

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates  
[Hansard]

**Legislative Assembly**

**TUESDAY, 14 MAY 1872**

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## LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 14 May, 1872.

Supply.

## SUPPLY.

The COLONIAL TREASURER moved—

That the Speaker do now leave the chair, and the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to consider the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year 1872.

Mr. LILLEY said he had again to repeat, on behalf of the Opposition, that there was every desire and readiness on their part to grant to the Government the Supply they had previously offered, either for two months or three months, to enable them to carry on the business of the country until the House had disposed of the Redistribution Bill, at least.

The COLONIAL TREASURER: At least.

Mr. LILLEY: At least; and if that offer should be accepted, they would find little difficulty in afterwards conducting the other business of the House. That was the offer he now again had to make to the Government, so that they might be able to go on with the Bill to provide for the more full and fair representation of the people. If the Government would consent to accept of that offer, there would be no difficulty in going on with other business; and they might, for instance, take the Redistribution Bill to-day and to-morrow, and Thursday and Friday. There was no other way, that he could see, by which the Government could legally or constitutionally obtain Supply—unless the House were to vote the whole of the Estimates *in globo*. There was no other way in which the Government could obtain Supply either constitution-

ally or legally. Any other way would be illegal and unconstitutional. Illegal, because they would be pledging the credit of the colony without having obtained Supply; and unconstitutional, because they would be expending the money of the colony without having obtained Supply. The Government were now pledging the credit of the country, without any authority whatever, and it was as against that the Opposition desired to record their disapproval. He did not know if the Government were prepared to accept the offer, but it was one which they ought to accept. Now the Opposition, he thought, had additional reasons, to any they had yet advanced, for doubting the sincerity of the Government, as to the passing of the Redistribution Bill; if they were to credit the telegrams, in the newspapers, by which it appeared that an agent of the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, was getting up petitions, in Rockhampton, for the withdrawal of the Redistribution Bill, and the voting of the remainder of the supplies for the present year. If that were true—and he thought there was little reason to doubt that the movement was owing to the action of the honorable member at the head of the Government, or of some of his supporters, or their friends—if that were true, it supplied another proof of the insincerity of honorable members on the Government side of the House, as to the passing of the Redistribution Bill.

Mr. BUCHANAN said he objected entirely to the suggestion that the Estimates should, so to speak, be passed *in globo*. After the able speeches that had been delivered on this question by honorable members on this side of the House, very little, he thought, remained to be said upon it. In fact, it seemed to him that nothing remained to be said; but if a great deal still remained to be said, it would be utterly useless saying it, for, as he believed, if all the orators that ever breathed were to speak on one side, they would have no effect upon the Opposition. Believing that, he did not expect that anything he might say would be likely to convert those honorable members. He merely rose, therefore, to deny, as emphatically as he could, many of the statements that had been made against honorable members on the Government side of the House. It had been stated that if the House granted supplies, the honorable the Premier would then adjourn the House, and ignore all further business. Now, he maintained that such a thing was quite impossible, and he would endeavor to show how it was so. The honorable the Premier was bound to introduce and use his best endeavors to carry out the programme laid before the country in the Governor's Opening Speech. Well, the Opposition said that they approved of that programme, that it was the very one that met their views, and that it contained all they wanted. In fact, they said it was their own; and they seemed nettled that they had not the *kudos* of themselves introducing it. Now,

if the Opposition wished that programme carried out—and the honorable the Premier was bound to carry it out—it must be clear that the Ministry, backed by the Opposition, could carry it out, even assuming that all the Ministerial supporters were opposed to it. But he denied that the Ministerial supporters were opposed to it, as had been repeatedly asserted by honorable members opposite; for, on the contrary, he knew that many honorable members who sat on the same side of the House as he did, approved of it. Now, there was another reason why it must be carried out, and that was, that, even assuming that the honorable the Premier could be so dishonorable as to take the course it was said he would take if the Estimates were passed—and as the honorable the Premier knew that he (Mr. Buchanan) believed it was impossible that he could be dishonorable, the honorable gentleman would excuse him in using the term dishonorable in referring to him, in a case that was entirely a supposititious one—if the honorable the Premier could be so dishonorable as to follow the course which had been referred to by the Opposition, then—and when he said this distinctly for himself, he knew that he also, at the same time, spoke for other honorable members who sat on the same side of the House with him—he and those honorable members would be so disgusted at finding they had been made cats' paws of—at having been made parties to such dishonorable proceedings—that they would wash their hands of the whole affair; though he had heard it said there was nothing dishonorable in politics, but he took leave to question that. He did not mean to say, however, that they would go over to the ranks of the present Opposition; and that would be too much to expect them to do, but they would wash their hands entirely free from politics. At any rate, he should for one. It had also been said that the honorable the Premier merely took his present stand from motives of personal dignity. Now, he denied that such was the case; and more than that, he denied that the honorable gentleman even took his stand from motives of party dignity. He did nothing of the kind, but merely took the stand which he ought to take in setting his face resolutely against the establishment of what would be a dangerous precedent. The question at issue between the two sides of the House, was one which, he maintained, involved the principle of whether a factious minority should have the power to override a majority. The Ministry were entitled to get Supply, and they had a right to demand the Supply they now asked for; what they asked for now was over-due Supply. Not the Supply that would fall in ordinary course to be voted this year for next year; but the Supply that ought to have been voted last year for this year. The honorable the Premier was bound to get supplies, and if the House refused to give him Supply he ought to leave the Treasury benches.

Their occupation would be gone, and they should resign. But supplies were not refused by a majority. The majority of honorable members wished to grant the Government the supplies they asked for, but were obstructed by a factious and fractious minority. They had heard a great deal about the party on the Government side of the House, who formed the majority, being really a minority, on the ground that the constituencies represented by the minority contained a larger number of the population than the constituencies represented by the majority. Now, he maintained that that had nothing to do with the question, for honorable members on the Government side were as constitutionally members of the House as honorable members on the Opposition side of the House were. They had, as well as honorable members opposite, gone to the country, and were returned agreeably to the provisions of the Constitution Act; and therefore, when they came into that House, they had nothing whatever to do with how many of the population one member represented, or how many another honorable member represented. All they had to do with was this, that they had been elected under the constitution to legislate for the whole colony as best they could. If such a principle as honorable members opposite contended for were admitted—that members were to be rated according to the numbers of the population they represented, what, he would ask, would be the effect of the application of that principle to the House of Commons? It would be this, that the few members representing London, with its four millions of a population, together with the members for Manchester and Glasgow, could insist upon governing the country. They could go into the House of Commons, and say to the other members—"You represent so few of the population, as compared with the number we represent, that we claim, though a minority, to control the majority in the House." To admit the principle honorable members opposite were contending for would be to yield to mob law. Now, honorable members on the Government side of the House held that they were in duty bound to resist the establishment of a precedent that might lead to such a result. They were there as a constitutional majority to legislate for the whole of the colony of Queensland, and not for certain districts of it. Honorable members were not there as deputies or delegates for districts, or as aldermen in a Municipal Council, to represent particular wards; but they were to represent and to legislate for the whole of Queensland. The only way in which they could be otherwise regarded was to this extent, that they were expected to be better informed as to the local wants of the districts they respectively represented than other honorable members were or could be expected to be. Then, again, they were asked, what was to be the end of all this? and he was sure that all thinking men, not

only inside the House, but outside of it also, must have asked themselves that question. Now, he maintained that there could be no end to it, unless this factious minority confined themselves to fair debating, and to be governed by the rules of parliamentary government, as to majorities being entitled to rule; or unless the majority, with the honorable the Premier at their head, consented to yield to a state of anarchy, and so throw everything to the winds. He was perfectly certain that the Crown would never allow such a precedent to be established in this colony as that a large constitutional majority should be overridden by a factious minority. If the question at issue should be referred to the Home Crown, as he thought it probably would be, the Home authorities, he felt, could not do otherwise than commend the Ministry for the stand they had taken against forming so dangerous a precedent as their giving way to the minority would be. It was true that Queensland was only a small corner of the British Empire, but still it was a corner; and whatever precedent was established here might be followed in a larger colony, and then in a still larger, till eventually it extended to the Empire itself. They had also been told that, if the minority were not to have their way—that was, if they were not to be allowed to govern, he supposed—they might as well stay at home; they should just let the elections take place, and allow whatever party obtained the majority to legislate as it liked; that, in fact, they might as well toss up, and let whoever won go in and do all the business of legislation. Now, that argument was a piece of the most specious special pleading that he could ever have imagined to be put forth, and he was particularly astonished to hear it come from the honorable member at the head of the Opposition. They had also been told that all great measures had always been brought about by minorities, and the Reform Bill was mentioned as an instance; but the honorable member who made that statement, knew perfectly well that no obstruction to supplies was offered by the minority to enforce the passing of the Reform Bill. They simply debated, and debated legitimately, and continued so to debate until they carried their point. But the same honorable member who referred to the case of the Reform Bill, very well knew that the proceedings in connection with the passing of it, furnished no precedent for the course pursued by the minority on the present occasion, for he afterwards said that they had not a precedent, and that, as they had not one, they should make one. “Let us,” said the youngest member in the House, “let us make a precedent. Let us establish a precedent if we have not one.” Now that, he must say, seemed to him to be the greatest piece of political conceit that anyone could be guilty of. Here they were in this colony, with a population of only about one-thirtieth of the population of the city of London. He

did not know how the parishes of London were divided, but here, probably, they had not in the whole colony the population of a single parish of the city of London, and yet they had their Governor, their judges, their Supreme Court, their Upper House—the Lords he supposed—their Lower House, with all the pomp and state and paraphernalia of a kingdom; and yet they were not content with that, but must, forsooth, establish a precedent for the whole of the British Empire. Was the proposition not monstrously absurd? He had said more than he intended to say when he rose; indeed he thought he had, perhaps, made rather a long speech, but the gist of what he said was, that it was useless to try and convince the Opposition that they were wrong, that the honorable the Premier was perfectly right in taking the position he had taken, and that he should insist upon maintaining it; that it was from no motive of personal or party dignity the honorable gentleman took the stand he had taken, and that the Government were right in the course they were pursuing, and he trusted they would continue to follow that course. He had only further to repeat that he entirely objected to Supply being granted *in globo*.

