, the specified time was withdrawn. His speech did not contain a single word that could be interpreted into an admission that he would lecture; and it was a fact that he never did address a large assemblage that could be called a public meeting. Last session the Assembly expressed an opinion that he should lecture; but he did not wait for it; he resigned his position, stating that one of

his reasons for so doing was that he had been desired to lecture, and he declined to do so. The Government had appointed a gentleman in his place who would obey his instructions, and who would, he (the Attorney-General) was perfectly satisfied, deliver lectures to the best of his ability; and honorable members knew that his ability in that line was of no mean order. They had also been told that they had been standing in the way of immigration; that they had sought to thwart it. He denied that entirely. They had simply requested Mr. Douglas to carry out the Act, passed by honorable members on the other side of the House in opposition to honorable members on the Ministerial side. That Act had been opposed by every member of the present Ministry who had a seat in the House at the time; and the reason for opposing it was, that the measure could not be satisfactorily worked. It provided for the introduction of a large number of immigrants at the cost of the country, and no provision whatever was made for meeting the cost in the first instance—for paying the passages of the immigrants, who were to give undertakings to repay their passage money. The result was, that at the present moment, there was a cost of no less than £26,000 incurred, of which none would be repaid.

MR. STEPHENS: Because you do not look after it.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL: It was a fact. One unfortunate immigrant was induced to come to the office and pay £3, as a first instalment of his undertaking to repay his passage money; but he found out that others had been wiser than he, and he never came back. And the Government had three miserable sovereigns to shew. There was no check upon immigration; but the Government did not want to pay the passages of immigrants, and then to pay them wages when they were in the colony. What they wished, and what the country wanted, was, that under the liberal land grants, people should come out here and settle upon the land. That course was hampered, he admitted, with restrictions; but honorable members opposite were answerable for them. The debate had proceeded to considerable length already, and he would not take up the time of the House further than to say that the action taken by the Government had been forced upon them, and it was the only course open to them; and they accepted all the responsibility of that action.

MR. KING said that, before going into the question before the House, he had a few remarks to make of a personal nature, in answer to what had been said by the honorable member for Western Downs, the late Colonial Treasurer. The honorable gentleman had alluded to his having changed his seat from the Ministerial to the Opposition side of the House, and had said he regarded as an equivalent the change of parties by the

Treasurer. The honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Atkin, had pointed out some of the most important particulars where the change by him and the Treasurer differed; but he proposed to shew that there were other differences between them. The Treasurer had been not merely a member of the Opposition, he had been a leader; and he had been a member of the Government when the party now sitting in Opposition occupied the Treasury benches. He had been bound to the Opposition, not merely by the ordinary ties which attached men to any party, but also by the much stronger ties which bound leaders to their followers.

The COLONIAL TREASURER denied the statement of the honorable member.

Mr. KING: He proposed to shew what he asserted, by the sentiments uttered by the honorable member in the House. On the 7th July last, in the debate on the Address in Reply to the Governor's Speech, he said:—

"He objected to the formation of the Government, because, in the first place, it was an unwise combination. He thought it was impossible for any Government so composed to enjoy the confidence of the country. It might be, as the result of an adverse vote, that they would appeal to the country, and that the result of that appeal would give them a majority; but even then they would have but a short life to live, for the past history of the colony shewed that class combinations could not possibly succeed. That was the opinion he had always held in reference to Governments in this colony, and he saw no reason to alter it. Even were the composition of the present Government different to what it was, he should not be able to satisfy himself that the policy they had introduced would compare with the policy initiated by the Opposition,—when he found the strongest objection on the part of the Government and their supporters, to take any step in the direction of protection to native industry."

Further on he said, in reference to protection to native industry:—

"Unless that, and the construction of cheap railways, formed a prominent part of the policy to be carried out, he saw very little hope for the colony. It was absurd, while the country was in such a languishing state, to talk about introducing immigrants, when there was no capital to find employment for them. The new system of fencing adopted by the sheepfarmers in this colony, and other causes, had thrown a number of persons out of employment, and they were now rambling about from station to station, looking for work. He did not feel any great concern on that account, because he believed that this state of things would not last long, and that a new era was dawning upon the colony. He looked upon the stand which had been taken in that House that evening as a sign that the people of this country were at last alive to the difficulties of the position, and the pressing necessity for progress. He would, he repeated, have had no objection to give his support to the present Government if they had included those two

important points of policy in their programme. He had no other reason to oppose them. He must say, he thought there was a slight shade of insincerity in one portion of that programme. He referred to the absence of any expressed intention to abolish the two-thirds clause, as it was clear that unless that clause were done away with no additional representation was likely to be affected. He looked upon the absence of any mention of the two-thirds clause as nothing more or less than a denial on the part of the Government of any intention to bring about a re-distribution of seats. He had no doubt they had made up their minds, and that they did not intend to alter the electorates of the colony."

Those were the opinions of the honorable the Colonial Treasurer less than twelve months ago. He (Mr. King) would ask him, how was the position of the Ministry altered up to the present time? If it was a class combination at that time, by his joining the other Ministers, it was a class combination still. If the honorable gentleman was in favor of protection to native industry and the construction of railways, he had not certainly made converts of his colleagues in the Government; and he had not informed the House, yet, of the reasons which had induced him to join the Ministry. He left the facts of his conduct to the country to draw its own conclusions. He had been a member of the Opposition, and, without having sat a single day as a supporter of the Government, he had accepted a seat in the Ministry. As regarded his (Mr. King's) own position, no member of the Government could say that he was ever pledged to the Ministerial party. No member of the House was so pledged to take an independent course in the House as he. The programme which the Government had put forward was a liberal one; he had been misled by it, and, for a short time, he gave his assistance to Ministers; but, when he beheld them repudiate every liberal pledge that they had given—when he saw them turn their backs upon their measures—when he saw them violate those promises upon the strength of which he had felt he could support them, he left their side and took his seat upon the Opposition side, where he hoped he should be able to obtain some sincere support to carry out the reforms which he considered so necessary for the colony. The House had heard from the Treasurer a long homily upon the duty of the minority to submit to the majority in the House. The question arose, if the Government had a majority of one, how did they acquire it? He had already dwelt upon the position of the Treasurer, in having transferred his vote from one side to the other, without giving any reason for his conduct; and he would now shew that the Government had got two or three of their supporters by playing a double game with the representatives of constituencies, and that the amendment of the honorable member for Leichhardt, Mr. Scott, had been carried by their deceiving some of their supporters.

