

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates
[Hansard]

Legislative Assembly

TUESDAY, 5 DECEMBER 1871

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 5 December, 1871.

Elections and Qualifications Committee.—Electoral Districts Bill.

ELECTIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS
COMMITTEE.

Mr. KING said that the motion he wished to bring forward was one touching the privileges of that House. It was one that he was surprised should be left to a private member of the House to move, as it was the ordinary practice for the honorable member at the head of the House to bring it forward. The motion was—

That the Petition against the return of the Member for Warwick be referred to the Committee of Elections and Qualifications.

He thought it was a most extraordinary thing that it should fall to the lot of a private member to make such a motion as the present one. In all other countries, the honorable gentleman who had charge of the House was supposed to take charge of the business of it, and it would be expected that he would have taken that matter in charge. But, for some reason or other, the honorable member who occupied the position of the head of the House had not thought fit to move that the petition be referred to the Elections and Qualifications Committee. As the House had now been sitting for nearly a month, he thought it was time that some steps should be

taken in the matter, and he now moved the resolution he had read.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he was not particularly aware that it was his duty to move that a petition should be referred to the Elections and Qualifications Committee. But the fact was, that when the petition was laid upon the table of the House, the Elections and Qualifications Committee had not been appointed, and since then the matter had entirely escaped his memory. If the honorable member was so very anxious in the matter he should have mentioned it to him. As he said before, he could not move that the petition be referred to the committee when he laid it on the table, as the committee was not appointed until two days afterwards.

Mr. LILLEY said it was no doubt the duty of the honorable member at the head of the Government to see that no person should have a seat in that House who had not a right to it. A petition against the return of an honorable member was sent to the Governor, and, he apprehended, it was sent by the Governor to the honorable member at the head of the Government, whose duty it was to move that it be sent to the Committee of Elections and Qualifications. He could not therefore see that any excuse could be offered to the House for the delay.

The motion was then put and carried.

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS BILL.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said, that, in moving the second reading of that Bill, he wished to make a few explanatory remarks with respect to it. He wished, in the first place, to point out to the House and the country, that notwithstanding there had been a strong point raised on the part of Opposition members, that they had forced the Government to bring in that Bill, they had done nothing of the sort. For, before those honorable gentlemen mentioned a word about their great anxiety, the Government were aware of the necessity which existed for amendment in the representation, and admitted that necessity. The only thing that appeared to be cared about last session by honorable members opposite was the Brisbane and Ipswich Railway, as would be seen on reference to "Hansard"; for, whilst fully half of it was occupied with discussion on that matter, the question of additional representation only occupied about four pages. The Government were, at that time, under the impression that the tactics of honorable members opposite would be the same now as last session, namely, to stick out for the construction of the twenty-five miles of that precious railway, whilst the very first thing that was mentioned in the Governor's Speech was additional representation. He thought that that would be sufficient to shew that the Government had not, in any way, been forced into introducing that measure. Now, in order to make any use whatever of the census which was taken

under the Act agreed to last session, it was absolutely necessary, before the Government could frame a Bill for additional representation, which they felt they could introduce with confidence, and expect to have passed, to have a large number of tables prepared and compiled; but the delay had been no longer than was necessary for the purpose, and the Bill was prepared as soon as the details were ready. In fact, the Bill would have been far more in progress at the present time had it not been for the tactics pursued by the Opposition last week. He had no doubt that some objections would be made to the Bill, and there might be more objections made to it than to any Bill of a similar nature which had been previously introduced. It was impossible to expect that any man could bring forward a Bill of such a character which would not meet with some objections from honorable members on both sides of the House. But the basis, however, upon which that Bill was founded, would not have the same ground for objection as the Bills which were introduced last session and the year before, namely, that they had no *data* to go upon in framing it. He believed that the census which had just been taken was more correctly compiled than any previous census taken of the colony, and he thought it would shew that it was hardly necessary in future to take a census so frequently as had been done, because, for all practical purposes, the *data* collected by the Registrar-General were quite sufficient to work upon. He thought it would be shewn that they could depend to a considerable degree upon the statistics of the Registrar-General. He was quite aware that some mistakes had been made in taking the census in the outside and sparsely populated districts, where there were diggers constantly migrating, as they could not be got at by the collectors; and, without blaming the collectors, who had, he believed, done their work well, he thought that vast numbers must have been left out. But even taking the number which had been omitted in those districts at ten per cent., it would not make any appreciable difference in the whole population of the colony. He believed, however, from what he had been able to learn, that two per cent. would fully cover the number. As he was saying, he had no doubt that all sorts of objections would be taken to the Bill;—it would not be liberal enough for some honorable gentlemen opposite, and he was sure it was too liberal for others. He was quite certain that no person could introduce a measure of that sort with any possibility of being able to please, not only all, but even any three, members of that House. But, on a question of that kind, it was absolutely necessary that there must be a great deal of give and take, on all sides; and if honorable members would look into the Bill, and if they thought that it would be an improvement on the existing state of

things, and on anything that they had hitherto done, and were inclined to pass a measure of the sort at all—which he sometimes felt inclined to doubt very much, as far as the Opposition was concerned—and if they would condescend to argument and not take up time by simple abuse of the Bill, he thought it could be easily passed during the present session, and would do for a considerable time. On looking back a short time, he found that, in 1869, a Bill for additional representation was introduced by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, which was curiously drawn, and provided that, in addition to the number of members now returned to the House, East Moreton should return two, Wide Bay one, Port Curtis one, the Kennedy one, Rockhampton one, Drayton and Highfields one, and Toowoomba one. Now, the Bill he introduced provided for all those, and something more. He next found, in the amendment moved, on the 20th December, 1870, by the honorable member for Wide Bay, on the Bill which had been introduced by himself (Mr. Palmer), that that honorable member proposed to give an additional member to the Kennedy, to Rockhampton one, Port Curtis one, Wide Bay two, one to East Moreton, one to Drayton and Toowoomba, and one to the Maranoa. But the Bill he had laid on the table provided for all those, and something more; so he hoped he should have the support of those two honorable members to carry it through. The Bill introduced by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, and the proposed amendments of the honorable member for Wide Bay, differed from the Bill he (Mr. Palmer) had now introduced in this respect—that where they proposed to give additional members, they intended to throw them into the present electorates; but he did not propose to do anything of the sort. With the exception of the electorate of Drayton and Toowoomba, which was proposed by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley to be split in two, all the other additional members which that honorable gentleman proposed were to be tacked on to the electorates as they then stood. Now, he was prepared to admit at any time that large districts should be well represented; but he did not see why the electors in them should have three, four, or five votes, whilst residents in the outside districts should have only one. He thought that some such system should be established by which electors should have no more than one vote, and in that respect he agreed to a great extent with Hare's system—that an elector, no matter how many members his district returned, should be able to vote for one only. He did not propose by the Bill he had laid on the table to give additional representation to any district unless they had cut a portion of that district into a separate electorate. Some electorates were so extensive that the interests of the people at one end were not at all the same as those of the residents at the other end, and yet

they were all obliged, as in the case of East Moreton, to vote for two members as the case stood now, and they would have had to vote for four if the Bill of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley had become law. That would have given to each elector four votes, but he did not see why an elector should have such an advantage simply because he happened to reside in a populous district like East Moreton. He believed that that principle was altogether wrong. In the Bill before the House it was not proposed to interfere with electorates by giving them additional members, except in cases where a change was made in the electorate itself, as the Government believed that a House consisting of the larger number of forty-three members would be the proper House to carry out a measure for the thorough redistribution of the electorates of the colony. He found that he had, himself, introduced two Bills into that House for altering and arranging the representation of the Colony—those were in addition to the one now under notice. In 1870, he introduced a Bill founded pretty much on the principles of the present measure. By that it was proposed to divide the colony into fifty-four electorates, each of which was to return one member; but that Bill did not find favor with the House, the number of electorates was supposed to be too large; the distribution of the existing electorates was found fault with, and the Bill passed away. In the first session of the present year, he introduced a Bill which provided for forty members, and that was pretty much the same as the one before the House—that whilst it was proposed to increase the electorates they did not propose to disturb the present electorates, except to give a new member to a portion of the electorate. Even then he found that it was very difficult indeed to cut the colony up into electorates returning only forty members, and, he added, as necessary to carrying out better representation, an additional member to Gympie and to the Gilbert and Ravenswood. That Bill was not carried out. Now, the present measure proposed to introduce eleven new members for eleven new electorates. One for the Logan, which district was taken off the southern part of East Moreton, and he might say that the interests of the electors of the Logan and those of the electors who generally returned the members for East Moreton were as different as it was possible for them to be. He also believed that the interests of the persons residing at Caboolture, which was another district proposed to be cut out of East Moreton, were not at all the same as those who returned the two representatives for the whole of the present electorate. In the next electorate he found the same principle carried out, or something like it, as that which was proposed by the Bill of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley in 1869, namely, cutting up Drayton and Toowoomba

into two different electorates. The next proposal was in regard to the electorate of Dalby; and the next was the formation of the southern portion of Maranoa into a new electorate, which it was proposed to call the Balonne. The next was Gympie, which being a gold field, consisted principally of mining interests; leaving Wide Bay and the district to the northward, which had a population principally of farmers and persons engaged in the cultivation of sugar, to be made a new electorate. Maryborough was cut down to the boundaries of the municipality, and the new electorate of Mulgrave consisted of the northern portion of Wide Bay District. An additional member was in effect given to Rockhampton, although the new electorate appeared in the Bill under the name of Blackall. A new member was proposed for the Peak Downs, which was a large and important district. The present electorate of Clermont was cut out of that district, which took in part of Clermont, part of the Leichhardt, and the part of the present district of Port Curtis which was most intimately connected with it. The southern district would consist of the country round the townships of Bowen and Mackay, and the northern district would include the country round Townsville and the Cardwell post district; so that the Kennedy would be confined to the back country, where the great majority of the population were miners. That electorate was extended towards the Gulf country, so that if any population should congregate along the telegraph line—as he hoped they would—they would have the advantage of being represented. Now, in preparing the Bill which he had introduced, and of which he was about to move the second reading, before deciding what the basis of representation should be, they had gone into the census pretty extensively, and the basis of the Bill was, the male adult population of each district, with which they had endeavored to combine similarity of interests and the representation of property, to a certain extent; and he believed that the tables which had been prepared would shew that the basis was by no means a bad one. In the first column would be found the number of adult males, as they stood at present, in each proposed electoral district. The second gave the number of adult male Polynesians, Chinese, prisoners, lunatics, and shipping; and the fourth column shewed the total population of each electorate. The fifth column gave the total number of Polynesians, Chinese, prisoners, lunatics, and shipping; the sixth shewed the total population less those people; the next, the present number of representatives; the next, the number proposed to be given by the Bill; the next, the number of adult males to each representative; the next, the representation due to the number of adult males; and the last, the representation due to the number of total population. Now, those tables had been very

carefully collated, and had been looked over and checked very carefully; therefore, he believed they were correct, or as much so as he could have had them made. According to them, he would endeavor to shew that they had struck out the most equitable system that he believed could be devised for the representation of the colony; that was, without interfering with existing interests or going into a total redistribution of electorates, which he did not propose to do at present, Brisbane had at present 1,851 adult males, less Polynesians, Chinese, &c., and had at present three members. They proposed to leave that electorate as it was, and, consequently, there would be three members, or a proportion of adult males to each representative, of 617. He should, perhaps, have stated that the total adult male population of the colony, less Polynesians, Chinese, &c., was 36,675, which, divided by forty-three, the proposed number of representatives, would give 853 adult males to each representative. It must, however, be patent to every honorable member that it would be out of the question to cut up the electorates so as to give 853 adult males to each representative, and they had therefore to get as near to that as possible; and by putting the groups as they had done, by classing the same interests together, it would be found that the result was pretty successful. To go back to Brisbane, the average number of adult males in that electorate to each representative, was 617, and the number of members to which that electorate was entitled was two and two-tenths, whilst it had three. In South Brisbane, the adult males numbered 254, so that that electorate was only entitled to three-tenths of a member. Fortitude Valley had 1,096 adult males, and was entitled to one and three-tenths. East Moreton had 2,009 adult males, and was entitled to two and three-tenths. The Logan had 883, and was entitled to a little over one member, and Caboolture, with its 1,381 adult males, was entitled to one and six-tenths. To that group, which was entitled on the adult male population to eight and seven-tenths members, and which had seven at present, it was proposed to give nine. As he had before observed, and would again observe, so far as Brisbane was concerned, even if it had not anything like the number of representatives to which it was entitled, it would always be well represented. The people who resided in Brisbane were sure to be represented, for they took an interest in it, and so long as it was the seat of Government, and the capital of the colony, it would be always fully represented, even if it had not its full numerical representation. On the basis of total population, that group would be entitled to eleven and nine-tenths members. Next in the group were Ipswich and West Moreton, and they did not intend to interfere with them, as they did not propose to give those electorates any additional representation. They did not disturb them at all. Although

he admitted that at the first blush they appeared to be over represented, and they were no doubt over represented, yet, on taking the group, it would be found that according to the adult male population, they were entitled to four and seven-tenths members, and on the total population, to six and two-tenths. So that although the town of Ipswich was over represented, yet when Ipswich and West Moreton were taken together, they were very slightly over represented. The next group was the country known as the Darling Downs, and included Toowoomba, Drayton, Warwick, Dalby, Eastern Downs, Western Downs, and Northern Downs. It would be found that Toowoomba was entitled to one and one-tenth members, and Drayton to seven-tenths of a member, but it was proposed to give these places two members. Warwick was entitled to eight-tenths, Dalby five-tenths, Eastern Downs one and five-tenths, Western Downs to one and six-tenths, and Northern Downs to one. That group was entitled to seven and two-tenths members, and it was proposed to give it eight. The next group was the present district of Wide Bay, including Maryborough. Maryborough electorate, which was confined to the municipality, would be entitled to nine-tenths of a member on the adult male population basis; Wide Bay to one and four-tenths; Gympie to one and nine-tenths; Mulgrave to seven-tenths; and the Burnett to one and five-tenths. To that group it was proposed to give six members, and it was entitled to six and four-tenths. Rockhampton, Port Curtis, Blackall, Leichhardt, Peak Downs, and Clermont were next. Rockhampton, when cut down to the municipality, would have 809 adult males, and would be entitled to very nearly one member. The district round about it, which had been formed into the electorate they called Blackall, would virtually return a member for Rockhampton; and as it contained 1,195 adult males, it was entitled to one and four-tenths members. Port Curtis was entitled to one and six-tenths members; and the Leichhardt, as cut down, was entitled to the two members which were given to that electorate. Peak Downs, with 988 male adults, was entitled to one and one-tenth; and Clermont, with 718, to eight-tenths. The whole of these electorates were entitled to seven and nine-tenths members, and it was proposed to allow them seven. The next group was the proposed district of the Kennedy, which he had always stated was the worst represented district in the colony; for with a population which entitled it to three members, it had only one; but on the basis of the table before the House it would be entitled to five. Bowen, with a population of 1,004 adult males, was entitled to one and two-tenths members; and the Kennedy, with 2,780, was entitled to three and two-tenths members, and it was intended to give this electorate one member. The proportion in that case might appear to honorable members to be out of the way