Mr. KING said he did not at all wonder at the position taken up by the Opposition, when he had before him the fact that honorable members opposite represented only about nine hundred of the population, while honorable members on the Opposition side of the House represented about nine thousand. Now it seemed to him that it would only be right and proper for the honorable member to balance according to that standard the weight of representation, as between the majority and the minority. Of course, the honorable member for the Warrego could not expect honorable members on the Opposition side of the House to take the same view of the question as the honorable member himself did. He could not expect that the people of East Moreton and the coast districts would submit to be governed by a few hundreds in the other districts. The honorable member was very great upon the constitutional position of the question; but he and other honorable members on the Government side of the House did not take the same view for themselves of the constitution, as they wished honorable members on the Opposition side to take of it. They were always asking honorable members on this side of the House to be strictly guided by the constitution, while they themselves had no hesitation in violating it. They had no objection, for instance, to the violation of the constitution by the adjournment and dissolution of the House last year; but those honorable members objected to the course the Opposition had taken in consequence of that dissolution, and that, on the ground, as they alleged, that it was unconstitutional. What the honorable member stated as to the Reform Bill, hardly bore out the interpretation he

put upon the proceedings in connection with the passing of that measure. The honorable member stated that because the minority who were in favor of the passing of the Reform Bill did not obstruct the business of the House of Commons, the Opposition should not obstruct business because they could not get reform, here. But he would remind the honorable member, that if the minority in the House, who represented the wishes of the majority of the people, did not obstruct the majority in going on with the other business of the House, the people outside were in such a state of agitation on the subject that it was acknowledged, by the most eminent authorities, that the passing of the Reform Bill of 1830 was absolutely necessary, in order to save the country from a revolution. A similar state of things existed in Ireland at the time the Catholic Emancipation Bill was before Parliament. And so great was the agitation throughout Ireland before it was passed, that there were 25,000 troops stationed throughout the country to prevent an insurrection taking place. In both those cases, the majority of the people brought a pressure to bear upon the majority in the House, in favor of the views advocated by the minority, which were their views; and so were the views of the minority here, the views of the majority of the people. Now, if they took the more constitutional way of fighting their battles in the House here, instead of leaving it to the people outside to fight them, that, he thought, could not be held to be a matter of reproach against the minority. But if they had to fight for their rights, as in the case of the Reform Bill and the Catholic Emancipation Bill, it would only be a question of time, and they would fight it out to the end; and it was certain that in the end the Government must give way. There was one part of the speech of the honorable member for the Warrego, which he was sorry to hear; and that was, the allusion which the honorable member made to the power of the Crown in a case of this kind. Now, he believed it was unconstitutional in any question of dispute between parties in the House, to hold out a menace of referring to the Crown.

The COLONIAL TREASURER said he thought the honorable member was misstating what was said by the honorable member for the Warrego. The honorable member did not use the word "Crown" as referring to the Representative of Her Majesty in this colony. What he said was, that if the question was referred to the Home Crown, the position taken by the Government and the majority of the House would be supported by the Home authorities.

Mr. KING: Well, he considered that the honorable member for the Warrego, in making the allusion he did, was only following the practice of his party, by trusting to the power of the Crown in refusing the just rights of the people. He was sorry to think

that this country had experienced to far too great an extent, the evils that arose from the exercise of the power of the Crown. It was through it that such large benefits had been conferred upon the Crown tenants in this colony that they had not only the possession of the lands of the colony but had the power of legislating both for themselves and for the colony. It was by it they were in the position of being, in a sense, their own landlords while tenants of the Crown. Those honorable gentlemen who were so reluctant to grant any extension of rights to the people, did not hesitate to avail themselves of anything they could obtain by back-stairs influence at Government House. Now, he was confident of this, that if this case was referred home—when this dead-lock came, as it must come, before the notice of not only the Home Crown, and the constitutional advisers of the Crown in such matters, but when it came before the people of England, and when it was discovered by them that in this colony a class of Crown tenants, for the purpose of resisting the demands of the people for possession of the land, had secured, by underhand means, the Government of the country; and by the use of a former Representative of the Crown, had obtained an unconstitutional dissolution, and were, in consequence, able to secure a majority—a majority they could not get if they went to the country at the present time—when those circumstances came to be discussed, not in whole and corner meetings, but in the columns of the English papers—those gentlemen would be certain to receive the severest condemnation, not only from the Imperial authorities, for they had got that already, but from the whole of the people of England. The honorable member had also said that it was the rule observed in all cases at home—that the minority gave way to the majority. Now, he denied that such was the case, for a minority in the English House had succeeded in overturning a temporary majority in the House, but whose sympathies were not with the majority of the people outside. The honorable member was also extremely indignant about the suggestion of making precedents; but he overlooked the fact that they had begun to do so already, and that was in the case of the unconstitutional dissolution which the Government obtained for themselves, and, of course, for the party by whom they were now supported. But there was another precedent which had been made in Australia—he did not say in Queensland—though it was carried out in its full application in this colony. The honorable member had stated what was the size of Queensland. Now, there had been created a precedent by which the vast area of this colony should be given to the pastoral tenants of the Crown, for their occupation. But he did not believe there were two hundred separate individuals, independently interested in the leases of Crown lands, at the

present time. For the sake of argument, say there were four hundred. Now, he would ask, was there any precedent for such a state of things as that? If so, where did they find it? Was it to be found in England? Was it to be found in America? Was it to be found on the continent of Europe? If not, let honorable members on the Government side of the House say where it was to be found. If they could not, then they must admit that they had made a precedent for themselves, and they could not therefore lay the blame of beginning to make precedents on the Opposition side of the House.

The COLONIAL TREASURER: All the land was not occupied.

Mr. KING: Perhaps not. There were a few mountains and rocks and swamps that were not locked up, but that was all; and if honorable members opposite thought those lands were suitable for agricultural purposes, and if they desired to enter upon agricultural pursuits, why did they not take them up? There was another precedent the Government had set, and one which was not upheld by the Opposition side of the House. They saw by the northern papers that had come down—papers that were supported by the Government party, and subsidised by them—that in order to produce a pressure in the North, the Government had refused to expend any more of the money that had been voted for the construction of public works in that quarter. There was a sum of £6,000 for a bridge over the Dawson, and another sum of £4,000 for certain public works at Rockhampton, voted last session; but though those moneys, which were voted last session, were now in the hands of the Government for expenditure, the Government had ceased to go on with those works, and that for the purpose of bringing a pressure to bear on the people in that quarter. Now, he would ask, if the Government, having in their hands sums of money for the construction of certain works, chose to retain that money in the Treasury, and to discharge the people who had been employed upon those works, did not establish a precedent, and that a precedent in opposition to the declared purpose of Parliament, when the House voted the money for those works?

Mr. MOREHEAD said they had just listened to the usual tirade of words from the honorable member for Wide Bay. That honorable member, as was well known, was largely connected with mining, and had hitherto almost confined his remarks to mining matters and others connected with the gold fields. But since this question of Supply came before the House he seemed to have struck upon a new lead. He had left the old lead, and that was, perhaps, because he had found that the old lead was worked out. Then again, they had the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, who had repeated the speech he made, at the beginning of the session, about offering the Government two or three months' supply to enable them to go on with

other business. Now, he would repeat what he stated on a former occasion, that the honorable member had thrown the proposal of a three months' supply at the head of the majority in the House, as he would throw a bone to a dog. Then, the honorable member went on to speak about the telegrams in the *Brisbane Courier*, and said that it was evident by them that the Government wire-pullers were at work to have a pressure put upon the people in the North. Now, he would ask, if anyone would place confidence in telegrams that were filtered through such a medium before they came before the public? Could they have any confidence in telegrams that were published in the *Brisbane Courier*?—a mendacious paper, that was edited by a mendacious man. The honorable member for Wide Bay went on with his usual diatribe—he believed that was a word that had been brought into use, lately, to describe a certain class of speeches—to speak about what he called a fraudulent dissolution; and he also talked about the agitation that prevailed in England respecting the passing of the Reform Bill. Now, he, for his part, thought that that was about the most unfortunate reference the honorable member could have made. If he recollected aright, the minority on the Reform Bill question went on fairly debating and debating till they gained their point. But they did not find that such was the course of action on the part of the minority here, in this case; on the contrary, they found that the minority, not contented with hurling all kinds of abuse at the head of the Government, resorted to the calling of mass meetings, in Brisbane, for the purpose of getting up public demonstrations in their favor. In this city, the honorable members for Brisbane, and the honorable members for East Moreton, could call their constituents together and incite them to rally round them in the course they were pursuing; but he and other honorable members, who represented distant constituencies, had not the opportunity of doing so. If they could do so, perhaps they would be able to shew the existence of a different state of feeling throughout the colony from what honorable members on the Opposition side of the House represented to be the public feeling on this question—

Mr. LILLEY: With sixteen supporters.

Mr. MOREHEAD: Yes, he had sixteen supporters, and a great many more than sixteen supporters. Now, it appeared to him that the opinion held by honorable members on the Opposition side of the House respecting honorable members on the Government side of the House was this—that they were a set of liars and scoundrels, and that, though they promised to do a certain thing, if it afterwards suited their purpose, they would turn round and would not do it. He thought that if honorable members opposite would only reconsider much of what they had said, they would not be so harsh in the expressions

they used towards honorable members on the Government side of the House. The honorable member for Fortitude Valley had charged honorable members on the Government side of the House with being blind followers of the Government. Now, he thought the honorable member must be convinced in his own mind that, in saying so, he spoke somewhat recklessly; and he could assure the honorable member, if it was necessary for him to do so, that he (Mr. Morehead) was not a blind follower of the present Ministry. He could tell the honorable member that he and some other honorable members who sat on the same side of the House with him had, on several occasions, divided against the Government. That being the case, he and other honorable members on the Government side of the House most certainly could not be spoken of as blind followers of the Government. The character of blind followers, or servile followers of the Government, could not therefore be applied to himself and other honorable members who sat on the same side with him. The other night, the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Griffith, said that if they had no precedent here, they should form a precedent. Now, he took the words down at the time the honorable member used them, and what he said was this—"Supposing there is no precedent, we will make a precedent." That is, "we"—the youngest member in the House, will make a precedent. A second Daniel come to judgment! "We"—the youngest member of the House—"will make a precedent"; and the precedent which the honorable member would make was one at which no doubt the civilised world would grow pale. Now, it was rather strange that this honorable member—this youngest member of the House—should come forward and say—"we" will make a precedent. What did that honorable member care for a Channing or for a Fox? Why, nothing. But "we"—the honorable member for East Moreton, and the youngest member in the House—"will come and make a precedent for the House to follow in all time coming." However, he (Mr. Morehead) did not think that the precedent which the honorable member would establish would be able to stand before the practice of the illustrious dead. Then, they had the honorable member for Wide Bay, who proceeded to speak about the whole of the lands in the country that were available for agricultural purposes being locked up. But that honorable member knew as well as he did, that there were millions of acres of land, suitable for agricultural purposes, open to the public; and that he had only to go and make a tender for a run, to the Minister for Lands, and he would find that it would be accepted. Now, such statements as those might serve to sway and embarrass the unthinking portion of the public, but they would not at all influence reasonable and thinking men. Men who were not subject to fits of enthusiasm would not allow themselves

to be carried away by vague assertions, that there were no lands in the colony fit for the purposes of settlement and cultivation open to selection or purchase. As to the question they were fighting for, it was not the one, he maintained, which the minority sought to represent it to be. What they were fighting for was, as to whether a majority in the House should rule or not, or whether a minority should rule over a majority; and that was a high constitutional point—one well worth fighting for, and one upon which he would never give in till it was established that the majority had indisputably the right to rule. He would maintain the right of the majority to rule in Parliament, so long as they had parliamentary government; and the right of a Government having a majority in Parliament, to have Supply granted to them, and not to be coerced by the minority, which, according to the principles of parliamentary government, had no right to rule over the majority.