The motion of the honorable member for Brisbane, Dr. O'Doherty, was—

"That this House do now resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, with a view that the Report from, together with Minutes of Evidence taken before, a Commission appointed to inquire into matters connected with the proposed extension of the Southern and Western Railway from Ipswich to Brisbane, be now considered, with a view to general railway extension; and that, in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when such extension should be carried out."

The first resolution of the honorable member for Leichhardt ran thus:—

"That this House is of opinion that the Northern Districts of the Colony have not received their due share of the advantages attending railway accommodation, and that before expending any further sums of money for railway construction in the Southern Districts, it is desirable that the Great Northern Railway should be extended to Expedition Range."

There was some doubt then, and it existed at the present time, whether the amendment was intended by the Government to shelve the whole question of railway extension or not. At one time one Minister said that no further action was to be taken upon the resolutions; at another time, the House were told that it was intended, that when the committee brought up a report, the Government would take action and propose a loan for railway extension to Expedition Range. If the amendment was to enable the Government to shelve the question, the honorable members for Leichhardt and Clermont, who supported the Government, were sold; and if they were not sold, their constituents were. If the Government had not sold them, at all events those honorable members had sold their constituents. The object of those constituents, when they returned their representatives, was to have the railway constructed, not to have it shelved. If the case was as he assumed, then there were three members supporting the Government who had sacrificed their constituencies to the political exigencies of their party. Then came the representative of Maryborough, and the two honorable members for Burnett. Would they say that their districts were indebted to the northern districts of the colony? Where had the money been expended, and where was it to be expended? Would those honorable members have the conscience to say, that before a single farthing was spent in their districts, seventy-five miles of railway should be made elsewhere in the northern districts? He ventured to say that the honorable member for Maryborough would not venture to say to his constituents, that before a farthing was spent in Burnett, Wide Bay, or Maryborough, the Government were bound to make the railway to Expedition Range, and that his constituents must get money for themselves. And, as for the majority of the Government, it was only a majority of one, counting members as

they stood, and a majority got by all and every means. He (Mr. King) noticed that the *Peak Downs Telegram* said that the Ministry were unable to go into Supply, because they would not have a majority in committee; and that was the case. Half the work of the House was done in committee. How, then, could the Government carry on the work of the country with a balanced vote? And, if the Speaker should, in committee, think fit to come forward on behalf of his constituents, the Government could do nothing—they would be in a minority. Yet the present Parliament was summoned by the present Ministry. There were former Ministries that had found themselves with a majority of one; but none before the present had attempted to retain office under such circumstances. How was the dead-lock to end? Did the Ministry fancy, by adjourning, that they would change the attitude of the Opposition? Or, did they imagine that they would be in any better position than now before the country? There could be no possible change. The Government took the course they had selected only to hold on to office. They shewed that they would not take the only constitutional means open to a Ministry so circumstanced—the usual course followed by every Queensland Government, by every Government in Australia under similar circumstances. At present, they were only trifling; the object of the Premier's amendment was only to postpone the business of the country. Supply was voted to the 31st December next. If the House re-assembled in November, the Ministry would meet with the same uncompromising opposition as now. They need not ask for three months' supply, even if they were not driven to resign; the consequence would be that Supply could not be voted before the beginning of 1872, and there would, therefore, be considerable difficulty in making the public payments, which ought to be met punctually in order to keep up the credit of the colony. The Government had refused to argue every question brought before the House, since the railway question was brought forward. Indeed, on that occasion, the two principal Ministers, who, on such a question, ought to have taken the lead—the Premier and the Treasurer—never opened their mouths. They had sat and laughed at all that was said by the Opposition. They had instructed their supporters, who followed their example. Were that not the case, no power on earth, but absolute commands from the Premier, could have stopped the mouths of honorable members for Ipswich and West Moreton, from half-past three in the afternoon till after midnight. He next came to the question whether a minority was justified in obstructing the business of the Government of the country when the Ministry were in a majority of one. First, was it likely that the forms of the House would allow of the method of obstruction which had been adopted by the Opposition,

unless for some good end to be attained by it?—if it had not been considered that circumstances might arise, in which a minority should have the power of checking and check-mating a corrupt majority, in the interests of the people? The House was a copy of the House of Commons, and he ventured to say that such a power was not the result of chance; it had been tested in a higher and an older assembly than that of Queensland, and had been found beneficial. There never was a case in which its exercise was found more necessary for the good of the country than the present. The minority were bound to avail themselves of the power reserved to them to force the Government to do the work of the country constitutionally. Such a thing was never seen before in any country where responsible Government was carried on, as a majority of one in a House of a similar character to the Assembly attempting to force its measures through the House. Sixteen honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House formed what they called a majority, and they represented thirty-two thousand of the people of Queensland. Fifteen honorable members formed the Opposition, a minority of one; and they represented sixty-eight thousand of the population. There were anomalies in the representation too. The district he represented had a population equal to that of Ipswich and Burnett together. Those two districts were represented by five members, whilst Wide Bay was represented by his single voice in the House. The population of his district, in 1868, was double that of Ipswich; and, yet Ipswich had three members, while Wide Bay had only one. Therefore he did not look upon the votes of the Ipswich members as a complete Parliamentary majority; they were one, against his vote. And the votes of the two honorable members for Burnett were, in the same way, only equal to his vote. Under those circumstances, he did not think he would be justified in sacrificing the interests of his constituents by allowing honorable members on the other side of the House to continue to transact the public business in the manner sketched out in the programme laid before Parliament at the beginning of the session, without offering them the most strenuous opposition in his power. There was no subject on which Ministers went to the country more strongly, and on which they received more support, than additional representation—to which they had expressly pledged themselves—to those districts that were inadequately represented. There was not a word about a redistribution of seats. Additional members were promised in the Speech with which Parliament was opened after the elections. It was to support them to get additional members that a great many of their supporters had been returned to the House. If the constituencies which had returned them had thought that the Ministry intended to shirk the question of additional representation—to evade it, to throw it over

