

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates
[Hansard]

Legislative Assembly

MONDAY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1880

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 13 September, 1880.

Supply.

The SPEAKER took the chair at half-past 3 o'clock.

SUPPLY.

On the motion of the PREMIER (Mr. McIlwraith), the Speaker left the chair, and the House went into Committee of Supply.

Question—That £5,480 be granted for immigration—put.

The HON. J. DOUGLAS said the number of immigrants despatched from the United Kingdom during 1879 amounted to about 1,800 souls. Might he ask the Colonial Secretary upon what scale the policy of the Government for the present year was based?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Mr. Palmer) said the instructions to the Agent-General were to send out eight ships during the eight months of the year in which immigrants could be imported—in which they could be sent so as not to arrive in the summer months. The immigrants were not to be sent in greater numbers than 275 statute adults per ship, and these instructions had been carried out, he believed.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he would like to know whether it was contemplated to renew immigration from Hamburg, including not only Germans, but people from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the inhabitants of which countries proved very valuable colonists, whose good qualities had already been experienced in Queensland. Whatever immigration they had, they ought to secure

a proportion from the people of Scandinavia and Germany. They had proved most industrious, useful colonists, and never left the colony. He hoped some efforts would be made to secure a proportion of that class of immigration. He said this because he knew that, though the Premier had expressed an opinion in favour of German immigration, the hon. member for Mitchell, whose influence with the Government was great, was so utterly opposed to the introduction of Germans that he (Mr. Douglas) was afraid the Government might be influenced against a revival of that class of immigration. He trusted the Government would act with independence in this respect, and provide the colony with these most valuable immigrants. Only the other day he observed that even in the northern parts the merits of Scandinavians were recognised. A correspondent from Mackay instanced the fact that Scandinavian immigrants, introduced *via* Rockhampton, had been found able and willing to work alongside kanakas in the cane-fields, and had proved themselves the better men. If this was the case—if they could find that Scandinavians were willing to undertake this labour in a semi-tropical country—surely it would be better for the colony to avail itself of it than trust to a temporary supply in the shape of South Sea Islanders.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY thought the hon. gentleman might have spoken without intruding the name of the member for Mitchell in the way that he had done. It was quite uncalled for. Whatever influence the hon. member for Mitchell might have with the Government had never been exercised in any one way for any purpose, and certainly never with reference to immigration. He hoped the hon. gentleman would be satisfied with that statement, and not, as usual, impute motives which had no grounds. He was not going to enter into an argument as to whether Scandinavians were preferable to our own countrymen; but the general feeling of the Government was, that so long as plenty of their own countrymen could be imported it was not right that they should go outside the United Kingdom. His experience of Scandinavians had not been very favourable. It cost him a good deal of money to get twelve up to his station; eleven bolted within a week, and the twelfth he had the pleasure of keeping for eighteen months as a cripple, who never did a day's work. They might be very good men notwithstanding, but they were certainly not suited to bush work. With the limited immigration now going on, which would be adequate for all the purposes of the labour market, he did not think that the Government, so long as their own countrymen could be got to come, would be much inclined to introduce foreigners. If the labour market demanded a large accession of people the matter would be taken into consideration.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he merely referred to the fact that the member for Mitchell did exercise a considerable amount of influence with the Government, who, of course, must to a certain extent be susceptible to the influence brought to bear by their followers. Knowing as he did the strong antipathy that the hon. member had to all German immigration—knowing his hostility to any immigration of this kind, it was only natural that he should refer to the fact. Of course, he did not assume that the hon. member exercised anything like a paramount influence over affairs, but his influence was much too great, he (Mr. Douglas) regretted to say, and it was in consequence of that he felt necessary to refer to the fact. His experience of Scandinavians was very different from the Colonial Secretary's, and he was afraid the hon. gentleman had been unfortun-

nate in his selection. He did not think that the experience of most hon. members who had had the opportunity of seeing what Scandinavians were capable of agreed with the hon. gentleman's. He knew that the member for Blackall entertained a high opinion of that race; it was natural that he should. The hon. member was instrumental at one time in securing a considerable number of such immigrants. He also knew that the member for Leichhardt was an enthusiastic supporter of this class of immigration: the hon. member knew that they were not to be outdone in the qualities which went to make good colonists, and he hoped that in regard to this question the hon. member would exercise his influence with the Government in a legitimate way. He did not mean to say that he should bring unnecessary pressure to bear upon the Government, as the member for Mitchell might occasionally do, but he trusted that he would point out to the Government that it was necessary to introduce a portion of these people.