Mr. FERRETT said that before this question was decided, he wished to say a few words upon it. He should not have risen to speak on the question at this time, but he believed he was one of the first members elected to the Queensland Parliament. Now, he took a great deal of pains to ascertain at that time what really was constitutional law; and he was pretty well tutored in it by his honorable friend, the leader of the Opposition; and on many occasions, at that time, did they fight together in support of the rights and liberties of the subject, as well as for constitutional rights. He thought it would be found by the records of the House at that time, that his name appeared in many division lists with that of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, where it was maintained that a minority had a right to obstruct a majority; but the case at that time was quite different from the one now before the House. The case at that time was—and it was under the tuition of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley that he supported the minority—the case at that time was, that a minority had a right to obstruct a majority in the House, when they knew that the majority of members was with them—but not all in the House. The minority in such a case, he was told, had a right to obstruct the majority, until they got all their supporters in the House. That was the position of the question when he went with the honorable member. On no other ground had a minority any right to obstruct a majority. The constitutional principle was, that the minority in certain cases had a right to obstruct a majority for the purpose of gaining time, so that the minority might assemble their forces in the House before the question under debate was brought to a division. He never attempted to trouble the House with long speeches—he might say with useless talk, such as he was often obliged to listen to in that House from the honorable member for Wide Bay, especially,

when he went into personal abuse, and other matters quite foreign to the question before the House, as he had done to-night, and every night since this question arose. He had come there as a squatter, but the honorable member had no right to abuse him for that any more than he (Mr. Ferrett) had a right to abuse him for coming there as a miner, or the representative of miners. Because he backed up the Ministry on this occasion, he, as well as other honorable members on the same side of the House, were accused of dishonesty; and that was because honorable members opposite imagined that the Government would not carry out their promises, and that, of course, their supporters would go with them. But the charge had no other foundation than in the imaginations of those who made it. He was not one who possessed a glib tongue, but he wished to shew what he was by his actions rather than by any talking powers; and he could tell honorable members opposite that he was not to be put down by anyone who was chiefly remarkable because he had a glib tongue. He could assure the House that the people of the colony were beginning to distinguish between those who talked so much and those who did something for the good of the country; and it was the honorable members on the Government side of the House who, he maintained, were doing good at the present time for the country, and had done good for the country ever since they had had a seat in the House, in supporting the present Government. It was not his place, he was aware, to lecture honorable members opposite as to the course they should pursue on this occasion; but he could tell them that their practice and their law were both constitutionally wrong. In the first place, they were constitutionally wrong in principle, for they had no right to obstruct a majority in the House, unless they knew they had a majority by including members who were not in the House, and by whose support they would be able, when they reached the House, to carry the day on some important question that might be under discussion by the House. The question properly before the House at the present time was, as he understood it, as to the granting of the supplies that ought to have been voted last session, but which were not granted because, as honorable members opposite said at the time, they would keep back Supply till the Government brought in a Redistribution Bill. Well, the Government had brought in the Bill, as they promised last session they would do, and now they asked that the Opposition should, on their part, fulfil their promise to vote the remainder of the supplies when the Redistribution Bill was brought in. The Opposition offered to vote two months' supply, or to vote the remainder of the Estimates *in globo*. Now he objected to the Estimates being voted *in globo*; and it was one of the constitutional principles in the British Parliament that the Estimates should

not be voted *in globo*; and therefore he, for one, would never consent to the Estimates being voted *in globo*, as the Opposition proposed should be done. He could tell those honorable members that the public were becoming disgusted with their conduct; they were beginning to see pretty well what they were, through the missionaries or delegates, or whatever else they might be called, that they were now sending throughout the country, in order to work out their petty paltry schemes. He could tell those honorable members that he was pretty well informed as to what they were doing throughout the country; and he could tell them also that the people were beginning to lose faith in them, and in their great speeches, for they could not see what they actually wanted. The people could not understand them, or see what they were driving at. If the Opposition were to succeed in gaining the Treasury benches, he was positive of this fact, that they would not be able to keep possession of them for more than four or five months. He could have said a great deal more, but the honorable member for the Warrego had so ably addressed the House on many matters that he would have alluded to, that he would not now longer occupy the time of the House than to state that he fully agreed in all that had been so well said by that honorable member.

Dr. O'Doherty said that one or two observations had been made by honorable members on the Government side of the House which he thought should not be allowed to pass without contradiction from the Opposition side of the House. The honorable member for the Mitchell had charged honorable members on the Opposition side of the House as having no other idea of honorable members on the Government side of the House than that they were liars and scoundrels. Now, he must object, in the most emphatic terms, to any such opinion being imputed to honorable members on the Opposition side of the House with respect to honorable members on the Government side of the House; and he could not allow the charge that had been made by the honorable member for the Mitchell to go forth to the world without giving it the most positive contradiction. There had been no expression or word used in his hearing by any honorable member on his side of the House that would for a moment be thought capable of bearing such a construction as the honorable member for the Mitchell had, for some purpose or other, sought to make the House believe had been made use of. Honorable members on the Opposition side of the House had, during the last week or fortnight, explained, in as plain and moderate language as it was possible to use, he thought, the object they had in view in taking the stand they had taken; and he would appeal to the honorable member for the Warrego when he (Dr. O'Doherty) said that the reasons that had induced the Oppo-



sition to take their present stand had been put before the House as plainly as they could be. That honorable member took exception to the position they had taken up, because honorable members on the Opposition side of the House distrusted the Government carrying out—after they had obtained Supply—the programme which they said they would carry out. Now, his simple answer to that was this—and he believed it was an answer in which he would be backed up by every honorable member on this side of the House—that the honorable member for the Mitchell, and the honorable member for the Warrego, had not been long enough in the House to see what the effect of passing Supply invariably was. He had been now for some years in the House, though he still accounted himself a young member of the House; and he must say that beyond all doubt, when once Supply was passed by the House, it was hopeless to expect that any other important measures would be discussed in it. That was the invariable experience of everyone who had been a member of the House for some time. The withholding of Supply was the only means by which they could expect to get the Government to deal with any important measures; and he would repeat it again and again, that Supply being once granted it was utterly hopeless to expect that any important measures would be discussed in the House during the remainder of the session. Now, in coming to the decision they had come to, he utterly denied that the conduct of the Opposition was capable of bearing the construction put on it by the honorable member for the Warrego and the honorable member for the Mitchell. The Opposition did not at all wish to stigmatise those honorable members, or other honorable members who sat on the Government side of the House, as either liars or scoundrels, or anything of the kind. He thought it was a most unfair statement to be made in the House, especially by the honorable member for the Warrego, as well as by the honorable member for the Mitchell. It was most unfair of those honorable members to make statements which they knew were without a particle of foundation. He had, over and over again, stated that, as an individual member of the House, he looked upon this crisis with the greatest possible gravity. To suppose that he would, for one second, sit there and obstruct the business of the country because honorable members on the other side of the House were liars and scoundrels, was too absurd to be thought of. He took the position he did with other honorable members on the same side of the House, from regarding it as a sacred duty to his constituents to do so. It was, he maintained, urgently necessary, in view of the vast increase of new interests in this colony, that they should have increased representation. He could appeal to several honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, especially to the honorable members for East Moreton, to say that there were interests which had sprung up

in the colony during the last few years that urgently required representation in the House; and before the House proceeded to deal with other important measures, they should insist upon providing additional representation for those and other interests. The conduct of the Opposition had been spoken of by the honorable member for the Warrego, and in the most emphatic manner, as being the action of a factious minority. Now, he maintained that there was nothing in the conduct of the Opposition to justify the honorable member in calling it the action of a factious minority. To say so was as absurd as to speak of the Opposition regarding honorable members on the Government side of the House as liars and scoundrels. What they did, as representatives in that House, for the interests of the country, and at the urgent demand of their constituents, could not be called factious. When the honorable member stood forward and accused the Opposition of being a factious minority, could he prove that they were the representatives of a minority of the inhabitants of the country? If not, then he had no right, and especially as the representative of the smallest constituency in the colony, to stand forward and make so gross a charge against honorable members on the Opposition side of the House. He (Dr. O'Doherty) claimed to be influenced by as high a feeling as the honorable member; and when he said so, he gave that honorable member the fullest credit for being influenced by as high feelings as any other honorable member in the House; but he claimed to be influenced by as good a feeling towards the constituency he represented, as the honorable member did towards his own constituency; and he must disclaim such statements as had been made by the honorable member towards honorable members on the Opposition side of the House. Now, he wished most sincerely that his voice could reach the constituencies of the majority; for he believed that it was they who were the real obstructionists to the progress of the country. He could not conceive of any great constitutional principle that could be said, even remotely, to be involved in this question. The Government asked for Supply, and they were offered three months' supply; and what the Opposition wanted, on the other hand, was that those measures should be discussed, for which the House was adjourned three or four months ago. The Government knew that that was the object of the Opposition, and that they did not ask for any other. But they refused to accept the Supply offered to them, and also refused to discuss the measures he referred to. Now, he utterly denied that the Government, or any of their supporters, had the slightest ground for saying that the Opposition had any other ground than that. They required the Additional Representation Bill, the measure which the Government brought in, to be discussed in the House; and this guarantee of two or three months' supply was

the only tie by which they could hold them to their promise. He therefore maintained that there was no constitutional principle involved in the question, as the honorable member for the Warrego sought to maintain; though there might be some little question involved in it as to the Government yielding on account of the hasty declaration made by the honorable the Colonial Secretary at the commencement of the session. To his mind, the only question involved in it was that the honorable the Colonial Secretary—in a spirit which, to his mind, was far other than what should be in an honorable member at the head of a House such as that—came forward and said he would insist upon Supply being granted as he thought proper. Now, there could be no great constitutional principle, he thought, involved in that. The honorable the Colonial Secretary insisted that he must have his supplies granted in his own way. Now, he (Dr. O'Doherty) would say, in answer to that, that, as an independent member of the House, his duty to his constituents was to watch and see that their interests were attended to before Supply was granted. He maintained that the honorable the Colonial Secretary had no right to demand Supply in his own way, and it would only be a graceful act on the part of the honorable gentleman to yield in favor of the reasonable offer that had been made by the Opposition side of the House.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS said that the statements which had been made again and again by the honorable member who had just sat down, and by other honorable members opposite, would have some weight with honorable members on the Government side of the House, if they were correct; but they could have no weight with them, as they were not correct. When those honorable members who made those statements wished to palm off on the country that their reasons for withholding Supply was to have a hold on the Government, that they should carry out the measures that were promised in the Governor's Speech, they were only deluding themselves and the country by making such utterances. The Government were not asking Supply for next year. What they asked for was the Supply for this year, which should have been granted last year. They only asked now for the Supply which they had a right to get last session.