altogether—and to go in for a redistribution of seats instead, they would not have returned those supporters. Besides the six Ministers, there were five members for Ipswich and West Moreton—one of the Ipswich members being Minister for Lands—and the Government had only to catch up five other members to have a majority of one in the House, which was exactly what they had at their best. The great object of an Additional Members Bill—the great gain to the colony—would be the break-down of the preponderance of power which was exercised, under a commercial firm, by the Ipswich and West Moreton members in legislation. Under these circumstances, any Bill which tended to increase the number of members in the House would tend to free the House from that local domination. For that reason alone, he was anxious for such a measure. The House had found that it was not the purpose of the Ministry to weaken the influence of Ipswich and West Moreton, but to strengthen it, and to intensify it. West Moreton had three members to two for East Moreton. West Moreton was left alone; but, in East Moreton, a small corner was to be cut off, and a member was to be given to that corner—in order that local jealousies and hostile antagonism might be excited, and that the influence of the members returned would be thus nullified, and the representation of East Moreton, with a third member in the House, would be virtually reduced to one. Again, Burnett, as he had said, returned two members. It was, no doubt, a very easy arrangement that they should be returned by the district at large. It enabled one member who had a preponderating influence there, to ensure the return of the two representatives. Why not the same arrangement in Wide Bay? No. One corner of that district was cut off, and it was constituted an electorate. That was done by the Ministry, in the hope that they might be able to win that small constituency over by promising to grant to “our member” everything he asked for on behalf of his constituency, and to promise that everything voted for the Wide Bay district should be spent on his portion of it, and not a single farthing in the other part. In point of population, if the Burnett returned two members, Wide Bay was entitled to return four, and more than four. The Additional Members Bill shewed clearly that the Ministry had no intention whatever of attempting to break down, or to subdue in any way, the dominant position which the members for Ipswich and West Moreton had in the House. They dare not attempt it! When they brought this Bill before the House, last session, an honorable member who represented one of those districts, told him that he intended to vote against the Bill, for the reason that it would cut up his district, which would then return a member pledged to the railway. While West Moreton was still to be allowed to return three members, all the other popu-

lous districts were to be cut up, and the Government would pick out from them one or two small constituencies where they would be able to force in a member to neutralise the efforts of the rest of the representatives of the people in those districts. A great deal had been said about the question upon which the dead-lock had arisen—that it was merely one of twenty-five miles of railway. If the Ministry wished merely for an expression, for a watch-word, that would do as well as any other: they might say five yards of railway—it would be just as much a question of principle. The question was one of general railway extension, as put before the House by the Opposition, and for that he had voted. He would point out to the House that there was no populous town or district in this colony which had ventured yet to vote against railway extension. They knew how certain towns were under the influence of certain “wire-pullers,” and a certain clique. They knew that there was a dominant clique in Ipswich and in Maryborough; but all they could do, those towns could not vote against railway extension. The clique and the “wire-pullers” dare not ask them to vote against it; but they tried to confuse them by asking them to vote for some other railway—not to oppose railway extension. In the same way as at Ipswich, so at Maryborough, at that meeting of which the Attorney-General had read the resolutions, they did not venture to put the question so as to invite a vote against railways altogether. No: only to vote against them, on certain conditions! On those conditions even those towns were in favor of railways. When it was seen that two towns, which were known to be under the influence of a narrow-minded despotic clique, voted “for” railways, and that the clique did not dare to ask them to vote “against” the railway policy in general, the Government might well feel that their policy was indeed disapproved of by the whole colony. The Government had not a single constituency for their support in the present crisis. He would now give the reason why he had voted, and was prepared to vote, again, for the construction of the Brisbane and Ipswich Railway, independent of any other: it was, because, by the construction of that railway, the bonds would be severed which united the Ipswich and West Moreton representatives to the monopolists of the Darling Downs! At the present time, the House witnessed their unholy alliance, and their narrow-minded hostility to the interests of the colony at large, and the sacrifice of the interests of their own districts, to what they conceived to be their own private advantage. The members for Ipswich and West Moreton could really have no interest in common, no sympathy, with that dominant faction which now usurped the whole power of the administration—which sought to exclude population from the country; and, when once the clique was severed by the railway, the country

might have some hope that the Ipswich and West Moreton representatives would take a rational view of the politics of the colony, and that they would go in to support true progress. On that account, and in order that the class now occupying the Treasury bench should no longer be able to hold out a bribe and a bait to catch and buy the Ipswich and West Moreton members to support them, he considered that the Ipswich and Brisbane Railway should be constructed. The Ministry would not be supported longer by those members against the interests of the gold fields; they would not be supported against white immigration, and in favor of Polynesians; as they were supported to stop railway extension; and once the consideration for that support was knocked on the head, the members for Ipswich and West Moreton would be free to vote for the interests of their constituents. The late Treasurer had stated that the Ministry had no alternative, that they were forced to take the course proposed by the Premier; but that would never have struck any other mind than his own. He (Mr. King) knew that the Colonial Secretary possessed great tenacity of purpose which amounted to obstinacy. There had been all sorts of rumors that the honorable gentleman was going to resign. He said, No; the Colonial Secretary would give the Opposition a hard fight, and that he might fight till the end of '71; and he had thought the honorable gentleman would fight it out. But he did not believe the Premier would adopt so cowardly a policy as that declared in the amendment. If the honorable gentleman, instead of stooping to that course, had advised the Governor to prorogue Parliament for five months, he (Mr. King) should not have thought it pluck. It would have been best to have fought it out, and, when the honorable gentleman found he could no longer carry on business, he should resign, and give a chance to any other party to govern the country. The honorable gentleman at the head of the Government was afraid to ask the Governor to prorogue Parliament; but he asked the unfortunate sixteen who were bound to him to take the onus upon themselves, when it ought to rest on his shoulders. He had done what he had no right to do. He was the leader of a party, and he should take upon himself the responsibility of the acts of that party, who were committed to him. Instead of instigating the adjournment of the House for five months, it would have been more manly in him to have asked the Governor to prorogue, and thus to have taken upon himself the onus of the step which he was either ashamed or afraid to advise. He (Mr. King) was sorry the honorable member was not now present. It had been said by him that no one had ever accused his Government of obstructing the settlement of the lands—that settlement was now progressing at the rate of thirty selections a-week. He took the liberty to doubt that statement.