when compared with others; but he had found that the greater portion of the population of Kennedy proper were very erratic in their movements; and it would be impossible, therefore, to fix the number of representatives, as the population might, and no doubt would, be much larger every year. But, in order to give something like proper representation to that district, they had formed another electorate, which they called Normanby, which had 494 male adults, and was entitled to six-tenths of a member. That district was being settled very rapidly, and it was a matter which they had to take into consideration in connection with other things. There were some districts which remained much the same year after year, and it was of importance that they should consider that, or whether it was probable that it would be rapidly populated; and there was, he believed, every probability that there would be a large increase to the population of Normanby within the next few years. The next and last group was composed of the Maranoa, Balonne, Warrego, and the Mitchell in its reduced form. That group was entitled to three and one-tenth members, taking the basis of each electorate; but they proposed to give it four members. The electorate they had taken out of the Maranoa, and to which they proposed to give one member, had a population of 1,215 male adults. Now, he wished to point out that in forming an elective scheme, they were bound to take into consideration the prospects of the different districts, and, with that view, he had caused a table to be prepared shewing the centesimal increase in the population in the various electoral districts since the last census was taken. Without reading all the figures over, he would ask honorable members to notice the increase in some and the decrease in others. In North Brisbane, the centesimal increase was 2.18; South Brisbane, 1.87; Burnett, 5.16; Eastern Downs, 25.15; Northern Downs, 14.52; Western Downs, 39.58; Drayton and Toowoomba, 17.36; Fortitude Valley, 13.94; Kennedy, 79.33; Maranoa, 12.99; Maryborough, 51.64; East Moreton, 28.36; West Moreton, 61.93; Port Curtis, 8.42; Rockhampton, 6.36; and Warwick, 32.08. At Clermont, the centesimal decrease was 7.56; at Ipswich, 5.36; at Leichhardt, 4.98; Mitchell, 0.86; Warrego, 18.50; and Wide Bay, 0.59. That table shewed pretty well that in laying out any plan for increasing the representation of the people, it was necessary that they should take the districts not only as they stood, but as they were likely to be in a few years. To shew the tendency that some districts, said to be now over-represented, had to increase, he would point out that the increase in West Moreton was the largest of any, with the exception of the Kennedy, where, however, as he had already stated, the population, being composed principally of diggers, was more migratory and unsettled. He

would take that opportunity of mentioning that in the schedule to the Bill there was an error in respect to Fortitude Valley. It was originally right, but by some mistake had been altered. He thought he had pointed out pretty clearly the basis on which the Bill was founded, and the reasons which led to that basis being adopted. On the occasion of the first reading of the Bill, considerable objections had been made by honorable members of the Opposition as to his having consulted with certain honorable members on his side of the House on the principles of the Bill. Now, he did not admit for a moment that there was the least reason to justify the remarks then made. Honorable members on his side of the House were aware that when they saw the schedules of the Bill, it was in a very forward state, and very little alteration was made in it afterwards; but, at the same time that he mentioned that, he contended that the leader of a party, no matter whether it was the Government or Opposition, had a perfect right to consult his own party in respect to measures which he intended to bring before the House. The fact was, that the schedule to the Bill was shewn to honorable members on the Tuesday, and he could not say that it met the unqualified approval of a single member; each contended that his own district was not properly represented, but they all agreed with him that it was utterly impossible to bring in a Bill of such a character as would suit all parties, and he thought they took a very sensible view of the matter when they agreed to waive all private feelings, believing that it was the best Bill which could be introduced at the present time. He hoped, and he had no doubt, that he would have their support, where they thought the Bill was right, in carrying it through the House; and that where they thought it was wrong, they would point out the error. He thought the Bill was sufficient for the present additional representation of the colony; and if honorable members opposite would condescend to argument, and not to abuse of the measure, he thought it could be passed that session, and that it could be very well left to the larger Parliament to deal with the question of redistribution of seats. He did not profess that the Bill was perfect, or anything like it; but he did say that it was a very large instalment towards it, and having done the best he could to pass it—and he wanted to do the best—if the members of the Opposition pursued the course they had hitherto followed, and the measure was not passed, the fault of the country not getting additional representation would rest upon their heads, and not upon his.

Mr. LILLEY said he was sure that there was a great desire on the part of honorable members on his side of the House to have the question of additional representation settled, as far as possible, by that Parliament; and he was sorry that the honorable the Premier had gone out of the way to mis-

represent the struggle between the two sides of the House during the last session. It was true that the Ipswich and Brisbane railway had considerable prominence given to it, last session; but it was only as part of a general plan of railway extension which the Opposition thought was advisable for the good of the colony. And with regard to "Hansard," which the honorable member had mentioned, any reference to it would be useless, as it was well known that the greater portion of the debates, last session, took place in committee. Then, again, it was also well known that it was not until the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Atkin, brought in an Additional Representation Bill that the Government were compelled—or, at all events, thought it expedient—to bring in a similar measure, last session; so that he could not, therefore, concede, for a moment, to the honorable gentleman opposite, that he had shewn any very great anxiety on the subject of representation. He did not wish to revive any of those old struggles—at all events, for the purposes of that day—as he thought that they ought to approach the present question in a fair spirit, and in a temper likely to lead to a judicious settlement of it for some to come. He was sorry that, in Queensland, they had not, from the first, based their representation in such a way as to make it adjust itself to the increasing exigencies of the country;—that was, supposing that they adopted the population basis, or the adult male population basis, then they should make provision in such a way that, as the adult male population increased, there should be an adjustment of representation, either by the reduction or increase of the number of members. They would thus have removed a chronic cause of discontent, for there was no doubt that, in any new country, there would be an increase—but that might, again, go back, and there would be a decrease; so that there would be a perpetual change until the country was filled up—and they could not reckon upon that, at present. He did not agree with the provisions of the Bill before the House, altogether; but he thought they could either make it into one acceptable to both sides of the House and the country, or get the Government to bring in a better Bill. But he could see his way clear, if the honorable the Premier intended to do as he had stated; and if that honorable gentleman had settled the Bill, so to speak, amongst his followers, and had brought it in as a final measure on which he took his stand, and from which he would not in any way recede, and he (Mr. Lilley) would tell him, at once, that the Bill would not be acceptable to honorable members on his side of the House, nor to the country at large. Now, he had several objections to take to the Bill, which he would state as briefly as possible, leaving it to other honorable members to deal with the details of it. In the first place, he

thought that the cardinal objection to the Bill was, that, whilst it was not a redistribution Bill for the whole colony, it was for some electorates; and he considered it was a pity that that redistribution should have applied to electorates represented by honorable members of the Opposition, and should have left untouched those districts which were represented by honorable gentlemen opposite—

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: No.

Mr. LILLEY: The Kennedy, for instance.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: The Northern Downs was another.

Mr. FERRETT: The Peak Downs.

Mr. LILLEY: Why, the Peak Downs was only a portion of the Leichhardt. He repeated that the plan of redistribution proposed was a cardinal objection, and there must be some reason for that plan. He certainly was disposed to believe that the object of the honorable member at the head of the Government was to make use of his present opportunity to obtain on the question of representation, a party triumph. Now, that was a course of action never attempted by any Government, but, on the contrary, when they approached the question of representation, it was with an intention so to adjust it as to do justice to the colony at large, due regard being had not to make too rapid a change. That was a principle adopted in a large country like England, fully settled, and with great wealth, and it should be followed in this colony. They ought not to seek to make party triumphs in that House on such a question. He did not now propose to deal with the question of redistribution, as his opinion was that they should abstain from it altogether at the present time. He thought it was only reasonable to ask that the electorates should remain as they were, and that additional members should be given. When that was done, and the new members were in the House, then they could deal with the whole question of redistribution to the satisfaction of the country. Honorable members on his side of the House did object most strongly to anything like redistribution being attempted by the House, composed as it was at present. On that point they were at direct variance with the Bill; but he trusted the honorable member at the head of the Government would see that it was his duty to the country to yield on that point, and he believed that, by so doing, they would be enabled to prevent any dead-lock occurring, or even any ill feeling, between the two sides of the House; and would justify the expectations of the people that they were dealing with the measure in such a way as to be for the future benefit of the country. Because, he believed, himself, that population was the basis—the only true basis, of representation for the country. It was the basis of the very system which the honorable member at the head of the Government had mentioned;—though a mistake was made by

him in regard to "Hare's system," yet he would not dwell hardly upon that, being, doubtless, a slip of the tongue. But Hare's system was purely a system of representation by population—an admirable system, he believed, in a closely populated and settled country, like England for instance, or any other country where the people had settled down and grown into a compact community; and one calculated to give the nearest approach to a proper representation of the people that had been devised. Population was the soundest basis of representation for other reasons. In the first place, it was the people that the House ought to represent—the collective intellect of the country. If they sought to represent the collective intellect of the country, they could not select out from the population any certain number of persons;—they would not find intellect by going to an adult male basis. But, if they wanted to get the collective opinion of the country, they would really find it—the intelligence of the people—by establishing representation on the population basis; at all events, the people themselves would thus have the opportunity of saying how they would be governed—and they would be, no doubt, right. The population basis was the basis of taxation; and that was a very important principle in dealing with any question, much more the question of representation. It was upon the whole body of the people that the taxation fell; it was by the people, so much per head, as a general rule, that it was paid. He saw the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thorn, shake his head, but those were his (Mr. Lilley's) reasons. He said that, as a general rule, where the people were gathered in masses, they bore the largest portion of taxation; because, it was well known that the constant advocacy in all new countries was for getting people, in order that the taxation might be lightened by being spread over an increased number of tax-payers. The country could not get a basis of representation that would be mathematically, morally, and intellectually true; but the nearest approach to it was the population basis, which would be true and certain. It was upon the population the Government came to meet any unusual pressure: speaking in a national sense, the population were the tax-payers; they bore the burden of public debt; they bore the burden in the event of invasion, or any national emergency, and for all purposes; and the population of the country were, therefore, to be considered in devising a system of representation. Recollect that if a man had a large family, and maintained that family, he paid taxes in respect of that family. But what was the case of adult males alone? In those districts where they largely preponderated, they did not contribute to the revenue in any way, as a general rule, for more than themselves; beyond their personal expenditure, their outlay on articles that contributed to the revenue

was not very large. There was another point of view in which population as the basis of representation appeared to be the only sound and true basis. The settled portion of the population—those who had committed themselves to the country, so to speak—who had come here for life; who were stationary and permanent; whose habits were fixed; and who were most likely to lead others to adopt those habits which characterised civilised man; and who were most worthy of representation;—those were represented on a population basis. When the House were discussing a Bill such as the present measure, it seemed to him that those were reasonable subjects to be advanced for the consideration of honorable members. The Bill was not based upon population, therefore it should not be a Redistribution Bill. It was not based upon the adult male population; for if the House took the figures which had been placed before them as absolutely correct, they would have in some of the districts named in the Bill either to withdraw a representative altogether or in some sort to reduce the representation. If the figures were not correct, somebody should be held accountable. He did not see, for instance, that West Moreton was over-represented; but Ipswich, he might say, on either basis, was over-represented. He did not propose to disturb those districts; but if the Bill was a Redistribution Bill, that ought not to be. He would not propose to disturb any district except where an additional member might be fairly added by increase of the population. But what, then, was the basis of the Bill? Was the Bill based upon property? He did not think it was. The House had no figures to help them in that respect. If the Bill should be passed he did not think the representation of the colony would be based upon the property of the country. What, therefore, did the Bill propose to represent? It seemed to him (Mr. Lilley) that, so far from improving the representation of the country, the arrangement of the electorates under the Bill would have a tendency to neutralise the representation of some districts, especially those whose members now sat on the Opposition side of the House. For instance, he would take Rockhampton. Blackall was carved out of that electorate. What would be the result? That a gentleman in the interest of the other side would get a seat there, and that the influence of Rockhampton would be destroyed. The same might be said for East Moreton.

MR. ATKIN and MR. HEMMANT: No, no!

MR. LILLEY: It might be so—he did not say it would be so; the probability was that it would not be so. But the object of the subdivision of East Moreton was, that, if possible, such a neutralisation of the interest of the district should be achieved. He really did not think that even Cabulture would return any gentleman who would be likely to hold the principles professed

by honorable gentlemen on the Ministerial benches. He endeavored to be brief, like the honorable the Colonial Secretary—and he commended him for it; and he would in a very short time say what he thought would be the reasonable settlement of this question. He would take credit for approaching it with a thorough desire to get the question settled for a time, if possible. If anything should come in the way which would render that course impossible, it would be very much regretted by him. These political struggles he should be glad to see ended. They disturbed business, not only that of the Opposition, but that of honorable members on the Ministerial side; and they interfered with the progress of the business of the country, also. Therefore, it would be better that the House should settle the question of additional representation fairly;—and honorable members might settle it fairly, at the present time, with a tolerable measure of justice, and possibly to the satisfaction of the people of the colony, whom they at all events professed to study. He would now indicate, to some extent, what the Opposition wished:—He thought that the whole redistribution ought to go out of the Bill altogether, and that by taking the eleven members, or even more, if the House should find it necessary—although he thought eleven as many as they should add to the House—the need for additional representation could be met. He wished to be understood by both sides of the House—if honorable members would follow him—and he referred to the twelfth clause of the Bill. He was now giving his views. There seemed to be a necessity to give and take; and he hoped that honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House would not think he was laying down a hard-and-fast line;—he was merely indicating what he thought would be the reasonable plan for both sides of the House. Brisbane, for instance, he would leave with its three members; South Brisbane, one; Fortitude Valley, one; East Moreton, he would leave as it was, adding a member, and giving the district three members; Ipswich, three members; West Moreton, three members; Drayton and Toowoomba, he would leave as it was, giving the district one member more; Northern Downs, he would leave as it was, because he thought it was fully represented; Eastern Downs, he would leave as it was; Western Downs, as it was; Maranoa, he would leave as at present, with one member added; Warrego, he would not interfere with; Maryborough he would give an additional member; another member to Wide Bay; the one proposed for Mulgrave, he would give as an additional member to Burnett, as it was; he would leave Rockhampton as it was, with one member—

MR. FIFE: Two.

MR. LILLEY: That was a question for debate: if the House should think fit to add two, well, but he proposed to add one only. To

Port Curtis, he would add one member—that would put Blackall and Port Curtis together; Leichhardt, he would leave as it was; and Peak Downs, he would leave out; Clermont and Mitchell, he would leave as they stood; Bowen, Normanby, and Kennedy should still remain entire as the one electorate; and he would add two members to Kennedy. That was what he thought would be a very fair provision in an Additional Members Bill; and, when the additional members were in the House, of course, a redistribution of the electorates of the colony could be made. That would be a reasonable settlement of the question; and the House would very speedily pass a Bill of that character; and then there would very speedily be an end to many, at all events, of their troubles. He believed that the temper of the country would be restored thereby; it would be accepted as a genuine measure of reform by the people. Now, if honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House were prepared to accept such conclusions as he had indicated, or something like them, he believed it would be best for both sides of the House, and beneficial for the country. The honorable gentleman at the head of the Government had mentioned a Bill which was introduced by him (Mr. Lilley) in 1869. He was very sorry that that Bill had not been carried. There was one portion of it—he thought he was not violating any confidence in speaking of it—that he did not agree with, and that was the provision for dividing Drayton and Toowoomba. It was against the principle of that measure, which was called an Additional Members Bill; but it was a concession to the feelings of some persons with whom he was at the time associated. He did not blame them for getting what they could, but he was confident that that was a blot upon the Bill. He disagreed with it, at the time; but, of course, he submitted the Bill to the House, and if the House had accepted it, there was an end. That electorate was the only one place which was interfered with by the Bill. The honorable member at the head of the Government was entitled to anything he could make out of the fact; but he (Mr. Lilley) did not think it would justify the wholesale dealing with the electorates of the Opposition which was proposed in the present Bill. The honorable gentleman had said he did not propose a total redistribution. Why did he attempt, at all, to make an Additional Members Bill a Redistribution Bill? Nor did he (Mr. Lilley) agree with that portion of the Bill which would give members to districts on the assumption that they would be enlarged some years hence. That was a very dangerous doctrine. It might be that Normanby would become an immense district; but it might, also, be quite the contrary. There were districts of the colony, especially since the Six Additional Members Act had been passed, whose circumstances had altered

very much in a few years; for instance, Maryborough and others. Leichhardt was going ahead very fast then, and it was supposed that that district would soon have a very large population and advance greatly in importance; but it was decreasing now. And so were other places found decreasing—Clermont was decreasing in spite of its copper mines.