HONORABLE MEMBERS on the Opposition side: Hear, hear.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: He might state that when great truths were being uttered by honorable members on this side of the House—truths which honorable members opposite felt it was not desirable should be known by the country, and which they knew would not appear in the columns of the *Courier*—those honorable members invariably endeavored to drown the voice of the speaker. Now, he maintained that the House had already committed itself to the Supply

required for this year. By granting, last session, what was equal to four months' supply, for the service of this year, they committed themselves to the whole course of expenditure, as intended by the Government. The supplies for this year were not those respecting the expenditure of which honorable members opposite should now question the Government; for, in granting Supply, last session, for four months of this year, they practically expressed their acquiescence in the whole of the proposed expenditure of the Government for this year, and they knew it; and not only did they do that, but honorable members opposite now proposed to give the Government Supply for other three or four months longer. Now, upon those grounds they had forfeited their right to question the expenditure for this year, and they knew it. Was there, he would ask, one honorable member on the opposite side of the House, who could step forward and question the right of the Government to pay the salaries of the civil servants for the remainder of the present year at the rate they had been paid, after they had granted the Government four months' supply to enable them to pay those salaries? and now the Opposition were urging the Government to take supplies for three months more without questioning them as to how it would be expended. What honorable members opposite were trying to do, was, to foist upon the public that the ground which it was necessary for them to take, at the present time, was to stop Supply for 1872, in order to secure the passing of certain measures. Now, he maintained that it was beyond their province to attempt to do anything of the kind; for they had already committed themselves to Supply for 1872, and the Government had now a right to demand it. Honorable members opposite had virtually granted Supply for the whole of the present year by their conceding four months' supply without question last session, and urging the Government to take other three months' supply now. As to their power of questioning the Government about the expenditure of the Supply that was voted last session, he defied any honorable member opposite to step forward and question the Government as to the expenditure of any one of the items. On a previous occasion he formally challenged honorable members opposite to do so; and he then pointed out one or two items in the Estimates that he himself would object to. But those honorable members had departed from that right, and that great public duty of theirs, in order that they might carry on their party warfare. Now, for what were they demanding the stoppage of supplies—or only to dole out Supply to the Government from time to time? Was it to secure the passing of measures during the present session, which they had promised the public to have passed, or to secure the passing of measures which they had wrung from the Government? It was for neither of those purposes, but for the purpose of securing

the passing of certain measures which the Government themselves had promised to pass. Measures which, last session, they endeavored to frustrate the passage of, were the Gold Duty Abolition Bill, the Gold Fields Bill, and the Redistribution Bill. What right had those honorable members to appeal to the House and the country in their present position? Who first mooted the question, in the chamber, that the people required more representatives? His honorable friend the Premier.

HONORABLE MEMBERS of the Opposition : No, no.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS : Who first thought of it, who first introduced it, with any intention to carry it into effect? His honorable friend the Premier. What was the cry made to the country on the last dissolution, and during the general election? It was not at all about the Representation Bill; it was the railway cry.

HONORABLE MEMBERS of the Opposition : No, no.

MR. FYFE : Hear, hear.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS : Look at the burden of their addresses; look at their speeches;—and it would be found that the great want of the southern men, and of some northern men, was the railway, with those other matters of progress which they had indicated for public expenditure. There could be no question that that was the cry which honorable members opposite had forced the Government to go to the country upon. And what was the consequence? The Government came back to the House stronger than ever. The honorable member for Rockhampton was more candid than other honorable members sitting on the same side, and he said, Yes: he knew that the cry the Opposition went to the country upon was, the railway, and that many of the Opposition would not have been returned had they not gone in for the southern extension from Ipswich to Brisbane. They found that that did not suit their little game, now; and they cried out for what the Premier was the first to introduce to the chamber, and that was what they were stopping the supplies for. Did the honorable member for Fortitude Valley ever introduce such a Bill as the one now on the table of the House? Did he ever bring before them such a comprehensive measure? Did he ever introduce a Bill, at all—?

MR. KING and MR. LILLEY : Yes.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS : Honorable members said, "Yes"; but they might allow him to finish his sentence. Did the honorable member for Fortitude Valley ever introduce a Bill that he was not glad to withdraw? When he (the Secretary for Works) sat in opposition, he charged that honorable member in the same way as he charged him now, that those very measures which had been introduced by him professedly for the benefit of the people he was the first

to withdraw, when he could get the opportunity.

MR. LILLEY : No.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS : He had been looking through "Hansard," and he would prove what he said. Where was the honorable member's Increased Representation Bill?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER : The two-thirds clause.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS : Yes. He believed no honorable member regretted the passing of that Two-thirds Clause Repeal Bill more than the honorable member himself, this session. Where were the other Bills that the honorable member demanded in the name of the country? He had introduced Bills, certainly; but the only other one that was passed, of any importance to the country, was the Pastoral Relief Bill of 1869; and that he had introduced simply to gain a majority of supporters in the House. In opposition, he (the Secretary for Works) denounced that Bill as an iniquity, as he did now. But he would not have been justified, whatever his feelings, in stopping supplies; it might or might not be constitutionally right, but he would not do it. When the Government came back, after the appeal to the country, with a majority, they were met by the most factious Opposition. No set of aldermen in any municipality would carry out such a factious opposition as was witnessed in the present shameful proceedings in the House. He trembled for parliamentary government, when it was so disgraced, as such proceedings must lead to its destruction. The honorable member for Brisbane, Dr. O'Doherty—who had left the House, as usual, after the delivery of his speech—had said that honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, did not call honorable members on the Ministerial side liars, and so on, but they distrusted the Government and their supporters. Well, a more honorable man than the Premier of this colony did not exist; and he had declared to the House, over and over again, that he intended to carry out the measures which had been promised. The Opposition withheld supplies, because they did not believe him! What sort of conduct was that? It was utterly unworthy of men who had a spark of honor or truth in their bosoms, and of their position as gentlemen. He (the Secretary for Works) did not know how honorable members could enunciate such sentiments as he had heard in the House. He pledged himself that if he saw any intention on the part of his colleagues to withdraw from their promises, he would desert them. And there were other honorable members, supporters of the Government, equally determined with himself to act in that way, if there should be any hesitation, which was not likely, to carry out the pledges of the Government, and to bring in every Bill that was promised. The Government had not promised a single Bill which they did not

intend in their hearts to introduce, and if possible to give effect to. It was degrading to the Assembly, and to the people, when honorable members said they did not believe a Government supported by such supporters as occupied the Ministerial side of the House. He did not believe they were sincere. They prevented the passing of the very measures which they demanded—the measures which the Government were the first to promise. He did not believe there were any such ruffians in the country as honorable members in Opposition endeavored to make the Ministry appear; and, bad as some of those honorable members were, he did not believe they were themselves capable of what they charged against the Ministry.

Mr. MILES: Hear, hear.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: The honorable member for Maranoa cheered those expressions; yet he would be the last man to say, in the public streets, that he believed the Ministry capable of doing what was attributed to them by honorable members on his side of the House.

Mr. MILES: We have no faith in you.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: The honorable member said that, but if his vote at the present moment would turn the Government out, he would not give it. There was the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Hemmant, in the same position. Neither of those honorable members would vote for putting the present Ministry out of power. They knew very well that the colony was righteously governed. They had seen for a series of years what damage had arisen from the country not being properly governed. Yet what was the position that the Opposition were endeavoring to place a strong Government with a strong majority in? That the Ministry must pass a Bill under a threat. Was that the way to legislate? Honorable members said, that until a certain Bill was passed, namely, the Redistribution Bill, and passed in the way that they liked—for that, he understood, was their mode of reasoning—the Government should not have supplies. As a member of the Government he refused, as a supporter of any party he should refuse, to pass any such Bill under intimidation. Anything of that kind it would be unbecoming in an Englishman not to resist. To be told that he should not have supplies—that he should not hold office—that he should not do the public business—unless he did it as he was bid by the Opposition, he for one would not stand;—and he would not assist to pass, or agree to, the best measure in the land if he was expected to do it under such circumstances. He had enough of that sort of work when he was at school, when he had to learn lessons under the threat of the birch; and he was not going to pass any measure through the House under threats much more odious than the threat of being birched. He repeated it again, and it ought to be well understood by the country, that

the measures which the Opposition were endeavoring to extort or wring from the Government were measures which the Government themselves had introduced to the House; and the Government had pledged their characters as statesmen to carry those measures, and they had a majority to carry them. Therefore, it must appear to thinking, reasonable, men that honorable members opposite who said they were so anxious to carry those measures were by their conduct endeavoring to frustrate them. There were, he believed, three or four honorable members on the Opposition side who dreaded more than any on the Government side, the carrying of the Bill. They knew that, if it passed, their power of humbugging the electors was gone; though they would make believe that they were the champions of it now. The Government were quite alive to the aim and end of the Opposition. The public might be misled, but the Government were not misled or deceived. He had known from the first that the Government were to meet with a factious opposition this session; and, as long as those honorable members to whom he alluded were not seated on the Treasury benches, so long would they act factiously. By hook or by crook, those honorable members would endeavor to change sides: whenever they could get a handle, they meant to open the doors of office for themselves. The House had been told that it was the grand measure of redistribution that they were fighting for. He could not believe it. The Bill could have been passed by this time, or the House could have got a good way on with it, if honorable members had wished to pass it—if their wish to pass it was anything like equal to their wish to pass over to the Ministerial side of the House.

Mr. EDMONDSTONE: Oh!

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: Everyone would believe that the honorable member wished to pass it. What he blamed him for was, being too easy, and not reading two or three members who misled him, and who used him for their own purposes. He had already told the House that the Redistribution Bill was not the question which the Opposition placed before the country on the last election, but that it was the railway—a question of progress, the very antithesis of what the honorable member for South Brisbane enunciated before he left office, “rest and caution.” But the honorable member for Wide Bay had “let the cat out of the bag,” in one of those diatribes which he was so fond of preaching in the form of leading articles or letters; and he (the Secretary for Public Works) would produce one from the honorable member's own organ, shewing that the Opposition intended, before granting the year's supplies, to obtain the Redistribution Bill, the Gold Fields Bill, and other important measures.

The SPEAKER interposed, and was understood to say that the honorable the Minister

for Works was committing an irregularity in reading from a newspaper.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: He was about to read something which he thought ought to become a record of the House.

THE SPEAKER: Statements in newspapers could not be held binding upon honorable members, and they should not be introduced for discussion, as their authenticity was not guaranteed.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: Could he not read a statement signed by the honorable member?

THE SPEAKER: An honorable member might not read his own speech, much less the opinions or arguments of any other person outside the House; otherwise, speeches composed by persons outside might be read by honorable members in the House.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: He could not say it was authentic, though it was a letter signed "H. E. King." He supposed it was written by the honorable member on the Opposition side. He thought he should be right in reading the whole of it, as it ought to be recorded in "Hansard":—

"Gentlemen—I see by telegrams in to-day's paper that the Ministry have acted up to the threats which they have uttered in the Assembly, and have commenced to discharge road parties, &c., and have given notice to the Civil Service and to charitable institutions receiving aid from Government that all payments are stopped. I wish distinctly to inform my constituents that this stoppage is the act of the Ministry alone, and in no respect that of the Opposition. The members of the Opposition have not merely offered the Government a vote sufficient to carry them on for two months, but they have pressed and urged them to take it. It is right, therefore, that every person who may in any way be distressed by the stoppage of payments from the Treasury, should know that this stoppage is occasioned by the refusal of the Ministry to take the money that is offered to them, and not by any refusal of the Opposition to grant the money. The Opposition are perfectly ready and willing to grant whatever sums are necessary for carrying on the business of the country from time to time"; —

He wished for an Opposition that would not grant votes *in globo*, but that would examine every item of the Estimates, and try to get reductions made, as he did when in opposition. He believed it was true, that the Opposition would grant supplies for such a time as would enable them to walk over to the Treasury benches, at any cost to the country, and whatever the profrigacy of the Government. They only wished to get the Government into that fix which should enable the change to be made:—

—"But they refused to vote the Estimates for a year in advance until the people of the colony are properly represented in the Legislative Assembly."

Might he (the Secretary for Works) here state that, if the people of the colony were

not properly represented in the Assembly, they should not vote supplies at all?—not *in globo*, not for three months. If honorable members did not think the country was properly represented, let them go back to their constituents and tell them so.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: That would be too much of a good thing.