Thirty selections did not mean thirty fresh men or families going upon the land. Those selections might be by persons increasing their holdings, not by new settlers coming into the districts. From his own knowledge, he was aware that many persons were enlarging their holdings by making fresh selections. The present Government had most certainly attempted, by every means in their power, to obstruct the settlement of the gold fields. They had attempted by every means in their power to drive people from the land—to prevent prospecting, and to prevent the opening up of auriferous land. They had, as already mentioned by different honorable members on his side of the House, neglected to issue a proclamation for the discovery of gold fields, and although the House had agreed that such proclamation should be made, they had treated it with contempt. There were several gold fields for the discovery of which rewards had been paid, and yet they had never been proclaimed as gold fields, and the consequence was, that the miners had their stock at the mercy of the squatter, by whom it was impounded, and the men were driven off the fields. At the same time that that was done, the Government were receiving applications from the pastoral lessees and others for the lands on which the miners were working; and, by omitting to define the boundaries of those gold fields, they had left them open to selection, which had the effect of closing them. Now, he had a few words to say about some of the means by which the Government had attempted to stop the progress of the gold fields; and he did not hesitate to say that in any other country the course taken in consequence would have been such as to drive the perpetrators of them from the country. The returns of the gold fields furnished to that House, had been a tissue of lies—there was not a word of truth in them. He did not hesitate to say that if the debate had lasted another week, disclosures would have been made very much against the credit of the honorable members who had the management of the country. As a proof of what he stated, he would read a paragraph from the *Gympie Times*, of May 31:—

“We have taken the trouble to ascertain ‘the total number of applications under the Gold Fields Homestead Act, up to the 3rd May, and the area applied for,’ and we find that the honorable the Minister for Works’ assertions are entirely at variance with the actual facts, which are these:—The number of applications made in the Commissioner’s office, Gympie, up to the time referred to (May 3), was 22, not 8; and the area applied for was 607 acres, not ‘only 183,’ as alleged by Mr. Walsh, whose assertions also that Mr. King’s application was the only one accepted by the Commissioner is equally incorrect, for we are informed on good authority that 21 of the 22 applications made were accepted.”

That was a specimen of the manner in which the business of the country was carried on

by the Government, and it was no wonder that honorable members of the Opposition should resort to extreme measures to dispossess them of the position they occupied. An honorable gentleman went to his despatch box, took out some papers, put on his spectacles to read what was pretended to be official information, and it turned out to be utterly false. He (Mr. King) was also in a position to say that the assertion, that his property was partly within the town boundary of Gympie, was equally false. A surveyor had been sent to survey the township, and his allotment was found to be considerably outside of the boundary. Yet, the honorable member opposite tried to mislead the House on the second reading of the Gold Fields Bill, by reading a document that was utterly false. If that was the policy of the Government, it was, in itself, quite enough to warrant any Opposition in taking the most effective steps to turn the Government out. Then again, they had been told that the supplies would be stopped. If the House did not meet again till the middle of November, the supplies could not be granted till 1872. Now, there was a large number of Government officers throughout the colony—he did not allude to those holding high positions, but to boatmen, policemen, and others—who required their pay to be made regularly, in order that they might maintain their families. Now, he considered, it should go forth to the country, that the Government had deliberately planned the adjournment, in order to stop the supplies. He wished the honorable member for Fortitude Valley had stated that, if, in November, the Government went to the House and made an appeal *ad misericordiam* for supplies to go on with, he would refuse it. He hoped it would be understood throughout the country, that the Government had taken the present action deliberately, and that it was planned seven months before it took place. Now, he ventured to say that there was only one motive which could have induced any Ministry to take such a humiliating course as they had taken. It was humiliating, as it exposed them to the accusation of clinging to office for the most sordid motives. They had only a majority of one, which no other administration had ever attempted to carry on the business of the country with before. But they said, they would not attempt to carry on business with that majority, and would adjourn for five months. He ventured to say, that there was only one class to which the delay of five months would do any good—and that one class would be enabled to inquire about dummy lands on the Downs, and be able to put them out of the way so that they would not be heard of again. Five months might enable them to drive away the cattle of the miners—immigration would be stopped for a while—for five months longer they would be importing Polynesians, and for five months longer the misrepresentation

of the colony in England would be continued ; so that by the time the House again met, the reputation of the colony, at home, would be so bad, that it would need a large sum of money to counteract the evil effects. He thought, for the reasons he had given, it was necessary for the Opposition to strain every nerve. If it was necessary for the Ministers to have five months—to stop immigration to the colony by giving it such a bad reputation—it was much more important to the Opposition that they should be prevented from doing it. If it was necessary for Ministers that for five months they should levy taxes on mining machinery, and prevent prospecting until the summer set in, when the season for prospecting had passed away—if it was to their advantage to do that, it was to the advantage of the Opposition to see that it was not done. Honorable members on his side of the House wished that the colony should be properly represented in the English market. They wished that the minds of the people in England should be disabused that there was no field for the employment of white labor. They wished that an agent should be sent home who would administer the Immigration Act as it should be, and not as it was now administered, by merely sending out a few men as domestic servants. They wished a stream of immigration—not of persons coming to the colony to serve, but who would obtain employment on the public works at first to give them colonial experience, and afterwards settle on the land. It was quite evident, from the tone of the Government, and from the very able speech of his honorable friend, the member for East Moreton, Mr. Atkin, that if the colony was to preserve its reputation in England, if it was to remain a place that was not ineligible for English people to come to, it would, after five months' stagnation of public business, take a very large sum of money to reinstate it in the good opinion of the people at home.