Mr. DE SATGE: It was not the copper mines: it was the gold diggers.

Mr. LILLEY: Well, he hoped the figures placed in the hands of honorable members were correct; if they were not, very gross censure should be visited upon someone. But if they were correct, increased representation was proposed for decreasing districts. What could be the object of such a step as that? Simply to fasten on those districts as comfortable pocket boroughs, perhaps; or, at all events, to provide some snug retreat for honorable members on the other side. He hoped that that would not be persevered in. A great deal had been said on the point by the honorable gentleman who had introduced the Bill; but he would not go into figures, and he did not know that he had any other observations to offer. Speaking as the member for Fortitude Valley, when he first saw the schedule, he could not trace where the old electorate began; but as that honorable gentleman had said there was a mistake, no harm was done. He was glad to see that, notwithstanding something which had been said by an honorable member opposite some years ago, that his district was not going back. There was a fine number of adult males there. The Valley was not touched, although, he durst say, there were honorable members opposite who would not mind interfering with it. Therefore, as the local member, he had no very great reason to complain; though he believed, if the country had fair representation, the Valley was entitled to an additional member. However, he did not propose to press that claim upon the House now. There were other districts which, if the Bill should pass, would have undue representation. The object of passing a measure now was not to complete the system of representation; but so to add members to the House on a reasonable basis, as that they might have a new element, new blood, amongst them to help on that object—to approach, in fact, somewhat near to the actual representation of the whole people of the colony;—and the enlarged House should pass a complete system of representation for the country. He hoped when the new members came in—if the Bill could be got through—that the House would pass such a measure as should be self-adjusting; he hoped that they would be enabled to devise some means of preventing the recurrence of these struggles about representation, which now interfered with the progress of public business. If that could be done, and he thought it could be done, they would achieve a great triumph indeed. In America

it was done. There, were heard no disputes about the representation; it was self-adjusting, because the basis was population. Every census that was taken disclosed whether or not a place had progressed or gone out; if the latter, a member was not returned, or the representation was diminished; if the former, there were no disputes or battles about the representation, as the population shewed whether or not a place was entitled to an additional share. So, he believed it could be settled here, if honorable members sat down and worked earnestly—not for party victories or triumphs—but with a desire to complete the representative system of the colony. Honorable gentlemen opposite believed that as much as he did. But if their efforts were to be directed to perpetuate class ascendancy, or if the question was to be made the stalking-horse of popular agitation, then, by all means, leave it open. If the House desired the just settlement of the question, and one that would remove all cause for dissension, let them adopt a self-adjusting system of representation on some such a basis as he suggested—that, after each census, the representation would adjust itself;—then, they would be enabled to address themselves to subjects of legislation which were calculated to advance the general interests of the country, and which were decidedly more profitable than their discussions, from time to time, on the representative system. But the subject was not a light one. When they found such a system as existed now in this colony, it was not a subject to be trifled with; it was not one on which a man could give way, if he believed that any right or true interest was to be sacrificed—for a time even. But if both sides of the House would see it so—that it was best to deal with the question justly and fairly, and that no unreasonableness sacrifice was to be demanded from either side, the representation of the people in the Assembly would be settled not only to the satisfaction of the House but with advantage, and in a way that would prove a blessing to the country.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS said he thought it was quite useless for the Government to attempt to introduce a fair measure of additional representation, without, to some extent, going into a redistribution of electorates. The honorable member for Fortitude Valley, himself, when he introduced a Bill for giving seven members, seemed to be under the impression that, at that time, owing to the existence of an obstructive clause in the statute book, nothing more fair than what he proposed could be passed. His remarks on that occasion struck him (the Secretary for Lands) as very similar to what the honorable member at the head of the Government had said in introducing the present Bill. The honorable member for Fortitude Valley regretted his inability to introduce a more satisfactory or complete measure, and said it was as good as

he could give on that occasion; and he hoped it would be acceptable:—

“He would have liked to have been in a position to have introduced a more comprehensive measure;”—

so said, now, the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government;—

“providing for the re-distribution of the whole of the electorates;”—

so said the honorable the Colonial Secretary;—

“but, owing to the two-thirds clause of the Constitution Act, there had been very little chance of passing such a measure.”

The honorable member for Fortitude Valley had worked might and main to get the two-thirds clause repealed; and the Assembly were now met without that clause, and the Government were in a position to give a more complete measure of justice than could be given to the country at the time the honorable member introduced his Bill;—and the honorable member was the author of that happy position. The House were now in the position of being able to pass a measure of some utility, and the Government were perfectly justified in bringing forward their measure. He (the Secretary for Lands) always opposed the abolition of the two-thirds clause, as the honorable member was aware, because he conceived that it was a good clog upon the results which followed popular excitements; and he had not changed his mind. But, as the two-thirds clause had been got rid of, the honorable member for Fortitude Valley would be right in accepting the position. With regard to the unfairness of the redistribution, he must say it would be extremely unfair if the Government had done otherwise. He would take a specimen district, not with an invidious view, to shew how extremely unfair it would be to add to the representation without redistribution. Taking Kennedy, for instance, it comprised, he might say, three distinct classes of population—digging, squatting, and town.

Mr. MACDEVITT: Agricultural population.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: Yes; he freely admitted that there was a very important agricultural population. He would say, by way of argument, that the diggers returned a member. Would it be fair, in giving additional representation to that important district—where, he was informed, the most important part of the population was the agricultural, about Cardwell—that the one or two members more should be returned by the diggers, and that the other interests of the district should be swamped by the diggers? What the honorable member for Fortitude Valley had said, was, that the present system was defective in this respect—that in those districts where more than one member was returned, each man had no more than one vote. If three members were given to Kennedy, the diggers were in the ascendant, and they would return the additional

members as well as the present member. That would not be additional representation; it would be additional to a section of the district only, and it would be extremely unfair. He (the Secretary for Lands) challenged criticism on that point. Had not those districts for additional representation been cut up very fairly, indeed? The Ministry cut up Kennedy so that the diggers should have their member, the coast settlers should have their member, and the pastoral residents of the district should have their member. What could be fairer than that? He admitted, as the honorable member for Fortitude Valley had urged, that, at present, the attempt on the part of the Government to make things fair must be tentative. They would not get everything right until they had Hare's system of representation. He disagreed with the honorable member that that system was not fit for a thinly-populated country. He said it was eminently fit for such a colony as Queensland. He admitted that he was only a recent student of that system, and he was not prepared to go into the question as fully as he should like to do; but he hoped to see introduced, some day, a measure having as its basis Hare's representative system. In short, the Government had had the whole subject under consideration, with the view not so much of putting a measure before the House, as, in some way or other, to let the country know, with an eye to the future, what they conceived would be a good measure of this sort—a self-adjusting, equitable measure. He took exception to one thing said by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, that Hare's system allowed only one vote to an elector. That was true in respect of its allowing him only one primary vote; but it allowed him a number of votes afterwards. He must vote, in order, for everybody he chose, to the full number of members to be elected; but his vote was taken first for the one he liked best; then, for the next best; and, so on, as he liked, lower down the scale. The scheme was, that his opinion should be given upon the whole number of persons he voted for. As to the fairness of the system, he thought there could be no objection to it. Take another instance of the fairness of the Bill. Say, there was a town surrounded by a populous district: every town of importance had a suburban population, and if the country was very important, the population was large. The more agricultural pursuits were carried on in the country surrounding a town, the larger the suburban population, in fact. The result must be, that the suburban population would swamp the rest of the district, and return the additional members given to a district so situated. Would it be fair to give additional members to the suburban population in that way? He asked that question with some confidence, knowing that it could not be answered with fairness in the affirmative. East Moreton, he thought, had been

very fairly divided, indeed. It was within the limits of possibility that the Government could get a member in there; but what had that to do with the question? The Government had divided the district into north, south, and central. What could be fairer than that? It would not admit of any other possible division; it would be unfair to make any other division, inasmuch as the suburban population would return the whole members. That was where the difficulty lay. When the honorable member for Fortitude Valley introduced his Bill for giving seven additional members, he (the Secretary for Lands) sympathised with him. All knew that with the two-thirds clause, the honorable member could not get any House to pass his Bill. Now it was different. The Government proposed to add eleven members to the House. Would it not be best for honorable members of the Opposition to indicate where they would like the boundary line, instead of upsetting the principle of the Bill altogether? What they wanted was merely to get members without dividing the districts, which would be most unfair. It had been charged against the Government that Ipswich and West Moreton had not been touched. They had not been touched, and none of the electorates had been touched unless the Government gave them additional members, and then they had been divided; but only for the purpose of giving additional representation, and to make that additional representation fair, just, and equitable, had electorates been divided. The details of the Bill, he was not, perhaps, so well up in as he ought to be when addressing the House; but really business was so pressing that one was not able to give all questions that amount of attention which they deserved. He thought the main principle of the Bill was a fair one, essentially; and he was sure it was intended to be nothing else. If passed, he was sure it would be better than the existing arrangement, and it would put the House in a far better position than they were in at present, to make a total redistribution, whether it should be upon the American system, or Hare's system, or any other. He found that the honorable member for Fortitude Valley never touched Ipswich or West Moreton by his own Bill.

MR. LILLEY: Hear, hear.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: Therefore, he could not understand the arguments that seemed to be founded, in the House and elsewhere, upon the fact that the Government had not touched those electorates. They had not touched any electorate only where they added members. They had not touched to take away, only to add. In regard to a population basis, he was inclined to think that the basis adopted by the Government was a fairer one. That basis was the same on which manhood suffrage was founded. Only men were allowed to vote—adult males. Could any system be fair which allowed any other element except that which returned

members to the Assembly to enter into their calculation? The circumstances of the country, the circumstances of the property, might alter. But the fact was, the House could not lay down a hard and fast line, a basis which must be adhered to in all particulars. Take England, for instance. On the population basis, London would return one-seventh of the members of the House of Commons. Honorable members must adapt themselves to circumstances; they must respect existing rights, under the present electoral system, and do the best they could until the whole affair could be remodelled, which he hoped to see done, and on a philosophical system. With regard to what had been said of a population basis, in times of invasion or extra pressure, as bearing the burden, he (the Secretary for Lands) thought the men of the community bore the burden, not only because they were always the bread-winners, but because they found the money to pay the soldiers; and they were also the persons who fought and who acted, under our present system: therefore, he thought the manhood basis was the correct basis of representation. Therefore, he thought the basis on which the Bill was founded, would be found to be the best, if fairly and candidly considered. It had been said that Blackall was carved out of Rockhampton. If he was correctly informed, Blackall was on the opposite side of the river; certainly, it was a suburban locality, and had different and distinct interests from Rockhampton. The residents wanted a racecourse of their own, a public garden of their own, a water reserve of their own; they did not consider themselves as belonging to Rockhampton at all; they called their locality "Moore's Creek."

Mr. FYLE: They wanted a bridge.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: The remark had been made by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, that the Government proposed to add to Clermont, which was a decreasing district. Well, in spite of the census, and of other apparently adverse facts, that was an increasing district; it was an enormous district, and the greatest wealth-producing district, perhaps, in the colony. The fact of the matter was, that, in 1868, there was a rush to the gold field, and that was what gave a large population to the district. Now, the mining population was permanent, and increasing year by year; the copper mining interest had raised a town there; and it was a place of the utmost importance, from its wealth-producing character, and it was not possible to say what its future would be. He did not know that he had any further remarks to make. He did not think honorable members were all bound to make long speeches; though, perhaps, he had not spoken at such length as he might speak upon the various bearings of a measure like the Bill under consideration. He thought honorable members for East Moreton would see there was nothing wrong in the subdivision

that had been made. They would still represent East Moreton; while Logan, on the south, would return one member, and Caboolture, on the north, would return one member, and both very proper men, no doubt. He thought that Kennedy would be perfectly satisfied; all its interests would be thoroughly represented. Wide Bay had been cut up in a very fair manner; there could be no dispute about that. The diggers would return their man, and the agriculturists would return theirs. Everything would be in the proper position, if honorable members took it in the right way. Why a thing which was right in its details could be wrong in the whole, he failed to find out. If honorable members could point out anything wrong in the Bill, the Government would give it their best attention; if they could shew anything unfair, the Government would be convinced. He must say that it was the fairest Bill which was ever introduced to the Assembly, and far better than the measure which was brought before the House in 1868-9; and they had a far better chance of passing it than ever before. If honorable members of the Opposition would not view it in a narrow spirit, so far as political considerations were concerned, they would gain a great advantage by the Bill passing in its present shape.

Mr. KING observed that if the Premier had introduced the Bill with rather better temper than he had displayed, one might have said that having so lame a case he was compelled to condemn his measure out of his own mouth. Upon the honorable gentleman's own shewing, the Bill was one-sided and partial. But he had resorted to his old-fashioned policy of abusing his opponents, or, rather, he had accused them of abusing him and his measure, before a word had been spoken on the Opposition side. However, he (Mr. King) hoped the attempt to create a noisy and unseemly altercation between the two sides of the House would fail, and that the Bill would be discussed with the moderation and good temper shewn by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley. In introducing a Bill of this kind, the only question was—What was the basis on which the Bill was framed? There must be some basis, either nominal or real. The nominal basis, which the Colonial Secretary informed the House was the basis of the Bill, was the adult male population. Before he (Mr. King) went into the question whether that was the proper basis or not on which the representation of the colony should be adjusted, he wished to examine the Bill, to see how far it was correctly and properly founded on that basis. He found, on looking down the return which had been supplied to honorable members, that there were thirty-three electorates, of which twenty would return supporters of the present Ministry, and that of those twenty thirteen would not return representatives upon the adult male population basis: they had more representation than they were entitled to. Of

the remaining thirteen which returned Opposition members, there were only two which would be at all over-represented on that basis which the honorable member at the head of the Government had himself adopted. If he went to population, he found that sixteen Ministerial electorates were over-represented, whilst only one of the Opposition electorates was at all over-represented; and those Ministerial electorates which were not over-represented ran as close to the mark as they could go. For instance, Northern Downs was made out as entitled to exactly one member, on the adult male basis. On the other hand, Gympie was entitled to one member and one-ninth; yet it received only one member. In the Ministerial electorates it would be found that the population was brought down as nearly as possible to the mark; but Government never allowed a few hundreds over what were required to qualify a district for a member. In thirteen electorates out of their whole number, the adult males were not sufficient, according to the Government's own basis, to entitle them to a member. He had taken the trouble to calculate the number of the population that were to return forty-three members to the Assembly. The population numbered 120,076; and he found that there were 2,792 people to each member, or, deducting Polynesians, Chinese, prisoners, &c., 2,636 whites. There was one point in connection with that subject which should be taken into consideration, before the system of representation upon an adult male basis was inaugurated. The census was taken at a time when the shearing was in progress.—

Mr. DE SATGE: Through, then.