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS (*reading*):—

"An Additional Members or Redistribution Bill has been constantly promised for more than five years past"—

Well, all he could say was, that the present Government had for two years been trying to pass one, and had been obstructed by the Opposition:—

—"And the party now in power, have constantly broken their own pledges, and obstructed the passing of the Bill by Mr. Lilley when he was in power."

He (the Secretary for Works) said that was utterly untrue—there was not a word of truth in it:—

"A number of the principal supporters of Mr. Palmer's Ministry do not disguise the fact, that they are opposed to his Bill"—

That, again, was utterly untrue. Honorable members, to a man, said they would support the Government in that measure, or one like it. But that was like all the statements that the honorable member for Wide Bay was constantly foisting upon the country, in the newspapers, either in leaders or letters. Why did not the honorable member mention the names of those honorable members who opposed the Bill? That would have been a manly way of doing his work. Was it his (the Secretary for Works') honorable friend, the member for Mitchell; was it his honorable friend——

MR. KING: To cut the matter short, he said the honorable member for Warrego and one of the honorable members for Ipswich had said they were opposed to the Bill.

MR. BUCHANAN: He never did.

MR. KING: The honorable member opposed it the other night.

HONORABLE MEMBERS: "Hear, hear," and "No, no."

THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS (*reading*):—

—"And as he cannot afford to disregard the feelings of the only class by which he is supported, we have good reason to believe that if the year's Estimates were passed the House would be immediately prorogued, and only called together at the end of the year to pass the Estimates for 1873. You demanded, and received from me, gentlemen, a pledge that I would do my utmost to obtain for your district and for other populous districts an increase of representation in the Assembly"—

He doubted very much if the constituents of Wide Bay did demand anything of the sort. The honorable member himself, no doubt, introduced the subject to his constituents for the purpose of making them factious against

the Government. The matter was never introduced to them, except by the honorable member, in his leaders and letters.

The SPEAKER again interposed, and said the honorable gentleman was raising a debate upon an opinion expressed by a person outside of the House.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: The honorable member for Wide Bay had acknowledged it. The letter was his own.

The SPEAKER: It was not a statement made in the House, and the House could not acknowledge it. The honorable gentleman would see that he would be raising a discussion upon something that took place outside. The House did not take cognizance of such an expression of opinion by a person outside.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: The honorable member acknowledged that he wrote the letter; and he (the Secretary for Public Works) was endeavoring to point out to the country and to its representatives in the chamber, that it was not on the simple question of redistribution that the Opposition were determined to obstruct the Government in the passage of their Estimates, but on the whole course of the measures introduced by the Government. And, when he had hesitated about reading the letter, the honorable member for Fortitude Valley called upon him to read it.

Mr. LILLEY: We have no objection.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: It was known that honorable members of the Opposition read the letters of honorable gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House, and that private letters had been read in the House.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: The honorable member for South Brisbane had read a private letter from his honorable friend, the honorable member for Western Downs, Mr. Ramsay, and he was not stopped.

The SPEAKER: That was last session, when a great deal of irregularity prevailed. It was very desirable that such irregularity should be discontinued by the House.

Mr. FERRETT rose to a point of order. It was always allowable to quote from newspapers in support of argument.

The SPEAKER said he stated the rule, and it was for the House to abide by it or not.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS (*reading*):—

—“And I am firmly convinced that it is only by retaining such a hold over the Government as will prevent a premature adjournment or prorogation that we have any chance of forcing the Bills from them. The Ministry have nothing to complain of in this matter, since it is the usual practice of Parliament that all the important business of the session shall be well advanced before the Estimates are brought forward.”

Now, that was misleading the public, again; as it was not the Estimates of this session, but the Estimates of last session, that the Government wanted to get through. The

Government had a constitutional majority, and they had a right to those Estimates. If the Opposition found them wanting in their duty, or disregarding their promises, it was their province to obstruct the Estimates for next year, which were not yet before the House; but they were not justified in stopping the Estimates for this year:—

“In conclusion, I would remark that if it should turn out that the Ministry have no real intention of refusing the Supply offered to them, then their conduct in spreading such an alarm has been most reprehensible; while, if they really intend to attempt to coerce the Opposition by starving a number of unfortunate laborers and others who have taken no part in politics, then their policy is so truly devilish that I cannot believe that they will any longer find apologists or supporters in Queensland.”

He trusted they would not.

“You may rest assured, gentlemen, that before the Ministry get a year's Supply we will see the Redistribution Bill, the Gold Fields Bill, and some other important measures safe out of their hands, however hard they may try to evade us.”

There were the Opposition unmasked.

HONORABLE MEMBERS: No, no.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: Well, all he could say was, that the honorable member for Wide Bay stood in the position of being a bad exponent of the views of the Opposition. All along, it was the desire of honorable members opposite, not to see the measures they asked for passed, but to pass, themselves, over to the Ministerial side of the chamber. That was his (the Secretary for Works') conviction. It was the wish of several members on the other side—there were four or five who did not care for office—of the leaders, the intriguers, of the Opposition, to change sides at any risk to the colony; and it was the only thought of those hankers after office, that they would bring about such a state of things as would land them on the Treasury benches. But he had another word to say:—In his absence from the House, the honorable member for Wide Bay stated that the Government had already gone the length of stopping the works of the Dawson Bridge under the loan vote.—

Mr. KING: He had said, it was stated in a newspaper: he had not spoken positively.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: He did know this—that a gentleman who made a statement in the chamber was responsible for the truth of what he said. If the paper did not make a proper statement, the honorable member had no business to repeat it. He (the Secretary for Works) now declared to the House and the country that there was not a word of truth in that statement. The very last act he did before coming to the chamber, this afternoon, was to authorise the purchase of horses for carrying on that work; and the advertisement would appear to-morrow. If the honorable member for Wide Bay would come to his office, he should get the actual facts of the case placed before

him by one of his clerks. Fain as he (the Secretary for Works) was, as a Minister, to stop any works which involved large expenditure, he had refrained, and the Government had refrained, from stopping any works at all that were not to be defrayed out of the general revenue of this year. He had given particular instructions, so far as the loan of 1871 was concerned, that all works under it should be proceeded with; and, also, that unexpended balances for works in progress should be expended. The Government had taken as much trouble as they could to prevent inconvenience to the country; and such statements should not be made.

MR. HEMMANT: It was in your own paper.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: Before the question was put, he wished to set the honorable member for Fortitude Valley right on another matter. He understood the honorable member to have stated that a petition had been sent from Rockhampton, praying that the Redistribution Bill should be withdrawn. He begged to inform the honorable member that he was utterly wrong. A very important petition, of which he had a copy in his pocket, was circulating in that district, and he believed it would get a very great number of signatures, for presentation to the House. But it was not a petition for the withdrawal of the Redistribution Bill; it represented that the House ought to grant Supply, and that the Government should not be prevented, by any factious Opposition claiming that the Redistribution Bill was required first, from proceeding with the business of the country. There was no prayer concerning the withdrawal of the Bill; on the contrary, the petitioners recognised, as they had for many years, the want of representation; but they considered that the immediate wants of the country were, the keeping of good faith with the public, and the maintaining of the credit of the colony; and that the making provision for the payment of the public servants was an important duty beyond any under pressure of the Redistribution Bill. That was all he (the Colonial Secretary) had to say. He was sure the honorable member for Fortitude Valley did not expect him to reply, again, to his insulting offer of three months' supply.

MR. STEPHENS said the House had wandered away entirely from the question. It was well known that the Government had about got to the end of the money available by them, when they had been sending circulars, in various directions, saying that there was no more expenditure authorised; and the House had a lively picture presented to them, the other night, of the great evils that would arise if Supply was not voted. The Opposition were now prepared to vote for going into Committee of Supply, and to vote for the Government taking two or three months' supply, in order that the public service should not suffer any inconvenience. The Government refused that offer. It was

a perfectly monstrous proposition that gentlemen holding the reins of power should deliberately go to work to disorganise the whole Civil Service of the colony, because they could not get the vote they required; and when they could obtain, at once, by asking for it, Supply to carry out all that was asked of them. He could not conceive any justification for the Government taking up such a position. They had only to make the proposition, and Supply would be voted without objection. It was important to define the position of a Government. The tax-payers were able to pay, and would have to pay, every liability incurred by the Government; who were now incurring liabilities at the usual rate without authority. The Government knew that that was illegal. Yet they had only to get the Treasurer to move the regular motion for Supply, and it would be voted unanimously. So long as they disorganised the public service by their refusal to ask for Supply which would prevent that disorganisation, so long would the responsibility be on their shoulders. He should support the motion for going into Committee of Supply.

MR. MILES observed that it had been frequently said by honorable members on the Ministerial side of the House, that the opposition was one of obstruction. He thought he could shew, in a few words, that the obstruction did not come from the members in opposition at all, for, if the Government were prepared to ask for a vote on account of the public service, it would be granted at once. If the Government wanted to prove their sincerity, why not go into Committee of Supply at once, and take a vote? The honorable the Premier would not lower his dignity by taking a vote on account; he wanted the supplies for the rest of the year. He (Mr. Miles) should like to know if the honorable gentleman took his dignity into consideration when he appeared, on a late occasion, at Rockhampton?

HONORABLE MEMBERS: Oh, oh!

MR. MILES: When honorable gentlemen got up on the Ministerial side of the House and talked of their dignity, he had a right to refer to it. But he would content himself with saying that, whatever obstruction was put in the way of the progress of public business, it was by the Government and their supporters. He wished it to be distinctly understood that, from the Opposition side of the House, none was put forward. Supposing that the Opposition were willing to pass the Estimates for the year, it would be utterly impossible to scrutinise and get through them, item by item, before the money was wanted by the Government. The honorable the Secretary for Public Works had got up and said the House had no business to do so; that the House had actually affirmed the Estimates by voting three months' supply; that that vote took it out of the power of the House to discuss the Estimates at all. Well, notwithstanding what that honorable gen-

tleman had said, whenever the Estimates came before the House, he (Mr. Miles) would take care to scrutinise them, though he was sure that, with the majority the Government had at their back, any proposition coming from the Ministry would be carried in spite of the Opposition. But the Opposition were endeavoring to get the representation into such a condition as that they could deal with questions, and scrutinise the Estimates, on equal terms with honorable members on the Ministerial side. The present confusion had been brought about, not by the Opposition, but by the unconstitutional proceeding of the Government in adjourning the House for five months. And yet honorable members talked about the constitution. Would they shew a precedent for that adjournment, and the dissolution that had followed it? He did not care about questions or cries. The Opposition would never have taken the course they were pursuing, had it not been for the course taken by the Ministry, and the conduct of the Acting-Governor in giving them a second dissolution within one year. The Government and their supporters said that they had been returned constitutionally, and that the House had a right to deal with them as the majority representing the country. Everyone knew how the majority was obtained. If the Ministry had not obtained the second dissolution they would not be where they were now, nor would they have a majority in the Assembly. The honorable member for the Warrego represented only forty electors. Was it to be tolerated that he should have the same influence in the House as one of the honorable members for East Moreton, who represented five thousand? What he (Mr. Miles) and the Opposition wanted was, a little equality; they wanted to have the people fairly represented. As soon as that was settled, no member, he was assured, would offer factious opposition to the Government. Honorable members on the Ministerial side, two of whom represented in some way tracts of territory extending from the extreme southern boundary of the colony to the Gulf of Carpentaria, wished for no change, as they would never be in as good a position as at present. The House had been told by the honorable member for Mitchell, and—as far as he could understand, in an undertone—by the Secretary for Lands, that there was no want of land in the country for occupation. That he (Mr. Miles) denied; because the Minister knew that he had presented petition after petition for land to be thrown open; and he asserted that there was a hunger and a thirst for land amongst the people, and that the Government would not supply the demand. The Government, in fact, threw impediments in the way of meeting it. They and their supporters did not wish to proceed with the Redistribution Bill. He had heard the question discussed, session after session, for five years. A speech

was not delivered from the throne during that time in which it had not a prominent place. Every Government promised to deal with it. The House had been told that the present Government were anxious to pass the Bill. Why, then, did they not go on with it? Why did they not give the House the opportunity of discussing the second reading? He did not think there would be much difficulty, afterwards, in passing supplies, if honorable members only had the opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the Bill; and there would be no difficulty in proceeding to the other stages through which the Bill must pass. The Opposition were not so green as to accept the statement that the promise of the Government was kept when the Bill had been introduced by the Premier; it was the duty of the Government to proceed with the Bill. There was not much to be gained by the present discussion, as both sides of the House had made up their minds. It had been debated for months, and for the past month in the House. If neither side would give way, he trusted that the public outside would decide the question.