Mr. MILES wished to say a few words with reference to the remarks of the honorable the Colonial Secretary. When the honorable member addressed the House, he referred to the motion first on that day's notice paper, and he accused the Opposition of throwing an impediment in the way of passing such a motion ; but he (Mr. Miles) was prepared to say that the honorable member for the Warrego had not the slightest intention of preventing the motion being carried ; and also that on the previous Friday, when the honorable the Premier moved it, it was passed as a formal motion. It therefore came with very bad grace from the honorable member to throw any imputation on the Opposition. An honorable member, who he regretted to see was not now present ; when addressing the House, alluded particularly to him, and said, that in the event of a dissolution, a large number of honorable members would not be returned. Now, if that honorable member alluded to him, all he could say was, that he

should be glad to see what a contested election was. He had never been called to account by his constituents, and if it had not been for his honorable friend, the member for the Warrego, and himself, he would like to know what would have become of the outside pastoral tenants of the Crown. Why they would have been hunted down had they gone on the other side. He was sure the honorable member for the Warrego need not be ashamed to face his constituents. He believed his honorable friend and himself were the only members representing the squatting interest on the Opposition side of the House, and he would repeat that he was sure their course of conduct would be approved of by their constituencies. If the honorable the Premier had not been in such a hurry to bring forward his amendment, the first business on the paper would have been passed. As a rule, there was not a member in that House who was more particular in spending the public money than he was ; but he believed that the fact of the motion having passed as a formal motion on the Friday previous was sufficient evidence that there was no opposition to it on the part of honorable members on his side of the House. Why did not the honorable the Premier allow the remarks of the honorable member for the Warrego to pass?—but no, he got up and then accused the Opposition of having thrown an impediment in the way. He (Mr. Miles) had no doubt the amendment would be carried by the majority of one, as the Opposition was in that fix that they could not move any further amendment. What, he would ask, would be the result of the amendment? Why, honorable members would come down again in November—and he was extremely sorry the honorable the Premier would not take his advice—as the honorable member, in his last speech before the prorogation, said :—

“They did not intend to adopt the suggestion of the honorable member for Maranoa, and prorogue until November, as he believed that nothing created greater dissatisfaction, or was more wearing upon the spirit of the country than these long delays.”

Yet the honorable member now came forward and moved that the House should adjourn for five months. He believed he was correct in saying that such a course had never been adopted either in this colony or any other. The object of the amendment was, that the Government were not to carry on any business for five months, at the end of which time the House was to be called together to vote supplies. He presumed that the Government, which was a do-nothing Government, would stick to their places. They were in favor of retarding the progress of the country, because the class to which they belonged did not want progress. They would not mind a few servant girls, but beyond that, they had no intention of encouraging immigration. On the contrary,

he believed that if a proposal was made to charter a vessel to take away some of the people who were already in the colony, the Government and their supporters would jump at the chance, and accept the offer. What could be greater evidence of that, than the appointment of Mr. Archer as Immigration Agent?—a gentleman who, in his place in that House, used to condemn immigration, who did not believe that the country was fit for white men, but only blackfellows. For that appointment, if for no other reason, the Government deserved the censure of the country, which, he believed, would fall upon them before very long. They had been told by the honorable Attorney-General, that he and his colleagues had appealed to the country, and that the country had expressed their opinion. That was true, but the opinion of the country was in favor of progress and railway extension. At any rate, the present Treasurer was in favor of it, as stated in the honorable member's address to the electors of Northern Downs. That honorable member must admit, that at the last general election he expressed himself in favor of railway extension, and he stated that he had since given up that opinion on joining the Government. The honorable member was, in fact, one of the seventeen that agreed to the policy on which the Opposition went to the country. He would like to go a little further, and ask that honorable member whether he had also given up his opinions on protection; because, it would be remembered, that during last session, that honorable member took a very active part in handling the tariff of the then Treasurer, and pulled it all to pieces, entirely changing the character and policy of the tariff. He would like to know whether the honorable member had changed his opinions on that point; as if not, it would be quite impossible that he and his "wet" or "dry nurse" could agree. Honorable members had been told that during the discussion on railways not a single word had been mentioned about an extension westward. Now, he believed that the honorable member for Warrego and he were the only two members interested in that extension, and he had never mentioned it. He had arrived at the conclusion that it would be better to construct the line from Ipswich to the metropolis first, even at a loss to the country; for he contended that so long as there was the Ipswich clique, they would prevent any beneficial business being transacted, and on that ground he went in for the extension—and what was more, he was not ashamed to go to his constituents and tell them the same, as he was sure that when once the line was extended to Brisbane, the next extension must be westward. He did not anticipate that the present Government would do it, as it was not their policy. They were under the impression that the colony was fully peopled, and that if there was no more immigration, there would be no necessity for

railways. If the amendment was carried, the Government would delay the business of the country, and come down at the end of five months and say, "Our funds are short, you must pass the Estimates, and then go about your business." Now, that was not advisable, as they were keeping up an expensive immigration department in London, and it was well known that the gentleman appointed to the office of Agent-General would not send out immigrants—therefore, no immigrants need be expected, except perhaps a few servant girls. In the meantime, the cost to the country was considerable, and he could assure honorable members that labor was getting scarcer, and that class of labor in which some honorable members opposite were specially interested, was getting so scarce that they would have great difficulty in getting the wool off their sheep. Last year it was scarce, this year he was sure it would be worse. With reference to the question of railways, the honorable the Minister for Works had, in his (Mr. Miles') opinion, done everything in his power to damage even the railways there were at present. The honorable member had done everything to prevent traffic on those railways. There had been a committee sitting to take evidence on the management of railways, and he believed the honorable member, now that he saw the evidence was so strong in favor of having special rates for certain produce, had got a tariff prepared to meet those cases—in fact, he was not going to stop for the report of the committee, but was going to issue his new tariff at once. There was nothing that the honorable member could do, since he had been Minister for Works, that he had not done to drive traffic off the line in every shape and form; and why? Why because the honorable member had always been opposed to railways, and had taken office purposely to damage them by putting on prohibitive rates. And now the honorable member and his colleagues asked for five months' adjournment, so that they could go on injuring the colony for five months longer. He did trust that the inhabitants of the colony, from one end to the other, would petition His Excellency the Governor to call the House together, and compel his Ministers either to go on with the business of the country or resign. He was aware that anything that might be said on the present occasion would not influence the Government one way or the other; and he did not, therefore, see any object in prolonging the debate. He was positive that, no matter the consequences, the Government were determined to go on in their own way.