Mr. KING: Not on Darling Downs. He believed that there were then over one thousand men, at the very least, from East and West Moreton on the Darling Downs. If those men could be counted for the purposes of representation in the districts where they were only temporarily employed, surely the families they left behind them should be counted in the districts in which they resided. The House must recollect that those men so employed in Northern and Western Downs, could not, in any circumstances, be electors under the present system; though they had been enumerated, there, they were only there for a few months in the year. If the squatters took advantage of their being on their stations on the 1st of September, when the census was taken, the Opposition might very fairly ask that the whole population of the colony should be the basis of representation under the new Bill. He saw in a Toowoomba paper, that at the time the census was taken, seventy-five shearers were employed on the floor of the woolshed at Jimbour, the station of the honorable the Colonial Treasurer; and, if there were that number of shearers, there were twenty-five washers; so that there must have been a hundred men on that one station added to the population

of Northern Downs. But the Opposition would make the squatters a present of all the station hands, if they would in return make the concession to the Opposition of counting the families of those men in the surrounding agricultural districts. As had been remarked by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, it was by the population of the colony that taxation was borne; and it was always considered that every person who was taxed was worthy of, and entitled to, representation in some shape or other in the Assembly. One objection which had been made by the Minister for Lands was to allotting the additional members to the districts as they stood, instead of subdividing them, as proposed by the Government—and it deserved some attention. It appeared that one member of the Ministry, who was known to have a dislike to the wandering digger, had influenced his colleagues, and infected them with his sentiments; for the honorable gentleman who last addressed the House and the Premier had no objection to the majority ruling in any electoral district of the colony, except the majority were wandering diggers.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: He never said so.

Mr. KING: The objection of the honorable gentleman was to be inferred from his argument, when he referred to the Kennedy.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: He had made a supposititious case, so that he would not be responsible for any odium in the matter.

Mr. KING: Well, the table which had been laid before the House with the Bill, shewed that there was such an objection to the wandering digger; because, in the Kennedy district, which included nearly the whole gold fields in the North, the adult male population were 2,780, who had to return one member; and the new district called Normanby had an adult population of 494, who were to return one member to counterbalance the one returned by 2,780 wandering diggers. Honorable members knew "it took nine tailors to make a man"; but he never knew before that it took six diggers to equal one sugar planter. It appeared that such was the conclusion the Ministry had come to. The first principle upon which the Government should have acted in introducing their Bill was to redress some of the anomalies at present existing in the representation of the country. There were honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House who did not represent as many hundreds of electors as honorable members on the Opposition represented thousands. It ought to have been the wish of the Government to redress those inequalities, at all events, and, to bring the representation of the country to as near an equality as possible. But he did not find that any such attempt was made. He found the Mitchell, with a population of 692 people, had still to return one member on the Government side; Warrego, with a popu-

lation of 943, had still to return another Ministerial supporter. There were new constituencies manufactured almost as bad as those:—Balonne, with 1,240 people, was to return a member; Normanby, with 1,568 inhabitants, was to return another member; Peak Downs, with a population of 1,569, was to return a member; Blackall, carved out of Rockhampton, with a population of 3,817, was to return a member; Mulgrave, with 1,321, was to return another. In fact, he found that there were enough constituencies having a population under 1,500 to give a majority to the Government. The Ministry only required Ipswich and West Moreton, and the constituencies with a population under 1,500, and they had a majority in the House. Now, he did not think the Ministry could have introduced the Bill with any intention of passing it. The honorable member at the head of the Government had made up his mind to come to a compromise, and he asked for a great deal more than he wanted in order that he might have the credit for giving away a great deal. It was perfectly impossible that any man, not a squatter, not deriving pecuniary benefit from the pastoral interest, not being a lessee of Crown lands, not expecting to have his rent reduced or his lease extended, any man being sane, could be content to allow the Bill to pass. It would leave the present electorates which returned the Ministerial supporters to return them in a bunch, and enable the Government to keep their present compact majority, while those electorates which returned members of the Opposition were cut up, and the agricultural population were detached and divided, and two or three outside districts were manufactured out of the fragments of electorates with populations of 1,000 or 1,500, to return supporters of the Ministry. He would ask any honorable gentleman who should follow him, why Burnett, with a population of 3,445, was allowed to return two members, and the district of Wide Bay, with a population considerably over double that number, was to be allowed only two members? And, he should like to know, if Burnett returned two members in a bunch, why Wide Bay should not return two in a bunch? The honorable the Secretary for Public Lands objected to suburban electorates returning additional members for country districts. What business was it of his, or of anybody else, if the majority of the electors returned the member, where that majority lived? They were the owners of the property in the district, they were qualified as voters of the district, they were most interested in it; and what did it matter to anybody else where they resided?

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS: His objection was not to their returning one member, but to their returning three members.

Mr. KING: The honorable gentleman had no objection to West Moreton returning three members; but he considered it an unheard-of

crime that Wide Bay should return two. The constitution would be in danger, if the diggers of Wide Bay should have the same privileges as the people of West Moreton! It might be owing to his own stupidity, or, perhaps, he was dull of comprehension, but he could not conceive why West Moreton should return three members in a bunch, and East Moreton be cut up and not return its members in a bunch; nor why the same distinction should be made between Burnett and Wide Bay. Why should Ipswich, with a population of 4,821, return three members, and remain undisturbed, while Maryborough, with a population of 3,642, returned only one member? He should like that clearly explained to him and the House. It could not be said that the agricultural constituency over-rode Ipswich; or that the population of that town over-rode the agricultural population of West Moreton. Yet the greatest harm would be done if Rockhampton, with a population far larger than Ipswich, should be allowed to return a second member! He hoped that the reasons for that marked difference would be explained, so that, if honorable members should gain nothing else in this debate, they would at least gain a little knowledge, and grow wiser as they grew older. There was another question connected with the great objection urged against the diggers by the Premier and the Minister for Lands. The first-named of those honorable gentlemen had acknowledged that it might appear that Kennedy was treated unfairly in the Bill, and he then said that the majority of the population were diggers—

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Migratory.

Mr. KING: That they were migratory; and, therefore, that they should not receive the same share of representation as other classes of the population. But there was another class equally migratory, and why was not the same objection made to them? If the diggers were not to be represented because they were migratory, why should the honorable member for Northern Downs wish to represent the shearers on the floor of his woolshed? Were they not migratory? Again, in the outside districts, honorable members knew that the shepherds and stockmen were more than migratory—that they were a class that was dying out—they were being gradually exterminated by the wire fencing of the squatters. And, although they were aware of that, and knew that within the next ten years there would be a still larger decrease in that class, yet additional representation was demanded for them. Those constituencies which comprised the diggers were not, however, to have the same privilege, because the diggers were migratory! If the diggers deserted their claims and went off to new rushes, others would take their places. Gold mining in Queensland would be a more permanent industry than it was in any of the other colonies. There were no rushes here, to

speaking of; and the alluvial diggings were of small extent;—quartz reefs afforded a permanent industry which attracted a settled population to the gold fields. That was proved in the case of Gympie, which afforded a very good illustration for the colony at large. At the time the census was taken, in 1868, the Gympie rush was at its height. When the census was taken, this year, it was thought that there would be a very large decrease of the population of that gold field; but it turned out that the diggers of Wide Bay were only forty-three below the number of the former census. And, at the time the late census was taken, there was a rush to Gulgong, and over 500 diggers had departed from Gympie for that gold field in the neighboring colony. There was no probability of the population on any northern gold field decreasing below their present figure. The basis on which the Bill was founded was a very fanciful and illusive one; so much so that he did not know what arguments to use against it. It was curious that the honorable the Colonial Secretary objected to the population basis as the basis of the Bill, and yet the measure was partially based upon a prospective future population in some of the electorates. The House were told that they could not ask for representation upon the present population basis, and they were also told that provision must be made for giving representation to electorates in the Bill because their population was likely to increase. It was almost impossible to debate such a measure seriously. They were first told that the adult male population returned under the census were taken into consideration; but on looking at the Bill they found that that was not the case; and they also found that the Bill was framed in a fanciful manner to suit the tastes of honorable members on the Government side, and to provide for a prospective increase of population. How were they to argue on a question of that kind? It was impossible to prove that the population of those places would not increase as it was to prove that they would increase. It was attempted to be proved that the population at present in the colony were not entitled to representation, although the future population were entitled to representation now. The only way of settling the question was to allow honorable members to have imaginary members in the House for an imaginary population; and if that gave the Government any satisfaction, he would not deprive them of it. But the Opposition objected to granting real live members for unreal constituents. The honorable the Secretary for Public Lands had spoken of the Bill as a fair measure, and it struck him (Mr. King) that the expression was very peculiar as used by that honorable member, when he considered the basis on which the Bill was supposed to be framed. On looking at the schedule, he found that Ipswich was entitled, upon the basis

which the Government had adopted, to one and one-tenth of a member; yet Ipswich had three members. Gympie got one member, and was entitled to one and nine-tenths; and Maryborough had one member and was entitled to nine-tenths. They were all on the same basis, and the Bill was a fair Bill! Now, he thought the Minister for Lands should not have said the Bill was a fair measure; he might better have said anything else he liked about it. Every attempt had been made to gloss over the inequalities of the measure—to persuade people to look at some fanciful basis, and to accept an unfair system of representation. There was no room to talk of fairness in the Bill at all. Kennedy was entitled to three members and two-tenths, and got one member. He (Mr. King) put Kennedy against Ipswich, and he supposed they were considered to balance each other. If the honorable member for Kennedy and the three members for Ipswich sat on the same side of the House, they would balance one another. There had been something said about "give and take"; but honorable members on the Government side wished to take everything, and to give nothing. Everything about the Bill was one-sided. The redistribution was one-sided, namely in the electorates of the Opposition. Brisbane was entitled to two members and two-tenths, and got three members; South-Brisbane got one member and was entitled to only three-tenths of a member. Those were the only electorates which returned members to the Opposition, and which were over-represented. On the Government side, there were thirteen electorates entitled to five-tenths, six-tenths, seven-tenths, eight-tenths, and nine-tenths of a member, and so on, which would all return members to the House, and which would be over-represented on the basis of the return in the hands of honorable members; while, on the other hand, the majority of the Opposition electorates were under-represented. If both sides of the House were to give and take, it must be a real give and take; there must be mutual concessions. The Opposition were perfectly willing to set the honorable member for South Brisbane against the honorable member for Mitchell. They did not wish to object to West Moreton and Ipswich, because, if the former got an additional member Ipswich must lose one; and the total of six members for both electorates would come to the same thing as at present. But, they claimed to have their own members returned in the same way, in bunches; they claimed the same for East Moreton as was allowed to West Moreton. By referring to the map, it would be found that, within a few miles, East Moreton and West Moreton were the same extent. Yet East Moreton was cut up into three parts, while West Moreton was intact. In the same way, Burnett was in one; while Wide Bay was cut up. Yet Burnett, lying to the westward of Wide Bay, extended the same distance north and south. The House

ought to know why those differences were made;—what was their object? The settlement under the Bill was fanciful. The Government might bamboozle the public, but they could not hoodwink the House. They were not actuated by any principle in the framing of the Bill. All they wanted was to hold their places on the Government benches, to return their supporters, and to be maintained in their places by a packed phalanx ever ready to do their bidding. Honorable members knew that at the last election for West Moreton, Mr. O'Sullivan polled six hundred votes; yet that large minority were treated with no consideration whatever. Mulgrave was to be taken out of Wide Bay, with a population of 1,321, or 556 adult males, who were to return one member. Yet that large number of persons who voted for Mr. O'Sullivan were to be disregarded, and West Moreton was not to be cut up to enable them to return their member. Mulgrave was taken out of Wide Bay in order that the vote of the member for that constituency might be neutralised by a member returned by a thinly populated portion of the district in the interest of the Government. It would be more manly if the Government said, "We have a majority on our side, and we don't intend to pass an Additional Members Bill, unless we can return members for this side." The House knew very well that that was the feeling of the Government. The Government, he maintained, had failed to deceive either the Opposition or the country as to their motives for this partial redistribution. They proposed, by this Bill, to cut up the electorates that were represented by honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, and to keep the electorates that were represented by honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House intact, in order to secure the return of their supporters in a bunch. It would be far better for the Government to let their conduct in that respect pass without saying a word about it, than to attempt to excuse themselves for such an exclusive and unjust redistribution. But he would go further than that, and say, that if the Government attempted to stick to their redistribution, they would make it apparent to the country that they did not intend to pass an Additional Members Bill; and if they persisted in the redistribution they proposed by this Bill, it would also be evident that it could only be with the purpose of securing the rejection of the Bill; and, not venturing to meet the popular demand for additional members with a direct negative, they, in order to get the Bill thrown out, had recourse to the dodge of inserting conditions which they well knew that neither the Opposition or the country could accept. The honorable Colonial Secretary spoke of two Bills for an increase of members, which he had previously introduced; but he omitted to mention one that was introduced by the Government of which he was a member, in

1868. He (Mr. King) was not sure if it was introduced or not; but he believed it was the Colonial Secretary's own Bill. On referring to the Bill that was, at any rate, prepared in 1868, he found it was proposed by it that the electoral district of East Moreton should have four members—and there was nothing said in it with regard to the division of the district. By that Bill, also, the Wide Bay district was to have two members, the Kennedy district two members, and Rockhampton three members. But it was not proposed by the Bill that any of the electorates should be divided. Now, if Rockhampton was considered then to be worthy of three members, why was it considered now, when it had a larger population than in 1868, to be worthy of only one member, whose vote also would be neutralised by that of the member for the new electorate to be formed, partly, by the small portion proposed to be cut off from the present electorate of Rockhampton. If the Ministry really desired to pass an Additional Members Bill, the Opposition would be prepared to give and take with them; but the giving must not be all on the one side, and the taking all on the other. Now, when the Government had the Mitchell, with a population of 692 inhabitants; the Warrego, with 943; Ipswich with a population of 4,800, returning three members; the Leichhardt, with a population of 3,800, returning two members; the Burnett, with a population of 3,400 returning two members; and the Western Downs, with a population of 3,100, returning two members, they must be prepared, in order to balance the great advantage they at present had, to make some allowance to the Opposition. There were eleven members on the Government side of the House at the present time, which represented very small constituencies—representing constituencies that were not fully entitled to the amount of representation they at present possessed. Those eleven members—if representation were equalised, and if they had representation according to the proportion of the numbers represented by the Opposition—would be in a minority. Now, if, taking such a basis, the districts which he had mentioned were over-represented, the honorable members representing them must be prepared to make some concession to the Opposition side of the House. Those honorable members must allow that every one of the electorates they represented were over-represented. An honorable member on the Government side of the House had remarked, that South Brisbane was over-represented in having one member to a population of only 1,100; and what, he would ask, had that honorable member then to say with respect to the Mitchell and the Warrego? In dealing with this question, it was important that the basis on which representation was to be established should be clearly laid down, not only that the House might be able to deal fairly now with the question, but that in future there might be no

difficulty in the way of extending representation to any district, which, by increase of population, came to be entitled to increased representation; because there could be no doubt that population would increase in almost every district more or less rapidly, and therefore, in the course of time, a demand would necessarily arise for increased representation. He therefore maintained that, in dealing with the question of additional representation, they should lay down a basis, according to which the representation of the several electorates might, in future, be readily adjusted. It would be of great advantage if they had an established basis laid down now, so that any town or district having a claim for additional representation, in consequence of increase of population, might, on shewing that it had a well-founded claim for another member, obtain justice at once. If the basis of the Bill before the House was that of population, he did not see why it should not contain a self-adjusting clause. There should be a certain population required to entitle a town or district to have one member, and a certain increase of population to entitle it to additional representation. When a necessity for an increase of representation was considered to have arisen for any electorate on account of an increase of population, a writ should at once be issued by the Governor, on sufficient proof being afforded that such electorate was entitled to another member. If a basis of that kind was laid down now, it would, in future, prevent such a dead-lock as was now likely to occur. There was an observation made by the honorable the Secretary for Lands, of which he felt he must take notice. That honorable gentleman said, that in 1868 a rush took place to the Peak Downs, and he said that that was the reason of the apparent increase of the population in that electorate, as shewn by the present census. But the honorable gentleman, when he said so, must have been laboring under a confusion of ideas. The fact was, that in 1867 and 1868 there was a rush from the Peak Downs to Gympie, and afterwards to the Cape River; so that the rush was from the electorate of Clermont instead of to it. It was, therefore, afterwards—when the people returned from the Cape River that the population ought to have shewn an increase and not a decrease. That there was a decrease now he freely admitted; but it was not owing to the mining portion of the community, especially the copper miners, having left the district. On the contrary, the decrease was owing to the action of the squatting portion of the community. It was owing to the squatters having fenced in their runs, and rendering it thereby unnecessary for them to employ so many people on their stations as formerly. From the same cause a decrease of population would take place in all the squatting electorates, but it was not likely there would be much more decrease in that way again in the Clermont district, as the runs in