Mr. HANDY wished, he said, for himself, individually, to answer the statement of the honorable the Secretary for Public Works, that the Opposition were endeavoring to frustrate the passing of the Redistribution Bill; as he was most anxious for that Bill to come before the House at once, and he wished that the House would proceed with it all the week and pass it. For two years, redistribution had been the election cry of the colony; and it was one of the most important questions submitted to the constituencies. The business of the country could not be carried on until it was settled, and until there was a change in the number of members of the Assembly. At the last election he was pledged to allow no Estimates to be passed until the redistribution question was settled. Why was he so pledged? What had the electors of Brisbane to do with redistribution? Even on the face of the Bill, it was admitted that they were to get no additional representation; they did not want redistribution so far as they were concerned; but they believed, with every other constituency, that redistribution, with fair representation, was wanted for the colony, in order to enable the Legislative Assembly to carry on the public business. The Opposition members would be false to their pledges if they did not insist upon the settlement of the question with the least possible delay; and, therefore, they objected to more Supplies being granted than were sufficient to carry on with, until the Bill was through the House. Therefore, the assertion of the Minister for Works was without foundation. The honorable gentleman had said that, sooner than be forced to accept Supply under a threat, he would be birched, as when he went to school. A person might have imagined, at the time the honorable gentleman was delivering his



speech, that the birch was over him, for he did yell. If there should be an election, he would find a birch when he went before his constituents. The House could imagine how the honorable gentleman would shout when he was birched by his own beloved Maryborough; but he (Mr. Handy) should not like to be present. Nothing could give him greater pleasure than to vote supplies for three months, so as to enable the Government to carry the Bill; he would sooner see the Bill attended to than any other business; and for the despatch of business, he thought the House had offered very good terms to the Government. Therefore, he should vote for going into Committee of Supply.

MR. EDMONDSTONE said he agreed with his honorable colleague, Dr. O'Doherty, that, if the House passed the Estimates, all would be gone. No doubt that had been the usual course. After the Estimates had been disposed of, all the unfortunate Bills and motions were made away with in the "slaughter of the innocents," which closed the session. What the Opposition now demanded, was increased representation, with the redistribution of the electorates of the colony. For many years the country had been asking for such reform, and the demand was still reiterated. In answer to the Minister for Works, he said, that under ordinary circumstances, it would be the business of the Opposition to canvass every vote on the Estimates, and not to vote Supply in a lump sum; but the present were peculiar circumstances, and the Bill was required before any other measure. Redistribution had been promised by every Government, for years past, and the present Government had several times promised a Bill. The Bill was before the House, and why should not the Government go on with it? As soon as the Bill was secure, the Government could get their supplies. They had no reason to wait. Indeed, they could have all the Supply they wanted for carrying on the business of the country until there was a reasonable prospect of the Bill becoming law. The honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Ferrett, had insinuated that the Opposition were not guided by a desire to serve their constituents in what they were doing, and that they were not acting sincerely. Well, all he (Mr. Edmondstone) could say, was, that if they did not act as they were now acting, many of them would be asked to resign. The Opposition had been taxed by the Minister for Works with putting a stop to business. They might retort upon the Ministerial side with the same charge, as supplies had been offered and refused. If it was beneath the Government to accept supplies on account, why not go on with the Redistribution Bill? One of their own supporters, the honorable member for Ipswich, Mr. Johnston, had suggested that Supply and the Bill should be gone on with on alternate days. Reverse the order, and take the Bill and

Supply alternately. There would not, then, be any stoppage of business; but the House would make some progress. Every man on the Opposition side of the House was particularly anxious that the business of the country should proceed. No doubt it had been stopped. There might be some particular members of the Opposition who were anxious to remove to the other side of the House; but no such feeling was general, nor was it experienced by the majority of the Opposition. It had been said by the Minister for Works that he (Mr. Edmondstone) and others were anxious that the present Ministry should retain their places. If they were fit to maintain their position, why did they not go on? If it was their feeling that honorable members thought they should remain in office, why did they not proceed with business?

The question was put and passed.

The House having resolved into Committee of the Whole,

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY moved—

That there be granted to Her Majesty, for the service of the year 1872, a sum not exceeding £1,164, to defray the salaries and contingencies of His Excellency the Governor's establishment.

MR. STEPHENS moved—

That the Chairman report no progress.

Question put and negatived on a division:—  
Ayes, 10; Noes, 13.

MR. LILLEY moved—

That the Chairman leave the chair.

MR. FYFE said he thought it was about time that the representatives of populous constituencies should speak up. Divisions such as the last would tend very little to elevate the colony in the estimation of those who thought more of representative government than certain honorable members did of party. He wished not to commit himself; but he must speak. A man should speak his mind, honestly and truthfully; and if he spoke his mind, he must say that the position of the Ministry before the House, at the present moment, was not a fitting one. If the honorable member at the head of the Government was not to be trusted, why did he represent the country in the high office in which he was placed? Why should honorable members refuse to trust him as a public man, when they would not do so in his private capacity? What would the world say of Queensland, if, as men of honor—the representatives in the House were all supposed to be honorable men—they would not trust one another? That was the position. There was the difficulty. They were warring against conscience, and against feeling; and they must be careful of sacrificing principle. Principle ought to actuate everyone, and it was not incompatible with good feeling and honorable dealing. Some gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House, he had known for twenty years. A bank manager had asked him—"Would you doubt one of them in his private relations of

life?" He (Mr. Fyfe) had said, No, he would not. A favorable comparison was drawn between honorable members. As far as he was concerned, he was equal in the House to any honorable member; and he represented the largest constituency in the colony. But he thought that now was the time when some concession should be made. After such a speech as was delivered the other night by the head of the Government, if he was in his place, rather than yield he would do anything else. But how could the Opposition recede from the position that they had taken up? Where and how was the battle to be fought? Who of the intellectual gladiators were to give in? If he was in the place of some of them, he would rather see the Government covered with a funeral pall, and swept away as by a hurricane, than give way at the present moment. As a matter of course, the question was one of constitutional policy. What right had Sir Maurice O'Connell to dissolve the House? Let that be made the basis of a debate, and let the House argue it from a constitutional point of view, with all the knowledge that they could bring to bear upon it; but let them understand what they had to debate, and, when it was over, let them come to an amicable agreement. Do not let it be supposed for a moment that he was speaking for the Government, or identifying himself with their programme. He would not identify himself with class legislation, or with the interest of the squatting runs of the colony—an interest which had absorbed all the lands of the Darling Downs, and which, if not kept in check, would absorb the lands of the North. Notwithstanding that the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government had stated that, because a man had not thousands of acres of land, he had not a stake in the country, he thought otherwise; and he (Mr. Fyfe), and others like him, had to look forward to the interests of their children, in the effects of the legislation of the present time, which must not be altogether as the representatives of foreign capital wished. The Premier took upon himself the position of a dictator of the colony, but some men cared nothing for dictation, and could not be influenced by him. But, in his (Mr. Fyfe's) opinion, the time had come to speak out. Honorable members did not know which way he would vote. The honorable member for Wide Bay was the last man who ought to say anything about the influences or motives of an honorable member's action; whatever he might do in regard to Gympie or Maryborough, certainly that honorable member could not influence the representative of Rockhampton. Whatever action he (Mr. Fyfe) now took in the House, he conscientiously believed, would be held right by his constituents. Party spirit had nothing to do with him, in any shape or form. But he would take very good care that Rockhampton should not suffer. That constituency was once included in Port Curtis, which was repre-

sented by the honorable member at the head of the Government. It was certainly strange that the representatives of those constituencies should be on different sides of the House. He represented important national interests on the part of the inhabitants of Rockhampton, and he could not afford to ignore them. He had telegrams from them—copies of which he had no doubt were in the possession of the honorable the Colonial Secretary, who thoroughly understood his position—and they expressed in effect what he wished, to see legislation go apace. He would say, at once, Trust the Government with their Estimates for 1872, and the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government and his followers would be unworthy of their position if they should not give effect to all their pledges. There would be time, when the Estimates for 1873 came on for discussion, to checkmate the Government. So far as his heart and feelings were concerned, he had no right to disbelieve the Government, or to doubt the integrity of honorable members in the House when he would not doubt them as gentlemen in their private relations. He had an equal and as perfect a right to respect honorable members of the Opposition who supported the liberal cause when he was fighting with them for the rights of the people. But he would not sacrifice himself or his constituency for any man's ambition. He understood the honorable gentleman at the head of the Government as well, perhaps, as any one; he could almost give his biography. But this was not the opportunity, when affairs were in a very serious position. He had given his ideas upon the present question, which, he believed, were thoroughly understood and appreciated by honorable members on both sides of the committee—namely, that they had now arrived at a period at which a compromise might be made. For, admitting that the Government would stand upon their dignity, and that the honorable the leader of the Opposition would not give in, it was now time to consider what would be the consequence of such a course. Would the Government give in? Then, what would be the position of the majority, and what would the country think of it? He thought the honorable the Premier, and the honorable the leader of the Opposition, should agree to some compromise between themselves; and he was sure that whatever they agreed to would be accepted by the committee. The country had faith in both of those honorable members; and, as far as he was concerned, he could say that, from his own knowledge, a large section of the constituency he represented had great faith in the honorable the Premier, whilst he could not vote against the honorable the leader of the Opposition—he would almost feel compelled to resign his seat rather than do so. Honorable members should consider what would be the end of all the present fighting. Supposing, for instance, the Governor granted a dissolution, what would