Mr. EDMONDSTONE said it was well known that all the members on his side of the House had been returned for the purpose of supporting the policy of railway extension, and it would be impossible for him to support any Government which did not advocate that policy—more particularly as regarded the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane. That was

not a new policy, as in the year 1863, an honorable member placed a motion on the paper having for its object the construction of that work, and since that time there had been continual agitation on the subject. That that line would be the best paying one in the colony there could be no doubt—it would pay its own expenses; and it was surprising to him that no honorable member had the ingenuity to follow the suggestions of the honorable member, Mr. MacDevitt, that if there was any deficit on that line the amount should be made up by local assessment on the places which would be benefited by it. The House had now come to a dead-lock, and an outrage was about to be committed upon the great body of the people. A compromise had been suggested, which would have been better; as he looked upon it as a disgrace that, after honorable members had been assembled for a few weeks, the Government had found that they could not carry on business, and his side of the House could not, through a dead-lock caused by the Government, because they wished to keep back the progress of the colony. It was a great pity that the Government should have thrown themselves into their present state of embarrassment—a state of things which had not been the work of the Opposition. A system of log-rolling had been kept on for the last five years with regard to the railways; and he believed it would continue until there was a dissolution. A vast deal had been said on the subject of immigration—of immigration concerning which the honorable member for Ipswich, Mr. Johnston, said, when addressing the House on the report of the Royal Railway Commission, that he would oppose railway introduction or railway extension until a successful system of immigration was brought in, so as to introduce the life-blood of the country. After such a statement, it was a curious thing to see that honorable member supporting the stoppage of the business of the country, and a Government which it was well known was opposed to immigration. Another important thing to be considered was that now money was plentiful in the English market; whereas, if they waited, as suggested by the Government, for two years or more, they might find money very dear when they were anxious to borrow. As it was very late, he should not detain the House longer, but would vote for the amendment of the honorable member for East Moreton.

Dr. O'DOHERTY thought it had been apparent to every member of that House, that during the discussion which had been going on for now so many hours, the main arguments brought forward by members of the Government to justify the extraordinary course they had thought fit to adopt, had been founded upon gross misrepresentations made of what had been stated by honorable gentlemen on his side of the House. One of the latest of those misrepresentations was

that made by the honorable the Attorney-General when he addressed the House a short time ago. That honorable member charged the Opposition with trying to force the Government to construct twenty-five miles of railway, and he charged them with inaugurating an obstruction to the Government proceedings because they had refused to construct that work. Now, he considered it would be apparent to honorable members that that statement was a gross mis-statement of facts. He (Dr. O'Doherty) was the first to inaugurate the present discussion, and he was careful to take pains to ask the House to discuss it, not with a view to the construction of the Ipswich and Brisbane line alone, but with a view to general railway extension; and, at the conclusion of his address on that occasion, he went further, and asked the House, in the discussion that would arise, to agree with him that, in urging any form of railway extension on the Government of the country, they should adopt the cardinal point, that any railway extension should be paid for by the districts through which such railway passed. It was, therefore, grossly unjust on the part of Ministers, especially, to attempt to misrepresent the opinions of his side of the House, and to make it appear to the country that the stoppage of all business for the next five or six months had been brought about by such reasons as they alleged. They also said, as one of their strong reasons, that they had a majority of one. Now, he would insist again, with other honorable members who had addressed themselves to the question, that the Government had no such majority—or, at least, had no such majority when they were returned to that House; and for the purposes of that discussion they were bound to look back, when the Government justified in such a manner the course they were adopting. The Government were bound to prove, that when first they assembled after the last general election, they had the same majority that they had now, on the question of railways. It had been over and over again shewn, by honorable members of the Opposition, that two, if not three votes, after the last general election, should have been recorded on the question of railway extension, if those honorable members had voted as they promised their constituents they would vote. It was only within the last few days that, in looking over some files of local newspapers, he came upon the addresses of the honorable member, the Treasurer, in which he told his constituents that he had absolutely entered into a compact with the honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, that if they would back him up with his protection policy, he would support the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane. On that understanding that honorable member was returned. It was also stated that the honorable member for Clermont should have voted for the extension of

railways, and he believed there was not the slightest doubt that the honorable member's constituents expected him to do so. It was not two months ago that that honorable member addressed his constituents at Clermont and Copperfield, and judging from the report of his addresses in the *Peak Downs Telegram*, he said that the Government intended to go in for northern railway extension, but he thought that in order to do that it would be necessary to complete the Southern and Western line from Ipswich to Brisbane. Yet, in the face of that, the honorable member had come to that House and voted against the extension. Like the honorable member for Wide Bay, he (Dr. O'Doherty) was not taken by astonishment at the course adopted by the honorable the Premier. He knew very well that the honorable gentleman had pluck enough to fight to the last, and it appeared to be the only way in which he could protract his tenure of office. However, as had been stated by so many honorable members, the honorable Premier would find that he had not improved the position either of his fellow Ministers or of his party, by the course he had adopted, for fortunately for honorable members on his (Dr. O'Doherty's) side of the House, there was a tribunal to which they could appeal. He should be much surprised if, after next November, public opinion, which must rule the honorable member as well as the members of the Opposition, did not prove to him that he had made a most grievous mistake. Were the honorable member to have yielded to the Opposition on the question of railway extension, it was quite apparent that the happy alliance between the Ipswich and West Moreton phalanx and himself must cease; for, the very day that the Opposition carried the Ipswich and Brisbane Railway, on that day the Ipswich faction would cease. The Government could not afford to lose the support of the Ipswich and West Moreton clique at present; and they remained there for the one sole purpose of maintaining one commercial interest in that town. And there was no doubt that by means of wires pulled by one firm, the Government had been led by them, no matter which party they belonged to. Every portion of the colony had been taxed for the benefit of that one dominant clique, and they could only maintain their position by continuing to adopt the policy they always had adopted, of unflinching opposition to the extension of the railway, and by the continuance of the bonus on cotton. Fortunately there was no further occasion for the latter policy, as the bonus on cotton ceased during the present year. He maintained that if the railway between Ipswich and Brisbane was completed, the interests of Ipswich, West Moreton, and Brisbane would become one; and the prosperity of Brisbane and East Moreton would be that also of Ipswich and West Moreton. If the railway were completed, the honorable

members for West Moreton and for Ipswich would not then consider it to be for their interest to occupy the position they did now on the cross-benches, and to support whatever Government might be in power. He did not believe that a single penny of Supply would be voted until the motion for the extension of the railway from Ipswich to Brisbane was acceded to. The proper course for the Government to pursue on the present occasion would be to allow the Opposition an opportunity of proving whether or not they would be able to form a Ministry that would be able to carry on the Government of the country. If the present Ministry held on to office for another five months, he believed they would be in a worse position than they were at the present time.