that district were nearly all fenced in. The increase in the mining portions of the district, however, would probably be very great. The Minister for Lands also stated that no portion of one district was thrown into another, except where it was found necessary to make a new district. Now, there were several instances in which a portion had been taken from one district and joined to another, where there was no necessity for that being done, and where a new district had not been created. In those cases there had only been a new arrangement of boundaries. Take Drayton and Toowoomba, for instance. That electorate had a population of 7,000, which was sufficient for two electorates, if the district had merely been cut in two. But the Government, by this Bill, proposed to take a small piece off the Western Downs, and throw it into Drayton, which was quite unnecessary, because Drayton, though separated from Toowoomba, had a population sufficient to entitle it to one member without any addition from the Western Downs. According to the proposed arrangement, the Western Downs, which now returned two members, would, with a population reduced to 2,700, still continue to return two members. There was no necessity for cutting off a portion of it with any view to the equalization of representation, for, with a population of 3,100, it was, at present, comparatively over represented by having two members. By cutting off a portion of the Western Downs, and adding it to Drayton, the Western Downs district, in its reduced extent, would have a smaller population than the district as it was at present. Again, there was a small portion cut off the Leichhardt, and joined to Port Curtis; and a portion of the Port Curtis district was cut off, and joined to the Leichhardt district. He could not see there was any necessity for that; but the alterations would cause considerable confusion as to boundaries. At the Peak Downs, a new electorate was proposed to be manufactured out of portions of three old electorates—Clermont, Port Curtis, and the Leichhardt. At the present time, the Leichhardt, which returned two members, had a population of 3,800, which gave 1,900 to each member; but on the portion, as proposed, being taken from the Leichhardt, that district would be left with a total population of only 2,775, or 1,387 to each member. A schedule had been distributed during the earlier part of the evening, shewing the proportion of adult males to the total number of persons in each of the proposed electoral divisions of the colony. Looking at this schedule as the basis that had been laid down by the honorable the Colonial Secretary for the Bill before the House, it appeared that the electoral district of Clermont, reduced as proposed, would have only eight-tenths of the population required to entitle it to even one member. What object then could there be in taking a portion out of that electorate,

which, by its present population, was entitled to only one member, if it was not to try and knock up a cockatoo electorate, and obtain, through it, another Ministerial supporter? By the redistribution of the Leichhardt, the Clermont, and the Peak Downs, two of the electorates would not be entitled to the amount of representation they would get. The only thing he had to say, in conclusion, was, that by the conduct of the Government it would be seen whether, in the framing of this Bill, they had sought to legislate for the colony as a whole, or for a class, or for particular districts. For his own part, he must say, that it did not appear to him that the interests of the colony, as a whole, had been taken into consideration in the framing of this Bill; but that, in the framing of it, the first consideration was to secure that the electorates of Ipswich and West Moreton should not be disturbed. It was not the good of the colony that was uppermost in the mind of the honorable the Colonial Secretary when he framed the Bill, but the feeling that his supporters must be conciliated; and it yet remained to be seen how far honorable members would be disposed to support him. The measure before the House was one which he held ought not to be dealt with in a party spirit; but while he said so, he would go farther and say, that much less should it be dealt with in a class spirit. It ought not to be dealt with by representatives who regarded themselves as delegates, and who were prepared to vote and act as delegates—who represented only a small portion of the colony—who represented the interests of only a small portion of the community, and not the interests of the colony at large. In dealing with a question of such importance, he maintained that every honorable member should give his voice and vote for the good of the colony at large, and not for any particular district, or any particular interest only. While any honorable member might consider the wants of his own district, he would not be justified in giving a vote that would be injurious to the rest of the colony, because he might consider that his own district was unduly favored; and far less would honorable members be justified in giving their support to this Bill, because it gave a preponderance of power to a particular class. He did not think that this Bill had been framed for the good of the country; nor did he think that honorable members of the Government or their supporters would attempt to shew that it had been framed for the good of the country. Now, if they were not prepared and able to shew that such was the case, let the Bill be withdrawn. If the Government would consent to withdraw the redistribution portions of the Bill, and let the representation of the several districts be equalised on the population basis, the Opposition would be prepared to meet them fairly, discuss the alterations calmly, and agree to an equitable adjustment of representation—

mutual concessions being made for both sides, but not for one side only: so that districts that were under-represented would not be found to be those only that were represented by honorable members on one side of the House; and those that were over-represented, those only that were represented by honorable members on the other side of the House. It would not be right or just that the populous districts should be under-represented, and that less populous districts should be over-represented. They should not have a different basis of representation for the one from what they had for the other. They should not have two bases—one by which the populous districts would be under-represented, and another by which the less populous districts would be over-represented. He thought it could not be disguised that it was intended by this Bill to establish a party, and to consolidate their power and to render it permanent; and so prevent the people of Queensland from ever being able to throw off the yoke of the squatters; and, if that was its purpose, the Opposition, he thought, would be fully justified in resorting to any measures whatever to obstruct the passage of the Bill.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that when the honorable member who had just sat down was referring to the Bill of 1868, he did not like to interrupt him with an explanation. He did not know where the honorable member got the Bill he had produced. He (the Colonial Secretary) was not the author of the Bill, and in fact he had never seen it. The Bill was one that was never laid on the table of the House; and it never even passed the Cabinet. He did not know where the honorable member got the paper he had; but he believed it was brought out of the Treasury offices, by a gentleman who produced it a few nights ago, along with other papers which he ought not to have produced. For his own part, he never saw the Bill, and knew nothing of it. Any Bill of the sort that had been prepared in 1868, must have been prepared by Sir Robert Mackenzie himself.

Mr. ATKIN said that a copy of the Bill was given to him about two or three years ago, and he had understood that it was the intention of the Mackenzie Government to have brought it forward.

The Hon. R. PRING said that he was a member of the Mackenzie Ministry in 1868, and he had some recollection of the Bill. The honorable member for Wide Bay was altogether wrong in saying that the Bill was prepared by the honorable the Colonial Secretary, who held that office in the Mackenzie Government. He believed that the Bill was prepared by Sir Robert Mackenzie himself, and that the honorable the Colonial Secretary had nothing to do with it. So far as his recollection served him, the Bill passed the Cabinet—but he was not quite sure of that.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that two Bills of the kind were prepared by Sir

Robert Mackenzie, but neither of them passed the Cabinet.

The Hon. R. PRING: He found that the honorable the Colonial Secretary was quite right. The Bill referred to by the honorable member for Wide Bay was prepared by Sir Robert Mackenzie, but it did not pass the Cabinet.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS said that if the question of additional representation was to be met by the factious spirit shewn by the honorable member for Wide Bay, it would not be possible to pass any proper or satisfactory measure on the subject for several years to come. That honorable member, instead of following the example of those honorable members who had preceded him, in not throwing out charges against any class, had done all he could to separate honorable members on both sides of the House from each other. The honorable member, he maintained, did not care for an Additional Representation Bill, or any other measure that might be for the good of the colony, any more than the Man in the Moon did—if there was such an individual. All the honorable member seemed to care for was to stir up rancour, keep parties in the House as far asunder as possible, and impede legislation. No doubt the honorable member hoped that by such means he would get all the discredit of delay in the business of the country cast upon the Government; and that he would be able to bring the Government into such a position that it would be necessary for them to give way, and allow the honorable member and others to take their places on the Government benches. The object of the honorable member was, that the Government of the day, by his scheming and devices, and his writing in the papers, and making false representations to the people at a distance, might get the discredit of no legislation being carried on, when it was the honorable member himself and others who prevented legislation for the benefit of the country being proceeded with. Now what were they to understand from all that had been said by the honorable member? Had the honorable member suggested any reasonable or satisfactory solution of this question? Had he proposed anything that either party in the House or the Government could accept? No. The honorable member had not done so. All that he had done was to accuse the Government of having been animated by the falsest intentions in the framing of this Bill, and that their object was to deceive the people. That was all that the honorable member had attempted to do; and throughout the whole of his speech, he attempted to undo the very excellent effect that was produced by the speech of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley. The whole of the honorable member's speech came to saying—"This will not do for me, for it will not result in landing me in office or in confusing public affairs." The honorable

member for Wide Bay could not afford to follow the example of the leader of the Opposition, the honorable member for Fortitude Valley. It would not suit the honorable member to do so, for he must kick up a row. Instead of using arguments against the Bill he had only made assertions, which he thought might likely lead to confusion, and furnish an opportunity for him to shift his seat from the Opposition to the Ministerial side of the House. Now he (the Secretary for Public Works) most strongly deprecated such conduct, and protested against such a practice, in dealing with the legislation of the colony, being carried on any longer. He thought he might safely say that there was a large proportion of honorable members in the House, as well as a large proportion of the inhabitants of the colony, who went with the Government in respect to this Bill. Year after year, ever since he had been a member of the House, there had been a desire expressed for additional representation; but although several measures had been brought in, none of them had been carried. Now, he believed that there never had been a Government in this colony so much in earnest as the present Government was, to provide additional representation; and so desirous of securing a fair representation of the whole of the people of the colony, or was more actuated by a singleness of purpose to do so; and he would appeal to the measure now before the House in proof of what he said. But all that would not suit some honorable members opposite. Now he was sure that this Bill, if it were passed, would redound to the credit of the Government, and would be of great benefit to the colony; but even that would not suit some honorable members opposite. In dealing with a measure that was calculated to be for the good of the country, honorable members like the honorable member for Wide Bay threw aside every consideration as to the good of the country, and endeavored to excite a factious spirit, and pursue a course altogether opposed to the excellent example shewn by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley. If such a course was adopted more generally, and were persisted in, no matter what party might be on the Government side of the House, or what party on the Opposition side, an end would be put to all legislation. The people would get none of their wrongs righted, and none of their grievances redressed if such a system was to be carried on; and he would charge the honorable member for Wide Bay, and others who were similarly animated, with positively injuring the country by preventing the business of Parliament from being carried on; and that solely for party and personal reasons. He would now apply himself in a few words to the Bill itself. He had said already that ever since he had a seat in the House they had had Governments that had professed great anxiety, and Oppositions that had professed great anxiety, for an increased

representation Bill; and when honorable members were in a particularly patriotic mood, and were appealing to their constituencies, they talked very warmly about the necessity for increasing the representation of the people. Now he had, year after year, seen measures brought into the House professedly for the purpose of increasing the number of members; and he had seen some such measures on the subject that were neither more nor less than shams. He was justified so far in saying that by the circumstance that it had never been his fortune to see one of those measures passed into law. Now, as to the Bill before the House, he would venture to say that, in the experience of almost every honorable member, as it had been in his own experience, the opinion generally expressed respecting it outside the House, except where it was canvassed in a party spirit, was, that it was one of the fairest measures for additional representation that had ever been introduced into the Assembly. It was, he maintained, a measure against which no one could complain on the ground of fairness; and no one could complain against it except those who felt that if it were passed, the party to which they belonged would be weakened. The honorable member for Fortitude Valley had said that the Bill was to some extent a Redistribution Bill, and argued that the question of redistribution should not be dealt with by the House as at present constituted; and that the number of members should be increased before they dealt with that question. Now, that argument he considered was very ably met by the honorable the Secretary for Lands when he shewed that the object of altering the Constitution Act by doing away with the two-thirds clause was to enable a Redistribution Bill to be brought in, because no Redistribution Bill could be passed until the two-thirds clause of the Constitution Act was repealed. That clause was repealed by a Bill that was brought in by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley himself; and the object of the honorable member in having the clause repealed was that he might get a Redistribution Bill passed. He understood the honorable member to say that at present they ought to have a Bill only for increasing the number of the members of the House, and that as this Bill partook of a redistribution character, he objected to it. The honorable member had the two-thirds clause removed from the Constitution Act because he wanted to bring in a comparative Redistribution Bill; but, because this Bill required that there should be a slight alteration made in certain electorates, the honorable member objected to it. The honorable member also objected to the Bill because it proceeded upon a male adult population basis, instead of a general population basis, by which the honorable member maintained the intelligence of the country would be represented. Now, he (Mr. Walsh) maintained that it was in accordance

with reason, and facts, and with the statistical information they possessed, that it was through the male adult population only that the intellect of the country was represented. Surely the honorable member did not mean to say that it was to the women and children of the colony they were to look for the intellect of the colony. On referring to statistical information, he found that a large proportion of the population of Brisbane was under age; and surely the honorable member for Fortitude Valley did not mean to say that it was with them there was to be found the intellect of the city of Brisbane? He surely did not mean to say that they were to go to the National schools and to the Grammar schools, and ask the pupils attending them who they would have to represent the city in the Legislative Assembly? He was sure the honorable member would not do anything so foolish; but that, on the contrary, he would go to the male adults of the population, and not to women and children. The honorable member would of course go to the male adults, and consult with the shopmen he met in the street, and with men engaged in every branch of business with whom he came in contact, as to whom they would have to represent them in Parliament, or as to what sort of a measure they ought to have in respect to any particular question that might at the time be engaging public attention. The honorable member was an able man, an able politician, and an able constitutional lawyer; and did he mean to say that he would advocate that eleven additional members should be brought into the House on a different basis from that on which the thirty-two who were at present in it were elected? If eleven additional members, returned on a general population basis—a different basis from that on which the thirty-two members now in the House were returned—were brought into the House, they might turn round on the thirty-two members now in the House, as the elected members in the old Legislative Council of New South Wales—before there were two Houses—did upon the nominee members—and say to the thirty-two members that they did not represent the country, but that they—the eleven members—were the only members who did fully represent the country. In other words, did the honorable member mean to fill the chamber with two different classes of representatives? Now, by the constitution of the colony, male adults only could be taken into consideration; for the Constitution Act provided only for the representation of the male adult population of the colony.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: No, no.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: Well, the honorable member denied it, but still there was the fact that such was the case; and there was, also, the Constitution Act to guide them. If honorable members on the Opposition side of the House really wanted the House to be placed on a popula-

tion basis, they ought to bring in a Bill for the amendment of the Constitution Act in the first instance; and till they did that, it could only be for party purposes, he presumed, that they could, upon any other basis than that on which the constitution rested, bring in additional members. Now, if they were to have a general population basis of representation, every man, woman, and child in the colony must have a vote under it; and was it to be said that they were to introduce here new members, who were to be elected on the principle of the representation of the men, women, and children of the colony? Such an argument, he maintained, was altogether absurd. They were told, last session, and they were also told this session, that no great measures would be allowed to pass, and no business to be done, until certain portions of the colony that were not now represented, were represented in the House. Now, that was the guide which the Government had taken for the preparation of this measure. The Government maintained that the south-eastern portion of East Moreton was not adequately represented in the House at the present moment; and they also said that two important classes of the electors of the Wide Bay district were not adequately represented here at all. It had been represented, also, that the farmers in the Wide Bay district had been disfranchised by Gympie, that the squatters had been disfranchised by Gympie, and that the inhabitants about Bundaberg had been disfranchised by Gympie. Now, in order to remedy all that, the Government proposed to give Gympie a representative for itself; that the squatters of the Wide Bay district should have a representative for themselves, so that they might not be overborne by the electors of Gympie and Maryborough. Then again, they proposed to give to the farmers of the flourishing district of Bundaberg a separate member. Now, was that not justice? Was that not carrying out the demands of honorable members opposite? Honorable members opposite demanded that certain persons that were not represented now should be represented; and, he maintained that there could be no better example afforded of the desire of the Government that such should be the case, than was afforded by the Bill before the House. Now, let them look at the Kennedy district; and he would ask if all the several interests in that district were adequately represented? It was impossible, he maintained, that the present members could properly represent the various interests of the district. The preponderance of voting power was with the diggers, and they were thereby enabled to return their men. The preponderance of the votes given for the Kennedy district were given at Ravenswood—

HONORABLE MEMBERS: No, no!