be the state of the country for the next six months? Why, it would be general stagnation. Great blame had been laid against the honorable the Premier for stopping the progress of public works in the North, and it certainly appeared to him that the expenditure of the loan vote of £4,000 ought not to have been stopped, and that the stoppage was more to bring pressure than from any object of pure patriotism. He thought that the time had arrived when they should reason together, when they should let the paltry question of stopping Supply go to the winds, and the consideration of the Redistribution Bill go hand in hand with the Estimates. Admitting that there was a principle involved in the present Opposition—admitting that, by giving way, the dignity of the Government would be jeopardised, still, he thought that, when all the circumstances were taken into consideration, a compromise might be arranged—not one of dignity or principle—but such a one as would enable them to advance the interests of the country. It was quite true that, during the last two or three years, it had been thought by people outside that the colony had been kept in check; but yet, notwithstanding the Government had ignored the advantages of progress, its resources had been so great that it was still going a-head. What was wanted was a directing hand—a genial and social unity. Let the whole colony be so united—let the Legislature be so united that all interests should be guarded, fostered, and consolidated, and that, as far as possible, there should be unity amongst the people, and encouragement given to industries now in the colony, and to others that might be new. It struck him that the present was a fine opportunity for arranging some such compromise—another division might have the effect of altering the whole state of affairs in the colony. It was a matter for serious thought, and he believed, therefore, that it would be better for the honorable the leaders of both sides of the committee to come to some amicable arrangement, shake hands, and agree to proceed with the business of the country. It was quite true that one class of legislators had obtained possession of the colony, and that a check should be put upon them—in fact, it was necessary that legislation should no longer be monopolized by them. Now, however, was a time when the pastoral representatives and those of the people might agree, and, if they did so, legislation could be carried on. After all, what was the legislation required; what was the value of the Redistribution Bill? Supposing it was passed, it could be altered again at the end of six months; why, therefore, should the whole business of the country be delayed on its account? So far as that measure was concerned, he had no great objection to it, excepting as regarded the proposed electorate of Blackall, which he thought required some little alteration. As regarded the other elec-

torates—the far West or the far North—he knew nothing; but if each honorable member spoke for his own district, he believed the Government would listen to any common sense. He thought that instead of persevering with the dead-lock, the leaders of both sides should endeavor to make some arrangement, and then, if they could not agree, let the people speak for themselves. He would, however, warn honorable members that it was dangerous to drive matters to an extreme. They had had an example of that in Victoria, in 1854, when Sir Charles Hotham instituted martial law, and the country was in a state of rebellion, owing to the voice of the people not being listened to. He would be sorry, therefore, to be understood as recommending any extreme measures; but trusted that if the matter was left to the honorable the Premier, and the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, to arrange; some compromise would be made which, without sacrificing the dignity or principle of either side of the committee, would be beneficial to the colony generally.

Mr. MOREHEAD said he was sure that honorable members must have been very sorry to have heard that portion of the honorable member's speech which he had delivered since the adjournment for dinner, when compared with the remarks he had previously made. He would ask the honorable member, if he really knew what was meant by a compromise? Did the honorable member, for one moment, imagine that they could think of a compromise? They took a constitutional position—one that could not be upset by all the soft blandishments of the honorable member for Fortitude Valley, and one that could not be upset by the leading articles of the *Courier* newspaper—that most wonderful journal, which shone in its advertisements, but beyond them was not worth the paper it was printed on. In regard to the honorable member for Rockhampton, he might say that that honorable member appeared to be in the position, at the present time, of a political shuttlecock—waving from one side of the House to the other; or, like Mahomet's coffin, hovering between heaven and earth, or, which was the same, between the Government benches and the Opposition. The Opposition always spoke very largely about the great principle there was at stake. But the Government had enunciated what was the real principle at stake over and over again. It was, whether a minority should coerce the majority? That was the Gordian knot honorable members opposite wished to cut; and if they did so, God help parliamentary government! That was all he could say. They, then, might just as well have the honorable member for Fortitude Valley as sole autocrat, either that honorable member or the member for Wide Bay, or the member for South Brisbane—for it was difficult to say which was the leader; and he doubted if anyone knew. The Opposition seemed to be like that

hydra-headed monster that Hercules was sent into the world to destroy. No matter whether one or two heads were destroyed, others would immediately spring up. It was a hydra-headed monster, and it was impossible to say which was the real head. His idea of an Opposition was that it should be a break on the state coach; but they had no right to put on a dead-lock. If the Government was running too fast for them, let them check them; but he could assure the honorable members that there was a vast difference between putting on a check and putting on a dead-lock; as honorable members would know if they were in the habit of driving horses, which, however, he believed they were not. If there was danger, those honorable members should face it, and say, "We are the men who have brought ruin and starvation on the country, but we have fought for a great principle." They could not, however, say that—but if they were honest they would say what they were fighting for—that they were fighting for a position to which they were not entitled by honest means; not that he meant to impute dishonesty to any honorable member opposite. He would say, however, that many honorable members opposite were being blindly misled by men who were thirsting for office, for the purpose of benefitting themselves and their friends. They were by their conduct forcing the colony, which was prospering in a way it had never done before, to a career which must lead to utter ruin. The Opposition was simply holding a threat over the head of the Government, as had been already shewn. They said to the Government—"Give us so and so, such and such a Bill, and we will give you Supply for so long; if you do not do that, we will not let you have Supply." He would say that it was a most ignoble position for any Opposition to occupy—it was a most disgraceful one, and one that no number of gentlemen should occupy. Honorable members opposite might smile, and fancy that they had the ball at their feet, and that by obstruction they would carry the day. But, after all, who were the Opposition? Representatives of Brisbane, with the exception of the honorable members for the Maranoa, Wide Bay, and the Kennedy.

Mr. EDMONDSTONE: And Rockhampton.

Mr. MOREHEAD: He would not speak of that honorable member at present, as in his speech that evening the honorable member had shewn that he knew he was wrong. But the Opposition would find that the ground had been cut from under them, and that they were in a slough of despond from which they could not extricate themselves. He could assure those honorable members, that if they did get into power—whether they would or not he could not say, as neither he nor his honorable friend, the member for Warrego, were in the secrets of the Cabinet, although they had been accused of being so—if they did succeed in ousting the present Ministry—

if they did succeed in voting them out in an unconstitutional way—although he would not do such a thing, they would be met by an Opposition that would harrass them in a way of which they had but little idea at the present time.

Mr. STEPHENS said he thought the Opposition were very much obliged to the honorable member who had just sat down for the lessons he had given them on constitutional government, and on the duties of a minority—which lessons the honorable member's long experience of political life had enabled him to give with so much effect. He rose, however, more for the purpose of alluding to the honorable member's statement that some of the honorable members of the Opposition were actuated in the course they were pursuing, not by a desire to pass the Redistribution Bill, as they avowed, but by a desire to get office. Now, he would inform the honorable member that there was not a member of the Opposition, who had been a member of a former Government, who had not refused to take office, when pressed upon him to remain in it for a long time.

HONORABLE MEMBERS on the Government benches: Oh, oh.

Mr. STEPHENS: Well, if honorable members did not think so, he would give the facts. When the Mackenzie Government was formed, the office of Treasurer was pressed upon himself before it was given to anybody else, and that office he held for two years, but that, he had refused at first. Then again, when the present Government was formed, the office of Attorney-General was pressed upon his honorable friend the member for Fortitude Valley, and was refused; and that Government had been in office for two years, he believed; so that he could say that there was not a member on his side who had held office, who had not refused it when it was offered to him, and he was likely to hold it for a long time. He would give another reason why the honorable member should not charge the honorable members of the Opposition with personal motives in their present action. The honorable member should recollect, when imputing those motives to honorable members opposite, that the whole Government party stood branded in the opinions of the colony as being banded together to serve their own interests as squatters; they were sent to that House to represent one class interest, and to form a majority to serve that interest only, and to so manage matters that they—the Crown tenants—should become their own landlords.

HONORABLE MEMBERS on the Government benches: Oh, oh.

Mr. STEPHENS: There could also be no doubt that they used that power; indeed, had not the honorable member for the Warrego informed them, on one occasion, that he went to that House to represent the interests of the whole of the shareholders of the company he belonged to? That, the Opposition had

not doubted, although he would give the honorable member credit for going there to represent, as the honorable member believed, the interests of Queensland. It was a slip of the tongue,

Mr. BUCHANAN rose to a point of order. That *lapsus lingue* had been corrected by him long since; and he had explained that he went to that House, not to represent a class, but the colony.

Mr. STEPHENS said that he had stated that it was a slip of the tongue on the part of the honorable member, but the truth would slip out sometimes.

Mr. MOREHEAD objected to the honorable member for South Brisbane taking exception at what had been said by the honorable member for the Warrego. The honorable member twisted and distorted everything, as he did in the columns of the *Courier*. He would move, as a point of order—

That the honorable member for South Brisbane purposely misinterpreted a statement made by the honorable member for the Warrego.

Mr. STEPHENS would ask the Chairman if that was a point of order?

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS stated that last session they had spent a whole sitting in discussing points of order. He considered it was quite competent for the honorable member for the Mitchell to raise a point of order when the honorable member for South Brisbane was purposely misinterpreting the statements of another honorable member. The honorable member for the Warrego never had made the statement imputed to him, and that the honorable member for South Brisbane knew, but he had such an unfortunate memory at times—

Mr. LILLEY: The honorable member is wandering in his speech.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS: If he was, he was following the example of the honorable member, for he had spent many a weary hour in listening to the honorable member. He would like to have the ruling of the honorable the Chairman, whether the honorable member for South Brisbane was in order in continuing to impute statements to the honorable member for Warrego, which that honorable member had denied having made?

The CHAIRMAN said that no honorable member was in order, in repeating statements that he charged an honorable member with having made, after that honorable member had denied making such statements.

[A long discussion here ensued, during which various points of order were raised, on none of which the ruling of the Chairman was given.]

Mr. STEPHENS said that having made the remarks from which so long a discussion had arisen, he would endeavor to pour oil on the troubled waters. What he intended to state was, that when the honorable member for the Warrego said that he was the representative

of certain shareholders, he expressed what was the general opinion out of doors.

Mr. FERRETT: No.

The CHAIRMAN: The honorable member for Warrego had already stated that he did not make use of those words, and other honorable members had also stated that the honorable member did not use them.

Mr. STEPHENS: Of course, he must accept the honorable member's words. He would ask the honorable member for the Mitchell to refrain in future, from making personal allusions to honorable members on his (Mr. Stephens') side of the House, because it was a notorious fact that they were not Crown tenants, and that they could not therefore, if they did get possession of the Treasury benches, be their own landlords. It was a notorious fact, and it was the opinion of the public outside, that that was the object of the honorable members opposite in supporting the present Government. Now, he could give some honorable members opposite credit—

The COLONIAL TREASURER rose to a point of order. The honorable member for South Brisbane was imputing motives to honorable gentlemen on the Government side of the House.

Mr. STEPHENS thought that if that point was submitted—the imputation made by the honorable member for the Mitchell against honorable members of the Opposition should be submitted also—namely, that the Opposition were obstructing business for the purpose of getting on the Treasury benches. He was saying, when interrupted by the honorable the Treasurer, that he gave some honorable members on the back Government benches credit for being perfectly sincere in the course they had followed, believing, as they did, that if they attended to the interests of the pastoral tenants, they were attending to all the interests of the colony. He did not think that they had got beyond the idea, politically, that there was more than one interest in the colony, and that if that could be properly taken care of, all would thrive. He, therefore, gave them credit for some sincerity; but at the same time, he must say, that they were as much mistaken as the squatters of Victoria and New South Wales had been, some years ago, when they imagined that they would be ruined by having population around them. Like those squatters, honorable members opposite were remarkably ignorant of their own interests. It was extremely strange that those men, who in the other colonies had fought so hard to retain possession of the lands, should have since discovered that tremendous fortunes were to be made by having large populations settled down on the portions of the runs which had been taken from them. He knew of one case where a squatter had given up half of his run, and the result was, that he was making more out of the half he retained, by supplying the settlers around with fat stock, than he had ever

made out of the whole run. Therefore, whilst giving the honorable members opposite credit for thinking that they represented the only interest of the colony, he would tell them that they did not know their own.