The MINISTER FOR WORKS (Mr. Macrossan) thought the hon. gentleman might leave the member for Mitchell alone. The hon. member was never ashamed to express his opinion, and his expression of opinion regarding German immigration was quite different from that represented by the member for Maryborough. He (Mr. Macrossan) had never heard the member for Mitchell say that he was opposed to Germans, but he had said that he was opposed to the Government bringing out Germans at the expense of the country so long as their own countrymen could be got to come; and probably a good deal of what the hon. member had said upon the question had been caused by the extravagant ideas possessed by the member for Maryborough, who thought Germans the greatest people on the face of the earth, and that his own countrymen were not equal to them. It would be far better for the member for Maryborough to leave the member for Mitchell alone, especially when he was not present. When he was present he was quite able to protect himself, and if he were in his place the member for Maryborough would not be so ready to impute ideas to him which he did not maintain.

Mr. DOUGLAS said if the hon. member for the Mitchell were present he should take great pleasure in referring to the subject, knowing that the hon. member was interested in it. He must correct the Minister for Works with regard to the sentiments of the hon. member, because he knew those sentiments so well, having had occasion to vindicate the character of those people who had been maligned by the hon. member. What the hon. member actually said was, that we ought not to have recourse to Germany until the British Isles were exhausted; but he must have known that the task of draining the United Kingdom of all immigrants required by the colony who were willing to come would be a very heavy one indeed. He (Mr. Douglas) did not in the slightest degree disparage immigrants from the United Kingdom; there was generally a certain proportion of those coming to the colony now who were more or less undesirable, but that would probably be the case with any kind of immigration. Experience had shown that the German immigrant was admirably adapted for settlement on the soil, a quality in which they bore favourable comparison with the immigrants from the home country. A great number of the people of the United Kingdom were artisans or engaged in manufacture, and only a small proportion in comparison with other countries was engaged in the cultivation of the soil. If, therefore, it were possible to get a superior class of men, suitable for the purpose for which they

were required in this colony, from a country where there were a large number of peasant proprietors who were willing to sell off their property and seek this country for the greater advantages it offered to them, that was a manifest reason for obtaining immigrants from a people who, though they did not speak the same language, sprang from the same race as the inhabitants of the British Isles.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said he had been trying to divine the object of the hon. member in opening up this question. If the hon. member had none the matter was beneath him, and he should have left it to the hon. member for Northern Downs, who was a better electioneer than the hon. member for Maryborough. The hon. member had put into the mouth of the hon. member for the Mitchell words with reference to immigration which the hon. member never used, when he attributed the term "deadly hate" to the hon. member. The hon. member for Maryborough knew that the hon. member for Mitchell often said things which he did not mean at all, just to carry on the debate, or something of that sort. There was no greater friend to the Germans in the colony than the hon. member, and he was hardly ever without a German in his employment.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: His coachman is a German.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said he did not see any reason for making capital out of this matter as there were no elections impending. An immense amount of capital had been made at the last elections out of a few careless expressions made use of by the hon. member, to which meanings were attached which he never intended. Had it not been for the presence of a few educated and sensible men those reports might have militated very seriously against the hon. member for Mitchell. Whatever the hon. member might have talked, the expression had not the slightest meaning, and he never intended that such a construction should be put upon it. Nobody ever denied that the Germans were as fine colonists as could come into the colony. For a new country they were the very class required, and in his neighbourhood they had settled and by hard industry become very successful. At the same time, there was a great deal in what the Colonial Secretary had said about this kind of immigration, though he did not see the necessity for opening up the question at the present time.