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: Well, he might be wrong, as he spoke from recollection; but of this he was sure, that several

gentlemen in the district of Ravenswood had told him that they were swamped by the diggers, and they demanded that, in any Bill that might be brought in, they should be freed from the overwhelming influence of the digging community. Now, he would say, let the diggers—whose interest seemed to be wrapped up in themselves—be fairly represented—as the present Government proposed they should be; but do not let them, if their interests were not identical—or if others thought that the interests of the diggers were not identical—with the interests of others of the community of the district—do not let them swamp the rest of the electors of Mackay, and Cardwell, and other portions of the district. That was the view the Government took of the matter; and so they proposed to give the diggers a member to themselves, the agriculturists a member to themselves, and the other electors in Cardwell—merchants and others—a member to themselves. Now that was an arrangement that was exactly in accordance with the demands of honorable members opposite. The districts of the Logan and of the Mooloolah, in the East Moreton district, would not be improved in the matter of representation in the House, by the addition simply of two new members to the East Moreton electorate. Why, the fact was this, that the rest of the electors of the East Moreton district were overwhelmed by the electors resident within a few miles of Brisbane.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: No, no.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: The honorable member for East Moreton cried "No, no," to that; but he would ask the honorable member if the majority of the votes given for him were not the votes of electors resident within a few miles of Brisbane? Now it was his impression that such was the case; but while he said so, he did not mean to say that the electors of the district were dissatisfied with the honorable member as one of their representatives. He merely meant to say that the farmers and other electors in the outlying portions of the district felt that they were swamped by the votes of the electors who were resident in the neighborhood of Brisbane. The people themselves said that such was the case, and he had no doubt that honorable members had themselves heard the remark made frequently. Now, such being the state of things, it was, he held, the duty of the Government to endeavor to provide a remedy; and that in a way which, as far as could be foreseen, would not do any injury to others, while giving satisfaction to the electors in the district, who felt that they had good cause of complaint on that point. It was the duty of the Government—of any Government—to endeavor to provide a remedy for such a state of things; and the present Government intended to try and provide the required remedy. It was the determined purpose of the Government to give redress, as far as it was in their power to do so,

wherever they found reasonable cause of dissatisfaction to exist. For his own part, he would be glad to see a member for the Logan district, in the present East Moreton electorate, in the House, who was qualified by general intelligence and personal experience to inform the House as to the wants of the district, particularly as regarded sugar growing, cotton growing, and the other field products of the district. He would be glad to see a member representing the districts of Mooloolah and Caboolture in the House, and he cared not on what side of the House he might take his seat. All that he cared for was, that there should be a member for the East Moreton district, who would be able to inform the House as to the particular requirements of those portions of the existing electorate. At present, the only information the House obtained as to the requirements of the Caboolture and Mooloolah, was of course from the members for the district, who were residents of Brisbane, and had perhaps never been in the neighborhood of the places he had mentioned—who perhaps had never been beyond a few miles out of Brisbane, and who consequently could not be sufficiently acquainted with the requirements of those portions of the district of East Moreton. He was sure that the Government would receive the thanks of the country, both because of the principles and the details of the measure they had brought in; and because it gave to some important portions of the colony which had never been fairly represented before—because of conflicting interests to some extent—a representative for itself. Now, for instance, as honorable members were aware, the honorable member for the Maranoa presented a petition the other day from a certain portion of his constituents, in which it was set forth that their interests were altogether dissimilar from those of the residents in the opposite end of the district; and the prayer of the petition was to the effect that their quarter of the electorate of East Moreton might be formed into a separate electorate, which would comprise the particular interests of the petitioners. That shewed the necessity there was for a redistribution. Of course, the honorable member for South Brisbane would now object *in toto* to the adult male population basis,—and he must say, that of all the inconsistent members in the House that honorable member was the chief. There were now only about 260 male adult inhabitants in South Brisbane. The honorable member for that electorate had hitherto been a most strong advocate for the male adult population basis; but he believed the honorable member would now be found a most unsparing opponent of that basis, and an equally strong supporter of a general population basis. He believed it would be found that the honorable member would altogether rely on a general population basis. If the Government had had strict regard, in the framing of this Bill, to a male adult population basis of representation, they would

have altogether blotted out the electorate of South Brisbane, because of the smallness of the male adult population of South Brisbane. If, according to the male adult population basis, the electorate of South Brisbane was entitled to return one member to Parliament, the district of Wide Bay would be entitled to return eight or ten members. And again, if the Government were open to be charged with making this only a Redistribution Bill, they ought to have done away altogether with the electorate of South Brisbane—but the Government did not go in for a redistribution of the electorates beyond what they considered to be necessary in order to provide for the additional number of members required. If the honorable member were on the Government side of the House, and a member of the Ministry, the basis he would go in for would be one which would tend to secure him in office. As to the basis for an Additional Representation Bill, which the honorable member formerly advocated, he would direct the attention of honorable members to what that honorable member formerly said on the subject. When a Bill for the redistribution of the representation was under consideration in 1867, the honorable member for South Brisbane said, as would be found in the fifth volume of Hansard, column 2, page 189, that—

“If the Government would keep their promise and bring in a Census Bill, he thought a great advantage would be gained; but he did not conceive it necessary to wait for that Bill, because the Government had it in their power to arrive approximately at the same result by means of the figures and returns in the Registrar-General's Office; and he thought, if they took those figures, and the adult male population of each district, as a basis, it would be a very fair one; and he for one should be quite satisfied that the returns would be correct enough for all practical purposes. The two-thirds clause would no doubt be a great difficulty in the way, for it was well known that no such measure could be passed unless two-thirds of the whole House voted for it.”

That was what the honorable member for South Brisbane said in 1867 on the subject of the redistribution of representation. But a change had come over the population of South Brisbane since then, and a vast change had come over the views of the honorable member in the matter of a population basis. No doubt they would find the honorable member expatiating in eloquent language in justification of the change in his views, and as to the reasons why he should continue to be the representative for South Brisbane—if South Brisbane should be entitled at all to a representative on the basis of a male adult population. The injustice that would be done to the district of Wide Bay by leaving that electorate to be represented as it was at present, while they gave additional members to other districts of an equal area, was clearly illustrated by what took place at the late general elections, when Mr. Tozer was returned, and who afterwards resigned. Now, he must here say that he

could not understand why so many of the electors for that district—in which there were farmers, squatters, miners, merchants, and others—had so greatly failed in their duty to themselves and to the country—as was shewn by the election returns—in not having their names placed upon the roll. But, be that as it might, he found that Gympie virtually returned the member for Wide Bay; for by far the large majority of votes that were recorded for the Wide Bay District were those recorded at Gympie. Now, that clearly proved to him that to give two members to the Wide Bay District, as at present constituted, would be virtually to disfranchise the farmers and squatters in the district, and the settlers at Bundaberg—which, he maintained, would be a great injustice. It might be urged that the Bill might be improved in committee by the amendments that might be brought forward by honorable members on either side of the House; but he must say that he failed to see how that could be the case. At the same time, he could assure the House that the Government, if they saw that improvements could be made in the Bill for the benefit of the inhabitants of the colony generally, would readily accede to them. While he said so, however, he must add that he was not prepared to accept every proposition that might be made by honorable members either on one side of the House or the other, if he thought that such propositions were made only for party purposes, and not for the good of the colony as a whole. A measure of the kind now before the House ought to be dealt with in a way that would be likely to be for the benefit of the various interests of the population of the whole colony; and he believed that nothing else but that had animated the Government in the preparation of the measure now before the House.

The Hon. R. PRING said that, in rising to address the House on this all-important question, he would endeavor, as far as he could, to confine himself as closely as possible to it. He had not the slightest intention of dealing in personalities, as regarded honorable members of the Government or their supporters; and he might be permitted to say that he could have wished that the debate, so far as it had gone, had been less characterised by personalities than it had been. The honorable the Colonial Secretary had made a very clear and distinct explanation of the Bill, and of the policy of the Government as involved in it; but still, he must say that he thought the honorable gentleman, as it appeared to him, assumed rather too much—relying, perhaps, upon the power he possessed in the number of his supporters. Now, he would crave leave to express his extreme admiration of the way in which the speech of the honorable gentleman was met by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, whose speech, he thought, was well suited to the great importance of

the subject. He did not say that, by any means, in the way of laudation, but because he thought it was only right and proper that the conciliatory nature of the honorable member's speech should not pass unnoticed. In fact, he thought that honorable members on the Government side of the House ought to have praised the honorable member for the very temperate way in which he had expressed his opinions on a subject respecting which there was such a wide difference of opinion. Honorable members on the Government side of the House might, as no doubt they did, hold very different opinions as to the Bill from those held by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley; but no one of them could accuse his honorable friend of indulging in anything like acrimony towards them while addressing the House on the subject. Almost every honorable member in the House differed with one another in opinion as to whether the Bill should be based upon population generally, or upon male adult population only. The honorable member for Fortitude Valley, for instance, differed on that point from the honorable member for Wide Bay, though both sat on the same side of the House; and he had no doubt that something of the same kind was the case with honorable members on the Government side of the House. Now, if he were called upon to decide in the matter, he would certainly give his verdict in favor of the opinion of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, as against that of the honorable member for Wide Bay; and he would give his reasons for saying so, because he did not believe in the expression of opinion that was conveyed by a mere "yes" or "no." Now, honorable members must bear in mind that there was a very great difference between representation as based upon population generally and upon representation as based upon adult male population only. There was a very great difference as to the voting power of the two systems, and the basis of population generally was, to his mind, the correct one. But it did not follow upon that principle, that every person in the colony, man, woman, and child, should have a vote; for while population generally was to be the basis of measurement as to the amount of representation to which every electorate was entitled, the voting power was to be restricted to the male adult portion of the population. Now, to proceed further, he found fault with the honorable member for Maryborough—if he was allowed to do so—because that honorable member set out by saying that if the Bill was passed his Government would be in office for a long time, therefore at once admitting that he was personally interested in the Bill.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: No; I did not say so.

The Hon. R. PRING: Well, if those were not the exact words used by the honorable member, they were something like them. He thought the honorable member said, "Pass

this Bill, and we will remain in office as long as we like." But honorable members of the Opposition did not wish the honorable member to be in office, and would do everything to prevent it. The honorable member had also fallen into another very grave error, and a very fallacious argument, which he could not get over. He would take Brisbane and East Moreton, and Ipswich and West Moreton. They found that East Moreton was divided by the proposed Bill into three districts. That was rather suggestive. But they then looked at West Moreton, and—they heard nothing about it. Now came the argument. The honorable member said that East Moreton was swamped by Brisbane men. If that was so, then he (Mr. Pring) said that West Moreton was swamped by Ipswich men. Honorable members of the Opposition knew very well that when there was that solemn conclave—that caucus of which they had heard so much—Ipswich was represented by the honorable member, Mr. Cribb, by the honorable member, Mr. Johnston, and by the honorable the Minister for Lands. Then they came to West Moreton. There was the honorable member, Mr. Ferrett, and the honorable member, Mr. Thorn, and—but he would not include him—the honorable the Speaker. At any rate, there were the five. The honorable the Colonial Secretary stated that everything had been beautifully cut and dried; but there was the old phalanx—Ipswich and West Moreton remained untouched. Those honorable members stated frequently that they ruled the country; and in his opinion they really did rule it, for now, after having a measure brought forward for which the people had been waiting for years, they found the finger of the father of the Ipswich family in it, and there was to be no alteration in his electorate. He now came to a graver question. He would ask, how it was that the farmers of Ipswich and West Moreton were not represented properly? Why, three years ago he understood from those men themselves that they wanted an outside member of their own, and they clamored for one—and why, he would ask, was it that that agricultural interest was not to be represented by one member, as well as the sugar planters of Caboolture, who were to be represented by cutting a piece off East Moreton? Why should not the cotton planters be represented—why should not the agriculturists, who had taken up land from Ipswich to Murphy's Creek, be entitled to a member for themselves; and why should they be under the influence of Messrs. Cribb and Company, when they did not owe that firm any money? Why, if they had a representative of their own, they would not care a rap for Mr. Cribb. He knew Ipswich well, and yet that was the way in which things were to be done—that Ipswich was to swamp West Moreton, but Brisbane was not to swamp East Moreton. Assuming, therefore, that he was correct in his premises, the argument of the honorable

member fell to the ground. He did not believe that Brisbane did represent East Moreton, as the electors of East Moreton had too much good sense to be under the thumbs of the Brisbane people; but to see the unfortunate farmers and others going into Ipswich on a Saturday night, and getting their rum from Cribb and Foote's store—

Mr. CRIBB rose to order.

The Hon. R. PRING said he did not mean to say anything improper, and perhaps he ought not to have said it; but it was brought about by the Bill which they were discussing. Speaking seriously, however, the Ipswich phalanx had always ruled the roost, and was, to say the least, so peculiarly treated by the Bill, that he had spoken as he had done. If the honorable the Colonial Secretary would permit him to state his views upon one portion of the Bill, and take them for what they were worth, he would be obliged. The rule he was going to refer to was a constitutional rule, and based upon no law that he was aware of; but he knew that Mr. Herbert in 1863 was of the same opinion with himself—namely, that additional representation did not necessitate a general election, so long as the divisions were kept within the old electoral boundary; but if they went beyond the old boundaries and were mixed up with another electorate, then it required a general election. Now, if the honorable member for Wide Bay was correct in saying that such had been done in one case, it would be worth the while of the honorable the Premier to inquire into it. But what the opinion of that honorable gentleman was, of course, he (Mr. Pring) could not say. There was another point which had been brought before the House, which he thought was fairly questionable. If the new Electoral Bill was to be a fair Bill, then the House had a right to discuss its fairness, and point out to the Government whether it was so fair as they stated it was. He would take the Kennedy district, for instance, out of which it was proposed to create two new electorates, leaving a portion to the old member; and what did they find that the old Kennedy electorate would then represent?—why actually more population than the two new portions. What would be the consequence of that? Why, that two members would be given to the new part of the electorate, and only one to the old portion. The thing was absurd, if population was to be the basis. It was a sprat to catch a mackerel. They gave one member to get two, and that was the whole system of the Bill. But it would be impossible by the system proposed by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, to have any such unfairness; because that honorable member pointed out that, by the American system, electorates would adjust themselves. If, however, blocks were cut out of electorates here and there, the Government could calculate their position and the amount of support they would have in that House, and that was why it suited

them. He agreed with the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, that they could meet the Government, if they struck out all the schedules, and went in and made eleven additional members to the present electorates. They might then fairly discuss the question of redistribution. He thought that many honorable members who were now in that House would recollect that on a previous occasion he had made a great stand on that very question, and had objected to additional representation, and strongly advocated redistribution. But then he did not anticipate that it would come in its present shape—of having first additional representation, with redistribution, and then redistribution again. What he advocated formerly was, first get redistribution, then have a general election; but he bowed to the decision of honorable members then, and, of course, he bowed to it now. But he believed that some honorable members now in the House, on the opposite side, at that time, actually advocated additional representation, in order to get redistribution. But now they were to have redistribution in order to have redistribution again. That, however, was not the proper way—they should first have additional representation in order to get redistribution. Now, the honorable member for Fortitude Valley had placed that question before the House in a very temperate and good speech, and had offered to meet the honorable the Colonial Secretary on that point; but he (Mr. Pring) did not think it was likely, after the speech of the honorable member for Maryborough, that the Government were likely to do that, as it would invalidate the whole Bill at once; but, at the same time, he did not see why; if it was the wish of the House that they should have additional members for the old electorates, and then go in for redistribution. After all, what had they met there for but to legislate for this large territory, which, in consequence of its enlargement of population, necessitated more representation? He would say, therefore, let it be largely represented before it was cut up into smaller electorates. That really seemed to be so reasonable a proposition that he could not understand why the Government should object to it. He did not blame the Government if they wished to keep their seats, as the honorable member for Maryborough said they would, if they passed the Bill. He would do the same as they were doing, no doubt—if he thought it was right—but he did not think that it was right, and he did not think that if he was sitting opposite he should consider it right. The honorable the Colonial Treasurer might laugh at that, but he (Mr. Pring), had altered his opinions considerably since he had sat by the honorable gentleman. He might take that opportunity of referring to what had been said during the afternoon sitting about the Additional Members Bill of Sir Robert Mackenzie, and of stating that the honorable the Colonial Secretary had nothing whatever to do with

that Bill. In regard to the measure before the House, he thought that it might be amended; but, if the Government were determined to pass the schedule, he did not think that the Opposition could agree to alter the boundaries. It was a question of principle, as it must be additional representation and not redistribution. If that was not conceded, why, to use an old expression, there would be war to the knife; but if there was, he hoped sincerely it would be only a wordy war and nothing more.