Mr. HEMMANT thought it would be very advisable if the honorable the Colonial Treasurer, who was occupying the place of the Premier, would say whether he intended to go on as they were now doing until midnight. His object in asking that was because he believed the honorable the Minister for Works was very anxious to address a public meeting that was to be held at the Town Hall that evening; and unless the House soon adjourned, there would be no opportunity for that honorable member to enlighten the constituents of Brisbane as to the conduct of their representatives. He thought, if the House adjourned in a body to the Town Hall, the honorable member and his colleagues would have an opportunity of judging what the opinion of the people outside was on the present question. He hoped that, whatever course the Government intended to take, they would soon put honorable members of the Opposition out of suspense; and if they would follow the course adopted a few evenings ago—take two divisions and then adjourn—it would allow many honorable members to go away. Now a great deal had been said about the daily newspaper, and he must say that he believed in the dishonesty of that journal. He did not know what was the cause of that, as there were shareholders in that paper belonging to both sides of the House, and yet they did not seem to be able to put common honesty into that journal—whose fault it was he could not say. It must, however, be apparent to any person who read that paper, that it was conducted in such a way as to reflect very little credit upon those who conducted it. Now, in the leading article on the 17th of last February, this journal was discussing the question of the Torres' Straits mail route, and in that article expressed its hope that the Torres' Straits route would be adopted, and that there would be no unnecessary delay in the opening of that route. In six days afterwards it wrote again, and in strong terms, in favor of that route; but, on the 27th of the same month, it threw cold water upon it, and asked what advantage the country was likely to derive from the expenditure of so large a sum of money for a mail service by way of Torres' Straits? Now, in a colony where they had only one daily newspaper, he thought it said very little for the way in which that paper was conducted, when they found it blowing hot and cold on the same question within a few days. Well, on the 2nd of May, the *Courier* devoted a leading article to the subject of the Financial Separation Bill; but stated that all the best parts of the Bill had been stolen from articles that had appeared in the *Courier* during the previous year; and on the 6th of May, another article appeared in

that paper on the same subject, blowing quite in the other direction. Now, when they had only one daily newspaper in the colony, and seeing that it was conducted in such a way as that, he thought that honorable members might as well occupy their time in exposing the way in which it was conducted, in the matter of questions of public importance, as in bandying words of recrimination from one side of the House to the other.

Mr. THORN said he thought that whatever grounds of complaint the honorable member for East Moreton, or any other honorable member might have, as to the way in which their speeches were reported or were not reported in the *Courier*, the honorable member for South Brisbane could have no cause of complaint. That honorable member seemed to have reporters specially to report his own speeches, and in a special way; for the speeches of that honorable member which appeared in the *Courier* were very different indeed from the speeches he delivered in the House. It seemed to him that the *Courier* newspaper was conducted in a way solely for the advancement of the honorable member for South Brisbane. Because of the way in which the speeches of honorable members in the House were reported in the *Courier*, he had frequently intended to call the attention of the honorable the Speaker to there being strangers in the House; but he refrained from doing so because he was anxious that the public might obtain some information as to what was going on in the House, and because he knew that if he or any other honorable member on the Government side of the House did so, they would be burked altogether. He knew very well why the speeches of the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Hemmant, were burked in the *Courier*. It was because that honorable member had opposed the honorable member for South Brisbane; and another reason was this, that the honorable member for East Moreton might very likely oppose the honorable member for South Brisbane for the office of Treasurer. Now he could tell the honorable member for South Brisbane this—that the honorable member for East Moreton was far superior to him. He was far before the honorable member for South Brisbane in intellectual attainments. He hoped that in future the speeches of honorable members in the House would be more fairly and more faithfully recorded. As to the question at issue between parties, he maintained that it was not solely one as to the Redistribution Bill—whether it should be passed or not—but as to what power the Opposition should have to obstruct the Government in going on with other measures of public importance. Assuming that the Government did give way, and accepted the further three months' supply now offered, and went on with the Redistribution Bill till it was passed—would the Opposition, he would ask, grant the remainder of the Supply for 1872? He maintained that they would not

do so—after reading the production of the honorable member for Wide Bay. He contended that, after reading that production, the other honorable members on the Opposition side of the House would not give Supply for 1872, but would only give Supply for another month or two until some other measures were passed. Now it was never intended that the Government should go on with partial supply in that way, and it was altogether degrading to the Government to treat them in such a way as to the matter of Supply. He was sorry that the true state of matters could not be put before the citizens of Brisbane at the public meeting that was to be held in the Town Hall to-night. The people were under the impression that it was Supply for 1873 that the Government wanted, whereas it was Supply for 1872 that they wanted. Now he could tell the Opposition that he would support them in resisting Supply for 1873 till every measure in the Ministerial programme was carried out, or, at least, till the greater number of the measures promised there were passed. He thought that if the honorable the Minister for Public Works, and one or two other honorable members on the Government side of the House, went to the Town Hall to-night and informed the meeting as to the true position of the question, they would produce a very great change upon the minds of the citizens of Brisbane. The two honorable members for East Moreton, he understood, attended the ploughing match to-day, and after dinner, poisoned the minds of those present respecting this question. Instead of talking about farming matters, so he was told, they went on to air their eloquence about the political position of parties in the House; and he had been told also, that they announced their intention of backing up the Opposition in their place in this House, in refusing Supply till certain measures were passed. As he had already said, he thought it would be well that the honorable the Minister for Public Works, and one or two other honorable members, should go to the Town Hall to-night, and enlighten the minds of the citizens of Brisbane on the subject; and he had no doubt, that if the real state of the question was put properly before the meeting, the Government would have a large majority of the citizens in their favor.

MR. MOREHEAD said he was sorry to detain honorable members opposite from going to the Town Hall, to attend the meeting to be held there to-night. What he had to deal with at present was, the question which had been raised by the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Hemmant, about the reports that appeared in the *Courier* of the debates that took place in the House. Now, he said it was a disgrace to any colony, that the proceedings of the Parliament should be represented, or rather mis-represented by such a miserable rag as the *Courier*. The reporters for that newspaper, in reporting the speeches that were delivered in the House, ignored

every one except the honorable member for South Brisbane. Now, he thought, it was time that such a thing was put an end to; and in this way—that either the reporters for that paper should be put out of the gallery, or that they should be obliged to give honest reports. That they had honest reports of the speeches delivered in the House published in that paper, no one would assert; but that they had dishonest reports published in it, everyone must admit. The honorable member for South Brisbane knew very well how those reports were manipulated. The speeches which he wished to be reported were reported, and those he did not wish to be reported were not reported. He heard the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Hemmant, the other night, deliver a good speech—and he said so, although the honorable member sat on the opposite side—a speech that was worth being reported; but he supposed it did not suit the fancy of the honorable member for South Brisbane, and so it was not reported in the *Courier*. The words in the *Courier* next morning were—

“Mr. Hemmant argued at some length in justification of the action taken by the Opposition.”

Now, on the other hand, some honorable members who did not speak so well or at the same length were reported at full length, and some of them at more than their full length; and they were as unlike the speeches that were delivered as the published speeches of the honorable member for South Brisbane were unlike the speeches he delivered in the House; and it was well known that the speeches of that honorable member, as published in the *Courier*, were not like the speeches he delivered in the House. They were very difficult to understand when they were delivered in the evening, but they read pleasantly and clearly enough in the morning. He did not know what it was owing to—whether it was owing to something in the printer's ink, or what it was—but at night there was nothing in his speeches, whereas in the morning they read very well in the *Courier*; but that was all. He fully agreed with the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Hemmant, in every word he had said on the subject; and he was only sorry that the honorable member did not put it a little more strongly.

MR. EDMONDSTONE said he wished to make one or two remarks in answer to what had fallen from the honorable member who had just sat down. He could not understand what that honorable member, and the honorable member who spoke before him, wished in this matter. He was sorry that the *Courier* did not please the honorable member for West Moreton and the honorable member for the Mitchell; but again he would ask—what did those honorable members want? Did they want the House to subsidise the *Courier* to keep a large staff of reporters to report their speeches? Those honorable members

spoke of misreporting and partial reporting in the *Courier*, but what could the House do in the matter? The House had no control over the papers. They might have some control over the reporters for "Hansard," but they had no control whatever over the reporters for the newspapers. It was a mere wasting of the time of the House to go on talking about the reports in the *Courier*. A newspaper was a private property, and the proprietors gave only such reports of the proceedings of the House as suited themselves, and as they considered to be sufficient for the information of their readers. It was no use then to complain against the papers. The only publication they could make complaints against was "Hansard," over which they had some control. The honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thorn, had said that if the Redistribution Bill was passed, the Opposition would not then grant the whole of the supplies for 1872, but would only grant so much more to go on with till some other measure was passed, and so on. Now, what the Opposition said, as he understood it, was this—Let the Bill be so far gone on with that there would be some prospect of its becoming the law of the land, and then they would, no doubt, go into the whole question of Supply. They would not make it a question then of two or three months' supply, but would go in for the whole of the remaining Supply for 1872. It was a piece of presumption on the part of the honorable member for West Moreton, Mr. Thorn, to say that if the Redistribution Bill were passed, further Supply for 1872 would be withheld until some other measure was passed. What the honorable member for Fortitude Valley said—speaking as the leader of the Opposition—what he said in the first instance was this:—that the Redistribution Bill should be brought in, that Supply should be taken for a time, that the Bill should be gone on with till it was ready for a third reading; and that the House should then go fully into Supply. If such a proposition as that was not sufficient to satisfy the Ministry, he did not know of anything the Opposition could offer in the shape of a compromise in the matter. If those terms were not accepted by the Government, he supposed they must just remain as they were.

Mr. MILES said he had a word or two to say with reference to what had been said by the honorable member for West Moreton and the honorable member for the Mitchell. Those gentlemen were, it seemed, very much discontented with the *Courier*, and described it as a "rag." Now, he happened to be one of the proprietors of that paper, and he felt called upon, therefore, to say something on the other side of the question, and it was this, that he hoped the *Courier* would not, in future, attempt to report the speeches of those honorable members at all; and that they would not publish the speeches that had been addressed to the House to-night by the

honorable member for the Mitchell and the honorable member for West Moreton. There was a very simple way of getting rid of the difficulty those honorable members complained about. They abused the *Courier* for misreporting; but in order to prevent that, they had only to move, that all strangers be required to leave the House. He must say, as one of the proprietors of the *Courier*, that he objected to the cost of printing such speeches as were delivered by the honorable member for the Mitchell and the honorable member for West Moreton; and he thought that anyone having an interest in a paper would shut all such speeches out of it.

The question, that the Chairman do now leave the chair, was then put and negatived on a division, by a majority of 13 to 9.

The COLONIAL TREASURER then moved—

That the Chairman leave the chair, report no progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Agreed to.

The House having resumed,

The COLONIAL TREASURER moved—

That the Committee have leave to sit again to-morrow.

Agreed to.

The House then adjourned.