Mr. FEEZ said as he had been referred to it was only right that he should make a few remarks. While thoroughly agreeing with the Colonial Secretary, that it was the duty of an English colony, administered by English laws, to consider first the well-being of the people who spoke the English language, he could not endorse the opinion of the Colonial Secretary that an advantage would be gained by not inviting German and Scandinavian immigration. His experience of such immigration, extending over a long time, had caused him to form a contrary opinion, and he could look around with pride, and point out as prosperous and successful men many who had emigrated from Germany. The English immigrants, on their arrival at Rockhampton, found out, after the Queensland Government had brought them out at a great expense, that for £2 10s. or £3 they could go on to Sydney, and they left, sometimes as many as fourteen or fifteen going in one week after the arrival of the immigration vessel. The German or Scandinavian immigrants, on the other hand, very rarely shifted from the country in which they landed. When they landed in New York they at once started off into the interior, and in consequence of their thrifty habits soon became successful. That was a consideration which should have considerable weight in judging the relative merits

of the two kinds of labour. He had no intention of using influence in the way suggested by the hon. member for Maryborough, but he would submit to the Colonial Secretary, in a fair and reasonable manner, that the introduction of that kind of labour would be most decidedly to the advantage of the colony. Only last week he had visited, with another hon. member, an establishment within a few miles of Brisbane, where about thirty Germans were employed at 18s. a-week and no rations, which was considered equal to 14s. for wages with rations. They worked for ten hours a-day, and had been giving great satisfaction for some years. When asked how they lived, they said they had constant employment, nice humpies, a piece of land to keep a cow on and grow potatoes, and that they were very comfortable. Considering the way in which the German immigrant stuck to the spot where he first settled, and by hard work overcame all difficulties, he thought that was a kind of labour which should be encouraged.

Mr. McLEAN said that it should be borne in mind that the German immigrants, differing from those of the United Kingdom, invariably stopped in the colony. In the Logan district the sugar industry was to a large extent passing into the hands of the German settlers, who were very successful on small farms of from 20 to 50 acres each. They were gradually leaving off the cultivation of corn and similar crops in order to grow sugar; and he was sure if the cultivation of sugar was to be a permanent industry in Southern Queensland it must be carried on almost entirely by German colonists. Even in cases where sugar cultivation had been carried on by the aid of kanaka labour the large employer had been forced to give it up, and the land was passing into the hands of the German settlers. The proprietors of one large plantation on the Logan, he had been told, had determined to lease the land in small lots, and employ their capital in manufacturing sugar. That district, as well as the colony generally, would be greatly benefited by the settlement of Germans on the land, and he hoped that assistance would be given in bringing out so desirable a class of colonists.

Mr. MOREHEAD said he had no doubt the hon. member for Maryborough had some insidious design in making the remarks he had made this afternoon. With regard to the assertion that it was possible he might have used his influence in stopping German immigration, he would tell the hon. member that as a matter of fact he had never spoken to any member of the Government on the subject at any time. He would repeat what he had always said—namely, that there was no need to go a-field until the British Islands were exhausted.

Mr. DOUGLAS: I said so.

Mr. MOREHEAD said he still held the opinion that the colony should import its own people before going to any alien race. If that was considered to indicate hostility he was sorry that those who came to such a conclusion had not the intelligence necessary to construe the meaning of words.

Mr. DOUGLAS said, in referring to the influence of the hon. member, he had no wish to exaggerate. The hon. member did not correctly estimate his influence with the Government, which he (Mr. Douglas) knew was very considerable. In consequence of the hon. member's known hostility to this race, he had felt it necessary to deprecate the influence which he knew the hon. member was likely to exercise. He was exceedingly glad to hear the hon. member for Stanley apologising for the hon. member's use of words, and stating that when the hon. mem-