Mr. Fyfe trusted that the Government would accede to the suggestion which had been made by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley; as, if not, it would be impossible to carry a measure by which satisfaction would be given to the people of the colony generally. With regard to Rockhampton, he might say that he was rather surprised that the honorable member opposite, who had spoken so much of the kindness he had received from the people there, should have allowed it to be marked out of the map altogether. He would ask, how it was that the schedule of population had not been given to honorable members of the Opposition before that afternoon, when it was well known that the Government supporters had seen it long before—and where were the maps? Why were they not sent to the northern constituencies, so that they might have some idea how legislation was going on, in which they were so deeply interested? Why were they not to have them as well as the representatives of sheep and cattle? But no, the people of Rockhampton were considered as nothing when compared with sheep and cattle. That was the way they were treated, and it was time for him—as their representative—to speak up. It was additional representation that was wanted, and not redistribution. Why, the honorable the Colonial Secretary had taken away fifteen hundred people from Rockhampton to add to the district of Port Curtis, so as to make Rockhampton appear small, and was that the way to represent the people of the country? He was in earnest in speaking of Rockhampton, but honorable gentlemen opposite would not listen; there was too much stolid indifference on their part to the voice of the people. He thought it would be better if a committee was appointed by ballot, to whom the whole measure should be referred; and that, if that was done, legislation would go on better, and that both sides of the House could agree to a measure by which the people of the colony would be really represented. He did not believe that population should altogether be the basis of representation; but when he found that a town like Rockhampton was shut out, when the people living there were ignored by the Government in their distribution of seats, it struck him that there could not be an iota of honesty in their composition. He doubted it, and doubting was death to a sensitive mind. If the honorable

the Colonial Secretary would consent to a committee elected by ballot to arrange for the additional members to be returned to that House, he would confer a benefit on the colony, and satisfy the opinions of honorable members on both sides of the House. But there was no reconciliation about the honorable member. He (Mr. Fyfe) liked to express his conviction, and it struck him that they should adopt some such plan as that suggested by him. If the honorable the Premier went to Rockhampton he would not now be so well received as when he last visited Rockhampton, and judging from the way in which the honorable member had arranged the new seats, he ought never to go there. He had always wished to give a generous support to the Government; but how could he do so, when he found they had almost obliterated Rockhampton from the map of the colony? He, for one, would never allow sixpence to be expended until such time as there was a redress of grievances; but what were they—were they known to the Government? No; the Government asked them to agree to a second reading of the Bill, and thought that they should bolt and swallow everything. That was not legislation, but something more substantial was wanted by which honorable members opposite could be identified with the people. Was a bank manager a representative of the people? Yet the bulk of the honorable gentlemen opposite represented bank interests and squatting property, whilst the people were represented by honorable members on his side of the House. He could not see anything coming from honorable gentlemen opposite by which the interests of the people could be consolidated. No; twenty years' leases of their runs was to be their legislation of the colony. They believed in administration only—administration of their own leases, and fine voting power. But there would be a day of retribution, and there was such a thing as to pass a *de post facto* law. He would again ask the Government to accede to the appointment of a committee, who could bring up a report on which an Additional Members Bill could be based, such as would meet with the approval of the country.

Mr. DE SARCE thought it was not too much to say that the honorable member who had just sat down had taken a very sentimental view of the measure before the House, but he thought that they should discuss it without any such sentiment. The honorable member for Fortitude Valley had approached the question with a degree of temperance and with a statesmanlike grasp, and had thereby shewed a good example to honorable members on his side, and he (Mr. De Satgé) was very certain, from the very temperate tone observed by the honorable member, and the few objections which had been made to the Bill, that they would make it a good measure. He believed that the great fault of the Bill was its liberality, and that the Government, by bringing it forward, was resigning its power

to the Opposition. He had told the Government so from the first, and had warned them that, if it was passed, they must resign. He maintained that it was yielding the representation of the colony to women and children, to whom the whole colony would be given. That was what he said on first being shewn the Bill. By it they virtually decided to give to the Opposition seven members, and to themselves four members only; and, therefore, when the honorable the Premier, either animated by a sense of justice, or, perhaps, a little misled by the power of the people and by the continual goading of their representatives in that House, and through the monstrosity of the colony having the seat of government in a town at one end of it—through that, he believed, the honorable the Premier had conceded the whole representation to women and children. He did not now speak as a squatter, and he would not allude to it again except to say that the pastoral property in the outside districts had been completely under-estimated by the honorable member for Wide Bay and others. It had also been stated as an argument against the squatters that the census had been taken in shearing time. Now, all he could say was, that had it been taken in October instead of September, the result would have been very different. Some reference had been made to Jimbour, and he might mention that a story had been told him of a man who had earned £50 there by shearing in four months. Now, £50 was the earnings for one year for people living in the agricultural districts; and was it to be said that, because a man earned that sum on a station in four months, he was not entitled to be represented, or have a voice in the representation of the district where he earned that £50? He thought, in that particular, the honorable member took a very bad point indeed. Then, again, the honorable member for Fortitude Valley found fault with the Bill because it gave partial redistribution, but he would only point to the electorate of the Kennedy to shew how necessary redistribution was there. It was utterly impossible that that district should continue as at present, for a large portion of it was unrepresented. It was quite out of the question that when talking to the diggers of Ravenswood, the honorable member for Kennedy could advocate the employment of Polynesians; but if he represented Mackay, he would be pledged to support them, as that was the only description of labor suited to the sugargrowers in that district. That he must have done if he was returned for Mackay, but at Ravenswood he would not have been returned if he had been in favor of Polynesian labor. That was why there were so many interests in the district of the Kennedy; and by dividing the electorate each interest could be represented. He said that the Government had, in every instance, dealt with the electorates so situated, and not alone those represented by honorable members on the

Opposition side of the House. They had divided East Moreton, and also Peak Downs, Balonne, and Dalby; and in all those, as far as he could see, and as far as had been explained, they had dealt as fairly as they could. Amongst other matters, it appeared to him that the Government had determined that not one single electorate should be disturbed which was not under-represented; otherwise, if they had commenced to disturb them, they would have touched South Brisbane and Ipswich. As far as the representation of Ipswich was concerned, he quite agreed with some honorable members of the Opposition, fairly and honestly, without any thought of keeping his party together more than it would be kept together from its own interests and its knowledge of each other, that Ipswich was over-represented, as also South Brisbane. The electorate of Clermont had been alluded to several times that night, and the decrease in the population, which he might say was entirely owing to the number of diggers there in 1868. The honorable member for Wide Bay was rather misinformed on that point, as, since 1868, there had been a large exodus of diggers, who had not since returned; but, on the other hand, the population had so greatly increased at the copper mines, and was now so much required, that only the other day the secretary for the Peak Downs Copper Company had sent, through the Immigration Agent, for one hundred Cornish miners, and that men were wanted directly. The same gentleman had also informed him that he was in a position to employ all the able-bodied men who arrived by the last ship, if they would only dig for copper. He believed that that district would soon be very much under-represented, and he considered the Government had done well to make Peak Downs a separate electorate, as by that means, all interests would work together. He might say that the population must naturally be very different from that of Fortitude Valley or South Brisbane, as it possessed a class of men whose individual earnings could not be less than from £3 10s. to £4 per week. They were hard-working men and good customers of the customs. They were men who would not have time to go to the gallery of that House of a night to listen to the debates, as they were mostly at work at night, or were too tired after their day's labor. Instead of that, the men in the metropolis were mere hangers on of the Civil Service—paid out of the money spent by the colony to keep up an absurd state at one end of the colony. He said that with a full idea that the town of Brisbane was over-represented. There was not a civil servant who did not purchase a piece of land in the neighborhood of Brisbane—he could not go further away; and how could a population of that sort, however respectable it might be, be compared with the hard-working men he had mentioned, who were the pioneers of the colony; with

men who went three hundred miles into the country to earn their money by the sweat of their brow? He might point out that since the Peak Downs copper mines had been opened, there had been £350,000 worth of copper taken from them. Would not that compare with the market gardeners about Brisbane, who had their luxuries, as people in his district called them, in their gardens? He came from a district where a potato was a luxury and beer an extravagance; and yet they were paying contributions to the customs in three times the proportion to that paid by Brisbane. He thought, also, some allowance should be made in representation for the distance people travelled. Was there an instance in any other part of the colony where—with very heavy carriage to pay—a company had, like the Peak Downs Company, returned to the shareholders a dividend of thirty per cent.? That was a company that had been well worked and had made a name for Queensland. He considered that the Opposition, in attacking Clermont, had really attacked the strongest point in favor of the principle of redistribution adopted by the Government.

Mr. STEPHENS: Hear, hear.

Mr. DE SARGE: Well, the honorable member who represented the smallest constituency in the colony should certainly be the last to say, "Hear, hear," for it was the honorable member's weak point to wish to leave the old constituencies as they were. He trusted the Government would not give up the idea of redistribution; and the Opposition knew very well that it was a Bill that would suit the colony. There were electorates at home, having a population of two thousand or three thousand, represented by one member; whilst others, with the same population, returned two members; and it was out of the question to expect that they could approach that House with a Bill that would propose any other system. He did trust that the Bill would not be put into the hands of a select committee—for that would be abrogating the powers of the Government, returned by a large majority, after two closely contested elections—but that the Bill would be carried through by a large majority, and, by the time it was amended, would be a satisfactory measure to all. He trusted there would be no opposition to the second reading, and that it would be discussed without any party spirit, but in the spirit enunciated by the honorable member who had moved it, and by the honorable member, the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. HEMMANT said the honorable member who had just sat down had given them a bad example of the temper in which he wished the Bill to be discussed, as, had the statements made by him been made by any other honorable member, they would have been very insulting to the people of Brisbane; but he thought they had too much good sense to take the slightest notice of anything which

fell from that honorable gentleman. He did not intend to follow the arguments of the speakers who had preceded him, but would confine himself to directing attention to what he considered two or three anomalies in the Bill. Now, it seemed to him very extraordinary that, whilst Eastern Downs—which electorate was represented by an honorable member on his side of the House, and which had an adult male population of one thousand two hundred and twenty-one only—was allotted one member, the electorates of Warrego and Mitchell, which had not so large a population, should be allowed to return two members. He did not think that there was one honorable member who would not say that Eastern Downs was, upon that basis, entitled to two members. Could anything be more unjust than that, by a Bill professing to be based upon an adult male population, simply because an honorable member sat on the Opposition benches, he was to be treated in such a way; whilst the honorable members for Ipswich and West Moreton, who sat on the Government side of the House, would not allow their electorates to be touched? If the Government intended to adopt the adult male basis, they would not allow Ipswich, with its nine hundred and twenty-seven adult males, to retain its three members. He quite agreed with what had been frequently said—that they could not expect to have any mathematical justice meted out to them on the question of representation; but all they wanted was some rough justice which would enable the House to fairly represent the country, and add a fair quota, on a population basis, to the present members in the House. If they took the five purely squatting electorates of Western Downs, Burnett, Leichhardt, Warrego, and Mitchell, they found, with a gross population of 12,120, containing 5,927 adult white males, they returned eight members to the Legislature—or a member to every 1,515 persons. If, on the other hand, they took the six agricultural and mining electorates of Kennedy, Rockhampton, Maryborough, Wide Bay, East Moreton, and Toowoomba, they found that with a population of 53,741, containing 15,283 adult white males, they only returned seven members to the Legislature, or a member for each 7,677 persons. What they asked was, that those anomalies should be redressed, and that a disposition should be shewn to afford them some justice. They did not care on which side of the House the new members sat, and he represented the feelings of the Opposition when he said, that when once those members took their seats, his side of the House would not do anything to obstruct business. What he said was—“Get the new members; let them sit anywhere, so long as they were there on a fair basis of representation.” Although the Bill professed to deal with the adult male population, it was no reason why that should be considered the proper basis, as it was open to many objec-

tions; but he thought that the population basis was the best, as proposed by the Bill which the honorable member for Wide Bay wished to introduce. The members of the Opposition did not, however, ask for any arithmetical representation, but merely for a rough measure of justice. With regard to representation based on population, it was open to opposition, he knew; but he thought that men with families were more settled, and that therefore it was preferable. He found that in the Mitchell and Warrego districts, three-fourths of the population consisted of male adults.

MR. BUCHANAN: Hear, hear.