Mr. HANDY said that by the amendment which had been brought forward by the honorable member at the head of the Government, the question of adjournment had been converted altogether into one of a political character. The honorable the Premier was on this, as well as on some other occasions, supported by the members of the Ipswich family, which had been a bane to the Government and to the interests of the colony; and for that reason, if there was no other, he could not support the Government. At the same time, he mainly opposed them on the ground of their objection to railway extension. He had twice gone to the country on the question of railway extension, and on both occasions he had been opposed by the honorable the Attorney-General; but on both occasions he had defeated that honorable gentleman. Now, that being the case, and when he found so many petitions presented for the extension of the railways, he felt himself bound to support a policy which had that object. As regarded his views respecting the northern line, he told the honorable member for the Leichhardt that if he would shape his motion in a different way he would give him his support. But the honorable member did not adopt his advice. Now, he would continue to hold the same views as he had always held on this subject, and would therefore support a policy that had for its object the extension of railways generally, wherever it might be shewn that railways would be for the benefit of the district through which they might pass, and specially for the benefit of the colony generally. The honorable members for the northern districts were very much mistaken indeed if they thought that the Ipswich members would support them in behalf of the extension of the northern line. In this matter they were allowing themselves to be made the dupes of the Ipswich and West Moreton members. He maintained, that until the northern members threw off this bondage to the Ipswich clique—to the father of the family and his five children—they would never have a single pound spent in the North. The honorable the Premier

had proposed that the House should be adjourned till the seventh of November. Now, he could tell the House that he saw the proposition in the handwriting of one of the honorable members for West Moreton, Mr. Thorn, who told him that such was the course of tactics they intended to pursue. Well, when he came into the House, he saw that honorable member sitting behind the honorable the Colonial Secretary, when he was making the speech which he concluded with proposing the adjournment of the House till the seventh of November. Now, in that circumstance they found the evidence of the Government bending the knee to the Ipswich and West Moreton members. The senior member for West Moreton wished that the adjournment should be till December, but the honorable the Colonial Secretary would not have it, and required that the date should be altered to the seventh of November. He hoped that the House would not agree to the amendment of the honorable the Colonial Secretary. For his own part, he would rather see a dissolution. He had twice travelled over the Mitchell district as a candidate for election, and for re-election; and he would rather go back again than consent to the business of the country being postponed for five months. Now, he would conclude by moving, as a further amendment—

That the House be only adjourned till Tuesday, the 30th of June.

Mr. LILLEY said he believed that he was one of oldest members of the House, and he must say that never, except on this occasion, had he known of such a proposition as the one now before the House having been brought forward. He felt that he was unable, either by persuasion or otherwise, to induce the Government to refrain from proceeding on the unconstitutional course which the amendment of the honorable the Premier proposed should be adopted. There could be no doubt whatever that the position taken up by the Government at the present moment, was one of the deepest degradation to the country. He must say that he had never seen the Government of the country sunk so low as it was at the present time. He was satisfied that the Opposition had never taken a course that was purer in its character or more elevated in its range; and he was glad that it had fallen to his lot, on the present occasion, to take the lead of the Opposition. He had believed in the honorable the Premier, but he doubted now whether he was right in that opinion. It appeared to him that it was his duty to pull him down, if possible, from the elevated position which he did not seem worthily to occupy; and that partly because he believed, that in point of ability, the members of the Opposition were far in advance of the members on the Government side of the House. He was satisfied that the policy of the Opposition would be regarded as a policy that would be for the benefit

of their fellow colonists; and, for his own part, he could assure the House that what he said was approved of by his own conscience. The honorable the Attorney-General had said that the Ministry had taken upon themselves the responsibility of proposing this lengthened adjournment to the seventh of November. If the amendment should be carried, it would be five months before they would meet again, and they would then be close upon the year 1872, and of course they would then at once require that money should be provided. Now, speaking for himself and for the Opposition also, he believed the Ministry would not then get one penny of supply voted them for 1872. He considered it to be the duty of the House to resent such a proposition as had been brought forward to-night; and if he should ever have the power, it would be his pleasure, to introduce an Act to prevent, in future, the action of the Legislative Assembly being interfered with in this way again. The consequences of this action taken by the Government would not end with the mere adjournment of the House; and he was also convinced that the malpractices which had taken place in connection with the Land Act of 1868 would yet be avenged in the interests of the country. He believed that those who had obtained lands under that Act by personation, and by subornation of perjury, and other means would yet have to disgorge.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said that if the honorable member for Fortitude Valley would disclose to him any instance of malpractice, or subornation of perjury, he would at once institute proceedings.

Mr. ATKIN said he was glad that the Attorney-General had risen at that early hour to say so, for he could call to the honorable gentleman's attention one case in which he gave an opinion on the subject of dummy selections, and which opinion he wished to get back. In one case, it was decided that an amicable suit should be instituted to test the question; and he would give the honorable the Minister for Lands credit for the stand he took in the case of *Smith v. Tully*. The result in that case was, that the plaintiffs withdrew the suit, because they knew that if they contested the pleas put forward by the Lands Office, they would imperil all the cases of dummying. Now, if the Government was aware that there had been malpractices, why did they not come forward then and prosecute the plaintiffs; as the honorable the Attorney-General volunteered to do now? He was not aware that such a statement as that which had just been made by the honorable the Attorney-General would have been made to-night; otherwise, he would have been prepared to have read an exact reply to it. The whole of the debate on the question before the House had been so admirably summed up by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley that, he (Mr. Atkin) felt that nothing