ber made use of words he did not intend to do so. That was a very consolatory consideration, for at times the hon. member was so gross, so decided, so unparliamentary in his expressions, that it was satisfactory to learn that the hon. member did not understand the meanings usually attached to words. He was more particularly pleased to hear this because, in illustrating the character of the Germans, the hon. member used some remarkably strong terms—such as “culls,” “socialists,” “communists”—as though the German immigrants were the outcasts of European society, upon which, of course, the hon. member was well informed. Knowing that the hon. member entertained those strong opinions, he (Mr. Douglas) felt it to be his duty to warn the members of the Government of the influence to which they might be subjected by the hon. member. He said this seriously, because he knew the value of those colonists. Only the other day the House had been told by the hon. member for Fassifern that in the district where the hon. member was desirous that a railway should be made there were half-a-million acres of unalienated land, a large proportion of which was rich scrub soil, only requiring to be settled upon by an industrious population to yield smiling harvests. Knowing of the existence of such districts near at hand, and knowing the ability of this race of people to turn such lands to the very best advantage, it appeared to be the paramount duty of those really interested in the welfare of the country to bring such facts under the notice of the Government. What were they to depend upon in the future for the authorising of fresh loans and the prosperity of the colony if they did not introduce into the country a class of people who by their industry would turn the land to the best account? Unless such a course were taken, the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government might say “good-bye” to that golden period when every year that came round would bring with it its allotted portion of loan. Surely these subjects demanded the attention not only of the Colonial Secretary, but also of the Minister for Lands. That hon. gentleman was now in the position to carry almost anything he wished to carry; there was nothing to prevent him, if he saw fit, from applying a new system altogether to the unalienated Crown lands. Surely these millions of acres of fertile land which were said to be in the vicinity of Brisbane might be made available for purposes of settlement. Could not some system of special settlement be applied, so that if the settler was not attracted naturally some plan might be adopted, as in Canada or America, to prepare the way for him? Why, also, should not the lands to the westward—that grand country described by the Premier as being so suitable for close settlement—

The CHAIRMAN said he was sorry to interrupt, but the hon. member was wandering very far from the subject of immigration to that of settlement in the west.

Mr. MOREHEAD submitted that the two subjects were closely connected with one another.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he would repeat what he had before stated, that settlement without immigration could not go on. In the present position of affairs, if any considerable number of immigrants were introduced work must be found for them, either on the railways or by settlement on the land. Settlement on the land had been the great attraction in America, and surely something in the same direction might be done here. As the hon. member for Leichhardt stated, the German immigrant as soon as he landed at New York prepared to start for the west, assured that he would there find a location, and, having found it, would be on the high road to fortune.

Why should not the same be done here? The hon. member had expatiated on the merits of these people, and had stated that he would bring influence to bear in reference to this question. What was asked was not unreasonable. If the great advantages pointed out by the hon. member were realised, the colony would be on the road to prosperity and advance, which at the present time looked more distant than it did at one time previously.

Mr. MOREHEAD said the hon. member in his remarks had assumed a great deal—as, for instance, that he (Mr. Morehead) had a “deadly hatred” and a “known hostility” against the Germans. He had neither the one nor the other. As he had before stated, the only man in his private employ was a German, who had been three years in his service. He never asked a man who came seeking for employment about his nationality or religion, but took him on his merits. What he said with reference to immigration was, that we ought to have our own people first, whatever race might come afterwards. The hon. member said he (Mr. Morehead) used the terms “culls,” “socialists,” and “communists.” Those were all words he made use of, and he should like the hon. member to consider them with the context. With regard to the first term he (Mr. Morehead) said that in consequence of the oppressive military system in force in Germany, it was exceedingly likely that only the culls of the empire would find their way out here, because the German Government was very chary about allowing any of the population who were capable of bearing arms to emigrate. With regard to their being socialists and communists, he was not sure, if he were a German, whether he too would not be a socialist or a communist. If he were living in such an over-military-burdened state as Germany was, his feeling would be to become either a socialist or a communist. He had on several occasions read extracts which bore out the statement that a large number of socialists had gone to America, and he had pointed out that the same class might come here; but whether their doing so would result in evil to the State was a matter which he had not fully discussed. In his usual highfalutin’ style the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) made particular reference to the Minister for Lands, and said that had German immigration been continued large quantities of land in the Logan district would, as Douglas Jerrold put it, when “tickled with the hoe, have smiled a harvest.” The hon. member himself had been the means of locking up some of the finest lands in the colony. Under the Railway Reserves Act hundreds of thousands of acres were locked up which might well have been cultivated by immigrants who came to the colony; yet, in face of that fact, the hon. member had the hardihood to get up and say that the present Ministry had not done their duty in not fostering immigration. He rather held with the idea of setting apart special areas for settlement. The hon. member (Mr. Douglas), with that object in view, entered into negotiations with Bishop Bugnion to bring out a lot of Mennonites to the colony. Where were those wonderful people who were going to develop a large portion of the seaboard of the colony? What had become of the hon. gentleman’s pet scheme? The hon. gentleman was silent about his own failures, but he was always glad and ready to point out the possible failures of other people. He did not know that it was too late now to set apart special areas for agricultural purposes, which would be of benefit to the State hereafter. He had always held the opinion that there should be this special settlement, but the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) had done nothing towards

it beyond toying with the Mennonites. All the hon. member had done was to lock up hundreds of thousands of acres of land which might have been employed for agricultural purposes, but which was now devoted to the rearing of that most obnoxious animal—the sheep.