MR. HEMMANT: The honorable member said “Hear, hear,” but he (Mr. Hemmant) did not think such a population was satisfactory, as it was frequently moving about. It was evident to anyone that a population containing women and children was of a more settled nature than a population of male adults. What was the effect or consequence, now, of returning members to the Assembly upon that basis? It was found that the great majority of the population of male adults in Mitchell and Warrego were men who were constantly moving about—shearers, shepherds, and other persons of an essentially migratory character; as much so as those unfortunate diggers who excited the ire of the Minister for Works. In five or six hundred male adults there were not fifty electors. The reason of that state of things was, that the men did not remain long enough in the district to qualify themselves for the franchise. As the honorable member for Clermont had said, a person who had earned fifty pounds on Jimbour, this season, would be, next year, at Clermont. That was the character of the subordinate squatting population. By making that population, the adult males of the colony, the basis of representation, the representation would be thrown into the hands of the squatters and the few clerks and other persons in constant employment on their stations. In the agricultural and town constituencies of Brisbane and East Moreton, there was a very large male population, who, though not twenty-one years of age, were very closely bordering upon it—persons just now on the verge of manhood;—and, they would shortly be entitled to representation upon the adult male basis, and would claim additional representation. If the House did not want this question perpetually open, they should adopt the population basis, and get rid of all such difficulties, which would be met with in all populous constituencies time after time. It was a clearly recognised principle that there should be no taxation without representation; that was one of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. And, were not women just as much taxpayers as adult males? He thought a married man had a far greater stake in the country, and by his family a greater claim to representation, than a bachelor. There was no question that the census

was taken at a time when the population of many districts was temporarily increased by a number of adult males from other districts engaged in the operations of the shearing season; and that increase did not fairly belong to the squatting districts for the establishment of an adult male basis of representation. He trusted that the example which had been set by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley would be valued by the majority of honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House; for he assured them that the majority of the members of the Opposition earnestly desired that the representation question should be settled. They desired that it should be settled upon a fair basis—that justice should be done to all classes of the community; and that the question should be got out of the way, so that the House might go on with that legislation which was so ardently required in the interests of the colony. He thought that those who desired to keep this question open as a common fighting ground were very few in number. The object which was so desirable could best be attained by the adoption of a conciliatory course, as recommended by the honorable and learned leader of the Opposition. Still, there were certain points on which honorable members of the Opposition were not disposed to give way—there were certain points on which they must make a stand. The majority of them had been returned by their constituents with the expressed pledge that they would not allow the present Assembly to redistribute the electorates; that they would insist, as a preliminary, that additional members should be introduced into the House. It had been stated by the honorable member for Fortitude Valley that the Opposition would accept the number of members proposed in the Bill, and that those members should be returned by the existing constituencies, and that the Government should waive the redistribution portion of this Bill. It appeared to him (Mr. Hemmant) that that was really what they were entitled to ask in justice and fairness. A redistribution, to be fair, must be of a general character, and must apply to all the electorates of the colony. In dealing with a question of this kind, the House were not entitled to ask how the new members would vote; that was a question with which they had nothing to do. All that they had to do was, to ensure that the measure was based upon a sound and general principle, and leave the future to take care of itself. But it was a most extraordinary fact that there were twelve honorable members sitting on the Ministerial side of the House who were returned in bunches—that was, by constituencies returning two or three members; while there were only five on the Opposition side of the House. He agreed with a great deal that had been said as to the representation of additional interests. He could assure honorable members on the Government side of the House, that, as soon

as that question was ripe, they would meet with every assistance from the Opposition. It was fair and reasonable that constituencies which returned so many members should thirst for separate existence; but, "what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander," and if East Moreton should not return four members, West Moreton should not return three. He should be glad to see the constituencies of the colony so arranged that each should return only one member; and he thought that such a distribution would be best for the colony. But it was not fair for the Government to ask the constituents of East Moreton to be redistributed, and to leave West Moreton intact. The honorable the Attorney-General laughed, but whenever Burnett was cut up, he would have to go to some outside district, for Burnett would never return him again.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he was not attending to the honorable member.

Mr. HEMMANT: As his honorable colleague, Mr. Atkin, was not in a position to speak, he should refer to certain election matters, which, perhaps, ought not to be mentioned in the House. But the honorable the Secretary for Public Works had said that three-fourths of the votes which returned him (Mr. Hemmant) had been polled in Brisbane. The honorable gentleman was really misinformed; for the fact was, that of 906 votes, only 490 were polled in Brisbane—and these, votes given by the farmers of the district, were so polled in consequence of the neglect of the Government to provide suitable polling-places for them. Some of them had to come fifteen miles to record their votes. There was not a polling-place between Brisbane and the North Pine, nor from Brisbane to the Bay, on the north side of the river; nor one from Brisbane to Moggill; and, only for a representation made by himself at the eleventh hour, there would not have been one between Brisbane and Oxley; and, there was not one between Brisbane and Doughboy. The polling was very properly on a market day, Saturday, when most of the farmers were in town. Eighteen polled in Brisbane, although there was a polling-place at Doughboy Creek. But all those of Eagle Farm and neighboring places had to come into town. In Mitchell and Warrego districts, in some instances, there were more polling-places than votes recorded. But the squatting constituencies naturally demanded a larger share of attention from the Government than the towns. It was unfair, however, for the Government to turn round and say that the influence of the towns returned members of the Opposition who represented country districts, when it was the *laches* of that Government in not providing polling-places which made it necessary for the electors to come to town to vote. When the proper time came, he should be very glad to act with honorable members to cut up East Moreton. He thought the district was too large, and that it might be cut

up into four or five electorates. With regard to the way in which it was cut up in the Bill, he had a word to say:—The two sitting members were to be allowed to represent "East Moreton." There was to be a member for Logan. If honorable members would look at the boundary of that new electorate, they would find that the Logan River was the boundary; and, in connection with that, it was an extraordinary fact that the great part of the settlement on the Logan was on the north bank of the river. Though there were 2,735 inhabitants in the new electorate, if the boundary was carried a few miles further, he durst say another thousand people, perhaps more, would be taken in; but—perhaps there was the key of the difficulty—that thousand people held what he supposed were considered by the Government very heterodox opinions in regard to Polynesian labor; they were small farmers, and not advanced enough to require Polynesians. The Brisbane River was not allowed to be the boundary of the electorate of Cabulture. He did not know for what reason the residents of Eagle Farm were cut out of Cabulture; but the fact remained that an arbitrary line had been drawn to divide that electorate from East Moreton. It was a remarkable circumstance that one of the electorates carved out of East Moreton should comprise 2,735 persons, and the other 5,079, or very nearly double. How could the House take the Bill as a measure framed upon any just basis? East Moreton had 8,803 after those reductions, and he compared that number, to be represented by two members, with 2,735 in Logan, to be represented by one member; and with 5,079 in Cabulture, to be represented by one member. There could be taken from Cabulture as many constituents as were represented by the honorable members for Warrego and Mitchell, and there would then remain more than the total number of the Logan. He durst say honorable members on the Government side had an idea that there was a very large number of the Polynesian labor-loving class south of the Logan, and that if they could get a member elected for that electorate, he would naturally gravitate to their benches; but he assured them that they were mistaken. The so-called "Planters' Association of Southern Queensland," though holding very high-flown notions, did not meet with any sympathy from the great majority of the 2,735 inhabitants of Logan, and he thought he was quite right in saying that any person who would contest that electorate on the Polynesian ticket would soon find out his mistake. There was another rather remarkable feature in connection with the Bill. The honorable the Secretary for Public Lands had said the Bill was essentially a fair one, because the Government refused to allow some electorates to be swamped, as the farmers of East Moreton were by Brisbane. But how did they apply their principle to other electorates? There was a most peculiar

electorate called Blackall. Looking at the map, it appeared that Blackall stood in the same relation to Rockhampton that East Moreton did to Brisbane—it surrounded the town. It was patent to anyone who knew Rockhampton, that the suburban residents, there, and they were numerous, would return the member for Blackall.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: Not so.

MR. HEMMANT: The measure was supposed to render justice to all parts of the country; and he asked those honorable members who came down to the House to do as their leader told them, whether that which was said to be applicable to Brisbane would not apply to Rockhampton? If Brisbane should not control East Moreton, it was unfair that Rockhampton should control Blackall. The Minister for Works had quoted some figures from the last election returns for Wide Bay, to shew that Gympie had returned the member. That was simply because Gympie being a town, the inhabitants had facilities for placing their names on the electoral roll and that more had taken advantage of them than all the rest of the inhabitants throughout Wide Bay. It was ridiculous to assert, if the farmers chose to put themselves on the roll, that they would be without influence in the election for Wide Bay. He saw that the Bill was to be construed with the Elections Bill which was brought in a few days ago and under which every male of twenty-one years would be allowed to qualify as an elector; and he found that the election of members for the new electorates under the present Bill should not take place until the electors had had an opportunity of placing themselves on the roll.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: Why not?

MR. HEMMANT: He would be obliged to the honorable member to address the chair, when he had done, and not interrupt in a way that was distracting to a new member.

THE SPEAKER: It was irregular for an honorable member to interrupt another addressing the chair.

MR. HEMMANT: Then the figures which had been quoted by honorable members were of no use; because the present Act would allow everyone to qualify himself, and arguments based upon what had taken place two years ago were entirely beside the question. Referring to the group of electorates for Kennedy, he found that in that part which it was proposed to allow Mr. MacDevitt to represent, there were 2,780 male adults, while the two electorates carved out of that district together contained only 1,498. If the House were to adopt an adult male basis of representation, why did not the Government mete it out equally to the different parts of the colony?

MR. KING: The wandering digger.

MR. HEMMANT: He did not see that the House ought to treat the diggers in the way in which there seemed to be a disposition

on the part of the Government to treat them. He knew that the Government who were in office at the time the Gympie diggings were opened out, would have found their revenue in a very unsatisfactory state, had not that gold field been discovered. Instead of sneering at the diggers, as honorable members on the Ministerial side did, they ought to do them justice in every way. When resolutions were passed by the House, empowering the Government to offer rewards for the discovery of new gold fields, and a Minister arbitrarily refused to carry them out, that Minister neglected his duty. That was injustice to the digging community especially, and to the colony at large. The Minister for Lands, when he spoke of the fairness of cutting up electorates, ought to know that the constituents were themselves the best judges whether they were properly treated. In all the most populous electorates, in East Moreton and Wide Bay, members had been returned pledged to oppose any Bill of which redistribution formed a part. That honorable gentleman, and others on the same side of the House, need not, therefore, take up the cudgels for them; the constituencies required additional members, and they were quite able to take care of themselves without redistribution at present. He should not occupy the time of the House further than to refer to what had fallen from the honorable member who had preceded him. The honorable member for Clermont had said, he supposed as an inducement to the Opposition to pass the Bill, that the members who might be returned for the new electoral district, which included Mackay, must be prepared to dash through, at any cost, a measure for the introduction of Polynesians. With the revelations made recently—in the presence of the fact that only this day a man was sentenced to five years imprisonment for kidnapping Polynesians—did that honorable member think he strengthened his cause by an argument like that?

Mr. CRIBB said the constituency he represented had been frequently referred to by honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, and he felt bound to say a few words in answer to them. The honorable member for Wide Bay had said that West Moreton was favored by the Bill. The reason why East Moreton was cut up, and West Moreton left intact, was, that an additional member was given to the former. He understood that the Bill was to give additional representation, and that it did not interfere with present electorates, except where additional members were provided for. Although West Moreton was entitled to another member, none was given, and the electorate was not cut up; East Moreton got two additional members, and was altered for the additional representatives. The honorable member for Wide Bay had said, further, that the Bill was intended to give additional representation

to the Government side of the House, and that the coast districts were neglected. What were the facts of the case? Why the Bill gave two extra members to the coast district of East Moreton, a member to the coast electorate of Normanby, a member to the coast town of Bowen, another to the coast district of Mulgrave; and it gave two additional members to the town populations of Drayton and Dalby. Seven members out of the eleven additional members would represent large populations on the coast and in towns, and they would no doubt be a source of strength to the Opposition when they came into the House. That, he (Mr. Cribb) thought, shewed the fairness of the Bill. The honorable the Colonial Secretary had taken care, not to bolster up his own party, but to give fair representation to the country. As he (Mr. Cribb) read the Bill, he did not think it possible to have a fairer one on paper. What did the honorable member for Fortitude Valley recommend? That three members should be given to East Moreton, one more for Toowoomba, as it stood; one more for Maryborough, as it stood; one for Gympie; one more for Rockhampton; and two more for Kennedy;—or nine members for the Opposition. That was the fairness of the proposition from the Opposition side of the House. The honorable member would give one more member for Maranoa—perhaps that one would come to the Ministerial side of the House.

Mr. STEPHENS: Port Curtis.

Mr. CRIBB: And one member for Port Curtis. He was not sufficiently acquainted with Wide Bay to know whether the additional member would be likely to come to the Ministerial side of the House, or to the Opposition. It was quite patent that the Government, in framing their Bill, had not studied their own political interest, but had endeavored to do what was fair for the people. If the suggestions of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley were given effect to, that would be carrying out a measure for the political interest of the Opposition, and not for the interest of the people at large. A great deal had been said about the decrease of the population of Ipswich. No doubt a portion of the population was away in September, as had been stated by honorable members of the Opposition, shearing and carrying wool. If not, the town would have had a different appearance in the Bill. Notwithstanding that, there were 309 adult males for each member returned, many more than returned the honorable member for South Brisbane, which had only 254. Still, he did not wish to say so much about that. West Moreton was entitled, by population, to another member. He should have had no objection, if the Bill was a redistribution Bill, to have another member for West Moreton, and one taken away from Ipswich; but the Bill not being a redistribution Bill, the Govern-

ment did not wish to disturb existing interests.

Mr. MOREHEAD said he did not think he should have troubled the House in this debate had it not been for the remarks of the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Hemmant. If that honorable member had followed the very good example of his leader, he would not have indulged in those remarks; he had gone out of his way to talk of two districts, one of which he (Mr. Morehead) had the honor to represent, and to compare them with the district for which he sat in the House. No doubt, the very large interest which the honorable member represented, compared very favorably with the small interests of the Warrego, in the honorable member's estimation. He was great at statistics, or appeared to be so; and it was a pity he did not stick to them, and not go too far out of his depth. Before now he had "put his foot in it," in making comparisons with the aid of figures. He had talked about arithmetical justice, but had proved nothing conclusively by all his efforts. However, let that pass. He (Mr. Morehead) would go to the general question before the House. The great point of the Opposition was their objection to any redistribution, now, though they admitted that a general redistribution of the electorates would be a good thing. Call the proposed measure of redistribution "the thin end of the wedge," "a first instalment of justice;" because, if a general measure of redistribution would be a good thing, surely a small redistribution would be a good thing. Honorable members were inconsistent. They would not understand that if new members were given to Kennedy and East Moreton, there would be such a clashing of interests in those constituencies, that redistribution was not only absolutely necessary but wise and just. The House surely ought not to be the representative of only the majority of the people. Surely there was a large minority in the several districts that ought to be represented also. He thought that in Kennedy and East Moreton there were large minorities of electors who should be represented, and, whether on the Ministerial or the Opposition side, he did not know, but they would be represented under the Bill brought in by the Premier. The sugar and the digging interests were made out by honorable members of the Opposition as clashing with one another. They were not bound up one with the other. Whenever an election took place, it was said, one voted one way, and the other another way.

Mr. MACDEVITT: Not always.

Mr. MOREHEAD: He might be wrong; but he hoped the honorable member was right. The Premier was quite right in redistributing as far as it was in his power, when, as he had stated, he did not interfere with existing interests. The Bill was a good one, a proper one, and one that the House ought to pass.

It had been treated by the Opposition, with a few exceptions, in a way that redounded greatly to their credit; and he hoped that the same tone which prevailed in the earlier part of the debate would be sustained right through to the end, and that there would be no such speeches as those of the honorable members for Wide Bay and East Moreton to raise the ire of the other side of the House. Honorable members might think they knew much about shearing on Jimbour and other places; but he told them that a large portion of the families resident in Brisbane were maintained by the labor of their husbands and fathers in the interior. Therefore, the adult male population were to be considered most in the question of representation. He contended that the outside districts should be treated with great indulgence. The men who had gone to the outside districts were really those who developed the country; they were the pioneers of settlement and prosperity. There was an old proverb, in which he believed—"God made the country, but the devil made the towns." Many of the outside squatters had lost their all in developing the country, and were now working in subordinate positions, after having expended their means and energies in making this country great. That it was a great colony, he believed, for all that the Opposition said.

Mr. LILLEY: Hear, hear.

Mr. MOREHEAD: If honorable members of the Opposition would, as they had been very wisely advised by their leader—who was an honorable man and possessed of a great deal of parliamentary experience and tact—if they would be advised by him, and calmly consider the question in a fair spirit, some very profitable conclusion would be arrived at. The House were all, as his honorable friend the Premier had said, willing to give and take. The Government were not willing to concede any great point; but, knowing that both sides of the House could meet on a common ground, he (Mr. Morehead) thought it would be but fair to themselves to do so; and, whatever the fate of the Bill—whether it was read a second time or not—they ought to approach its serious consideration actuated alone by a desire to do the best they could for the country.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he was informed by the leader of the Opposition, that several gentlemen were anxious to speak on the subject, and that as they had no chance of being reported to-night, he was not averse to the adjournment of the debate, with the understanding that it should take precedence and be concluded to-morrow. He had no wish to stifle debate.

Mr. THORN moved the adjournment of the debate.

Question put and passed.