almost remained for him to say on the subject. He might say, however, that he believed that the result of the debate would give rise to what honorable members of the Ministry, themselves, were not aware of. The debate, so far as it had gone, shewed that the Ministry were at the beck and call of Messrs. Cribb and Foote. No Government, he maintained, that was actuated by an honest intention to promote the welfare of the colony, would have brought forward such an amendment as the one submitted by the honorable the Premier, unless, at the beck and call of some one. When the House met to-night—or he should now rather say yesterday afternoon—it was understood that a motion would be brought forward, that the House should be adjourned for a week, to enable the father of the family to attend the Ipswich races; but, instead of that, they had a proposition brought forward, that the House should be adjourned for five months. It was a disgrace to the colony to allow an oligarchy, or a faction, to rule over them,—and, which was headed by the honorable member for Port Curtis. He knew that they would shortly come to a division, and that the Opposition would be defeated; but it would be by the votes of the Ipswich and West Moreton members. However, if the Government should carry their amendment that the House should be adjourned for five months, let them make the most of it. For his part, he believed that by that time the oligarchy would be broken up. Such an advantage as the Government now took of a transient majority to carry out their purposes, was never before heard of in the whole history of Parliamentary government. However, if the Government supposed that all the members of the Opposition would not be present, when the House again met, the places of those who might be absent would be supplied; and if the Government thought that the action which would be taken by the Opposition then would not be intensified, he could tell them that they were very much mistaken. Should the amendment of the honorable the Premier be carried, and should the House not meet again till the 7th November, the Government, he could assure them, would still find an indomitable Opposition of fifteen to oppose them.

Mr. CRIBB said there was no doubt, in spite of all that had been said, that he and the honorable members associated with him, represented their constituents in the present matter, and that they carried out their wishes, and desires, and instructions. He was not to be put down by anyone, or forced into voting against the wishes of his constituents, or what he considered for the good of the country at large. The gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House would drive the country to destruction; whilst those on the Ministerial side desired to save the country. The conduct of the Opposition was disgraceful. Honorable members looked at him and charged him with every kind of thing. Seeing the position

they were putting him in before the House, he must say that he was astonished they had no more common sense than to set one man up and fight against him for all. They knew very well that he had not the least importance in the House or the colony, and that he filled his place in the House only until a better man could be found. Perhaps Ipswich, wanting a representative, should come to Brisbane and take a barrister. There was a barrister for Mitchell, one for Kennedy, one for this place, and another for that, until there were more than enough barristers in the House; and there might be more when the number of members was increased. They went in for Government expenditure for the good of Brisbane; that was all they could do, except talk. Since he had come to town, he had conversed with many people, and they had all said they did not want the railway—all they wanted was the money which would be spent in the city in connection with the works—they had no objection to it, in order that they might have a share in the spoil;—they knew the railway would not pay, and that the public would be saddled with the expense. Several men in East Moreton would have to pay six shillings a-head for a railway which would not benefit them. Honorable members opposite did not know the mind of the country.

The Hon. R. PRING: It had been reserved for the father of the family, after four o'clock in the morning, to send the House home to rest convinced. If he was never before satisfied that the honorable members for Ipswich and West Moreton pulled the strings that regulated the Ministry, he was convinced of it now. The very amendment that the Premier had proposed had been drawn by the Ipswich and West Moreton clique—*vide* the *Queensland Times* of the day! In the advice tendered to the Government, there was that very amendment. He defied the father of the family to deny the paternity of it. Let him go and read it. Did he not know that one of the members for the "West end" had that amendment, and shewed it in the streets of Ipswich, at least one day past?

Mr. CRIBB: I deny it. I never saw it till it was brought before the House.

Mr. HANDY: I saw it a fortnight ago.

The Hon. R. PRING: The honorable member might say so—that he never saw it; and he (Mr. Pring) believed him. It was the honorable member's practice never to "see" a thing; but, for all that, he might be as cognisant of what was going on as if he had read the document. He knew his tactics of old, when he was deceived by the honorable member; he had been in the back parlor, as a railway man, and he did not forget the little arrangements and the dodges. The honorable member came out with that air of respectability which he adopted to cover his sins, and he saw nothing, but he knew everything, and many dead men did he know as a politician. His last speech was a little subter-

fuge; it beat everything: the honorable member knew nothing about the leading article, and what the Premier was going to do! Oh!—possible; but not probable. He (Mr. Pring) would maintain, what he ever maintained, that the Ipswich and West Moreton men ruled the Ministry. They would never have to rule it again, at the end of six months: mark his words!

Mr. MILES said there was not the slightest doubt of the great political doings of "Cribb and Foote." They had any amount of influence in West Moreton; but they were not satisfied with that; they carried out their operations even to Maranoa, where they had had several interviews, and it was on their books to oppose him in that quarter. Unfortunately, they had not got him in their books, they had not caught him, and their influence out there was not very great. They did not give enough credit. The honorable member and his firm, he, Mr. Cribb, considered, were the saviours of the country.

Mr. CRIBB: I deny it.

Mr. MILES: He believed the honorable member was capable of doing anything. He understood the honorable member that they came forward to save the country.

Mr. CRIBB: I spoke for myself.

Mr. MILES: All he could say was, that, rather than be saved by the honorable member, he would sooner go to—perdition! No! He believed that if he went the way the honorable member wanted him to go, it would be to the bad. There was too much "white-choker" about the honorable member. At all events, he had a little common-sense, or he did not know what would have been the result.

The question was put, That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the proposed amendment.

The House divided:—Ayes, 16; noes, 15.

Question then put, That the words proposed to be added (to the original question), be so added.

The House divided:—Ayes, 16; noes, 15.

Whereupon, question put, That this House do now adjourn until Tuesday, the 7th day of November next.

The House divided:—

Ayes, 16.	Noes, 15.
Mr. Thompson	Mr. Lilley
" Palmer	" Pring
" Walsh	" Atkin
" Moreton	" Stephens
" Cribb	" Miles
" Johnston	Dr. O'Doherty
" Thorn	Mr. King
" Ferrett	" Mellwraith
" Royds	" Fyfe
" Wienholt	" Morgan
" De Satgé	" Edmondstone
" Forbes	" Groom
" Bell	" Handy
" Scott	" MacDevitt
" Bramston	" Jordan.
" Ramsay.	

The House accordingly adjourned at 5 o'clock a.m.; until Tuesday, the 7th day of November next.