Mr. DOUGLAS said if the House were to implicitly believe the hon. member for Mitchell, they must come to the conclusion that the land to which the hon. member referred was the only fertile land in the country. The Government had satisfactorily disposed of a few hundreds of thousands of acres, for which they got a rattling good price. With such a small population they must have large estates, but when population increased they would have to burst up the lot of them. In the meantime it was far better that the land should be comprised in large estates, if the Government got a good price for it and had the use of the money derived from it for the purpose of opening up the country. With reference to the special character of immigration to which he had referred, he was sorry that the hon. member for Mitchell had not had experience as a member of the Government. If the hon. member had been a member of a Government he would have found out that it was impossible to be No. 1 entirely—that when five or six gentlemen were united for the purpose of carrying on Government, they did not give their whole authority or power to one man. If one member could form a corporation *solus*, or a Government *solus*, he might possibly conceive that he could carry out many benevolent purposes which would be much better suited to the country than projects the result of the combined wisdom of five or six members of a Government. Government was the result of a compromise. He happened to have his little special follies in connection with the possibility of carrying out special settlement, but, unfortunately, they were being checked by a counter-pervading influence. These counter influences appertained to any form of government, as the hon. member for Mitchell would ascertain, if at any future time he became a member of a Government. The accusation that he had failed in the negotiations with Bishop Bugnion was hardly fair. Although he (Mr. Douglas) opened negotiations with Bishop Bugnion, it was reserved to the present Government—or rather to an important and influential member of the present Government—to carry them out. The Postmaster-General had succeeded in concluding the negotiations, but it was through the failure of the Bishop himself that they were not carried into effect. If there was any fault in his (Mr. Douglas’s) action with regard to the introduction of Mennonites, they certainly had been endorsed by the present Government. He did not think it was wrong to enter into the negotiations; the colony might have derived considerable advantage from the introduction of Mennonites. He had no objection to people from any country of Europe coming here if they would settle on the soil. Unfortunately, their own people had not that desire—which was such an essential feature of colonisation—to settle on the soil; at any rate, they had not the same desire to do so as people from other countries of Europe had, and for that reason they would be perfectly justified in looking to other countries for the occupation of their territory—more especially the northern portions of it. He hoped the hon. member for Leichhardt would induce the Government, when they saw a fitting opportunity, to revive that most excellent form of immigration—the immigration of Germans. They could do so, and the Minister for Lands would be an essential factor in the revival of it. If they were to have immigration it would depend chiefly on the advantages and the inducements which could be held out to

people to settle on the soil. If they could once establish a system by which people with money would be encouraged to come and settle on the soil, they would commence a new era in the prosperity and advancement of the country; but they would not do so till then. He thought he was perfectly justified in calling the attention of the Minister of Lands specially to the subject. If preparations were not made for immigrants to settle on the soil, unquestionably a large proportion of those from the United Kingdom would go to other colonies. Having said so much on that point, he thought he might appeal to the Premier and ask what had been done towards the reorganisation of the Agent-General's office in London—as he understood that was one of the objects of the hon. gentleman's visit to England. He understood that some new regulations had been made, and it would be satisfactory to hear that it was probable that the result of them would be the introduction of a better class of immigrants. He had never objected to the immigrants who came to Queensland, but he knew that several hon. members thought some better system might be adopted, and therefore they were entitled to some information respecting the actions of the Premier.

Mr. KINGSFORD said he could scarcely see why English immigrants were more disposed to go to New South Wales than Germans were. He was quite willing to allow Germans all the praise which had been given them by hon. members. No doubt they were a most desirable, a most excellent class of colonists. The reason advanced by the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) why they should cultivate German immigration was that the Germans settled on the land. So far as his observation went, he thought that English, Irish, and Scotch people would settle on the land quite as readily as Germans. Those Germans who came here and settled on the land had been accustomed to the land all their lifetime; and if the Government of Queensland would bring out from the old country people who had been accustomed to the land they would find that those people would settle on the land. They were not more migratory than Germans—not one bit. But people—be they Englishmen or Germans—who had not settled home in their native countries would, if brought to the colony, be inclined to roam about and go wherever they thought they could be best suited. He believed that in looking out for immigrants the agricultural population of the United Kingdom had been almost neglected. He could state as the result of his observations that almost every ship which left the shores of old England with immigrants had on board a large proportion of men and women from the towns who were brought together to make up the necessary complement of passengers. The last ship which came brought immigrants the most of whom came directly or indirectly from the agricultural districts, and they were all employed immediately. He did not think there was one in the depot at the present time. He had occasion to go and see the immigrants, and he found them to be a very superior class, comprising farmers, farm labourers, gardeners, and others. He ventured to say that the bulk of them would remain in Queensland—they would not go to New South Wales, there being no special reason why they should go there. He would impress on the Government that it was highly desirable—nay, absolutely necessary—that they should urge the authorities at home to pay more attention to the agricultural districts. He undertook to say that if proper representations were made a sufficient number of agriculturists to meet the wants of the colony would emigrate from the five home counties. He quite agreed with the hon. member for Mitchell that as they were English people it was their

duty—no matter how desirable they might think it to be to have Scandinavians and Germans—to study their own kith and kin, and to look to them first to supply population for the colony. He believed there had been too much indifference and carelessness—he would go further, and say too much wilful perversion of the interests of the immigration scheme at home; the result of which was that nearly one-half the people who came out, or, at any rate, a large proportion of them, were not suited to the colony. They wanted agriculturists, and they were to be got by thousands and tens of thousands—families who had been brought up well socially and religiously, who were accustomed to hard work and could rough it, and who would be only too glad to take advantage of the superior life they might secure in Queensland.

Mr. THORN said he was sorry that he was not in the House when some of the estimates which had been passed were discussed. With regard to immigration, he endorsed all that had been said by the hon. member for Leichhardt as to Germans settling on the land. He believed, though, that if they got a proper class of people from the United Kingdom, that they would be found to take up the land in the same way. If the Government would only send their officers to the rural districts at home and adopt the practice of the South Australian and New Zealand Governments—that was to pay the passages of the immigrants from the place where they resided to the port of embarkation—they would have no difficulty in getting any number of farmers and farm labourers. He hoped the Premier saw to that when he went home. He should like to get some information from the Government as to their intentions with respect to clerks who were dismissed from the Agent-General's office last year. On the score of economy the Government dismissed a number of hands; and, now that it was found necessary to increase the staff, he wanted to know whether the Government would give the preference to those men or put on their friends instead. There was one gentleman dismissed from the office, Mr. Clare, who acted as Executive Commissioner for the colony at the Paris Exhibition. The Colonial Secretary had told the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) that the Government had offered to re-appoint that officer. He wanted to know the nature of the appointment offered. Was he to get the same salary, or was he put on at some menial employment at 5s. or 6s. a-day, or £40 or £50 a-year? He could speak of Mr. Clare's ability. The reason given by the Government for reducing the staff was that there was a falling off in the work connected with immigration. Now that there was a probability of the work being increased, he hoped the Government would re-appoint those officers who had been dismissed. He hoped the Government were not going to sanction the American system of Civil service appointments. He could point out many cases in which it had been pursued, but he hoped this was not the case in the London office. For his own part he did not care a straw whether an officer was prepared to support him politically or not, as long as he did his duty. If from some cause for which the man was in no way responsible it should become necessary to dispense with the services of such an officer, he should feel it his duty to re-engage him as soon as an opportunity offered. He would like to know whether any—and, if any, which—of the officers who were dismissed upon the Black Friday of January, 1879, had been reinstated? He would like to know, among other things, what salary the Government had offered Mr. Clare? If he had refused an appointment, he could not help thinking it was because he had been offered some supernumerary

post, in which case his refusal was quite justifiable. He would be glad to hear, however, that Mr. Clare's abilities had received fair consideration, and that he had been offered a post and salary not inferior to those that he formerly had. He would like to hear the names of all the officers in the London office, and the nature of the work for which they were required.

Mr. MACFARLANE said he endorsed the opinion that Germans were good colonists. However humble might be their occupation, they almost invariably succeeded in this colony in bettering their position. The hon. member for Leichhardt referred to the fact that a number of his countrymen were employed in sugar manufacturing at very low remuneration. Possibly, Englishmen would not perform the same work for the same remuneration; but the Germans referred to were gaining experience, and possibly, not long hence, they would be able to obtain land which that experience would enable them to work the more advantageously. The hon. member for Maryborough said the Minister for Lands had a good opportunity of throwing open for selection or purchase lands suitable for the growth of sugar. If that were the case, possibly some of the Germans referred to by the hon. member for Leichhardt would become selectors or purchasers, and make room for fresh immigrants to gain like experience. The Government could not do better than bring out one or two ships of German immigrants in the course of the year.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said it was impossible for him to reply to the last question of the hon. member for the Northern Downs. He did not know the names of the clerks in the department. The Government did not interfere with the Agent-General in those matters. He knew, however, that a Mr. Clay was in the office.

Mr. THORN said that when he was in office he was supposed to know the names and duties of clerks everywhere—whether in the home country or in Queensland. When the Colonial Secretary was in Opposition he desired to know the names and duties of almost every clerk. He (Mr. Thorn) desired even more information than he had already asked. Were any additional clerks paid out of loan or contingencies? Were there any clerks in the London office who were paid *sub rosa*? He believed there were some, and he wanted to know both who the men were and where the money came from? For every one officer which the Colonial Secretary had under him he had had ten in the Works Department. Yet the Colonial Secretary desired to know the name of every officer in his (Mr. Thorn's) department, and the Estimates were postponed day after day because he could not tell the hon. gentleman the whole of the names. If the Committee acted wisely upon the present occasion they would move the Chairman out of the chair pending the production of the information for which the Colonial Secretary had been asked. He agreed with the hon. member who proposed that they should abolish the London office, and retain only an emigration agent and a lecturer of Mr. Jordan's stamp, who would crack up the colony and point out what class of immigrants were most likely to succeed in it.

The PREMIER said that if the hon. member had paid a little more attention to the Estimates he might have saved his last speech. If the hon. member turned to page 69 he would find the Agent-General's department set down for £1,925, with the whole of the officers specified. He did not see that the names of the officers had very much to do with the Estimates, but if the information was to be had in the colony he would suggest that the hon. member should obtain it

by moving for a return, which might also include information as to the salary offered to Mr. Clare.

Mr. ARCHER pointed out that a great many of the questions asked by the hon. member for Northern Downs would be found in a paper laid upon the table early in the session—namely, "Further Correspondence respecting the Inquiry into the working of the Agent-General's Office in London."

Mr. GRIFFITH said that in the list of salaries alluded to by the Premier, Mr. Ashwell's assistants' salaries were not, as far as he could see, accounted for. In the portion of the Estimates they were now considering he found a secretary to the Agent-General, and an indent clerk, who, according to papers laid before the House, should be Mr. Clay. Then, turning to the Loan Estimate, he found a despatching officer, at £300, who, according to the papers, should be Mr. Woodward; a clerk, at £250, who should be Mr. Woolner; a clerk, at £175, who should be Mr. Owen; a clerk, at £156, who should be Mr. Thorn; two clerks, at £91, he presumed Mr. Austin and Mr. Mallinson; and one clerk, at £80, Mr. Benson, he presumed. There was an assistant, also, at 10s. per diem; but he could not see that any of Mr. Ashwell's assistants were accounted for, unless the assistant he had named was one of them.

The PREMIER said the assistant at 10s. per diem was one of the assistants. There were also two inspectors paid out of the loan fund.

Mr. DOUGLAS said that Mr. Campbell, an important officer, had not been mentioned. What was his salary, and from what source was he paid?

The PREMIER: I am not aware, except from the assertion of the hon. member for the Northern Downs, that there is such a person in the office.

Mr. GRIFFITH said it seemed rather strange that the Premier should have been in England investigating the working of the office, and yet could not say whether or not there was a gentleman named Campbell performing very important functions in the office. He understood that Mr. Campbell was a brother-in-law of Mr. Ashwell.

The PREMIER said there were no persons in the executive engineer's office who performed important duties. There was an officer who made tracings, and who was paid, he believed, 8s. or 10s. per diem, and two inspectors at 30s. per week. Hon. members seemed astonished that he did not come out with the names of the whole of these officers. He did not go home for that purpose.

Mr. DOUGLAS was surprised that the Premier did not know of Mr. Campbell's existence in the office, seeing that he discharged such important duties in the matter of correspondence; and thought it desirable that the hon. gentleman should give the Committee some information as to the working of the new regulations. One of the reasons for the hon. member's visit to England was that he might investigate the state of the London office as regarded the emigration arrangements. The new system was doubtless adopted, and hon. members were entitled to expect a marked change in consequence.

The PREMIER said the new immigration regulations were laid upon the table last year. While in England it was part of his duty—and he performed it—to inquire into the working of those regulations. The information he had obtained was given to his colleagues, and the amended regulations would for the future be applied to their immigration. What else did the hon. member desire to know?

Mr. DOUGLAS said the old system was supposed to be bad—so bad, indeed, that one of the objects of the Premier's visit to England was not only to devise a new scheme but to see it in operation, and to confer with the Agent-General in reference to it. The hon. gentleman must have had frequent opportunities of conferring with the Agent-General, and he must surely be in a position to tell the House something as to the result of the new regulations—whether, for instance, a decided change had really been effected.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that if the hon. gentleman would take the trouble to go to the depôt and inspect the immigrants which were now arriving he would see a decided change for the better. The new regulations had been very successful, and the fact of a medical officer having been appointed as despatching officer had turned out very well indeed. He had no doubt that if the new secretary was not balked a still further improvement would be shown in the working of the London office.

Mr. DOUGLAS asked whether it was a fact that the country agents had been done away with, and that the immigrants were now sent out entirely through the London office? That, he believed, was one of the recommendations made. It used to be considered that the country agents were the main source from which the bulk of the immigrants were sent out. It now appeared that that was done entirely by direct correspondence from the London office.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said the hon. gentleman seemed to have more information on that subject than he himself possessed. He (the Colonial Secretary) was not aware that the country agents had been done away with.

Mr. DOUGLAS said his source of information was a public one, and as open to the Colonial Secretary as to himself. He had gathered it from public documents, not from private information.

Mr. THORN said he had obtained his information from England, and not from Mr. Hamilton, that there were three persons in the office of the executive engineer—Campbell, Herbert, and Scopes—and that they were getting about £200 a year. What were their duties, and how were they paid—from loan vote or contingencies, or how? He was informed that their main duty was to see that no imperfect iron was passed. If that was so they were not doing their duty, because they had passed some very defective iron for the Fitzroy bridge, which accounted in a great measure for the delay of the construction of that work. After sending out such imperfect iron, were those men still employed, or had their salaries been reduced for incompetence? There were three officers down—two at £91 each, and one at £80. How could it be expected that men with so low a salary would undertake to pass iron? There must be others in addition about which the Committee knew nothing. He also wanted to know whether the executive engineer was fit for his post, and what the qualifications of Mr. Dick were. That gentleman might be a very good hydraulic engineer, but what were his qualifications as an executive engineer? If Mr. Dick was fit for the post, he ought to have £800 a-year. If they did not pay inspectors properly, the iron manufacturers would.

Mr. ARCHER said he could say with confidence that Mr. Byerley had never complained of any iron sent out from England. The only thing complained of was a change of specifications, and some things were made at the railway works at Rockhampton at a greater cost than they could have been imported. That was done,

not because the ironwork was bad, but on account of the change in the specifications.

Mr. THORN said he would like to know who altered the specifications;—did not the hon. member know what that meant? It might be the means of saving some thousands to the persons who furnished the iron for the bridge. If the inspectors were paid a small pittance, it was no wonder they took "tip" from the iron manufacturers. They ought to have treble the amount that was put down. But he did not think those officials with the low salaries were the men he had named—Campbell, Herbert, and Scopes. He believed they were drawing £190 or £200 a-year under Mr. Ashwell. When he was in office hon. members remonstrated strongly with him for paying salaries out of contingencies, and he had to give the names of everybody in the department, down to boys at £20 or £30 a-year. He wished the Premier or the Colonial Secretary would give him the information he had asked for.

Mr. DICKSON said there appeared to be a good deal of force in the remarks of the hon. member (Mr. Thorn). The estimate certainly did not appear to be a complete one. There were nine clerks set down, while Exhibit B of the correspondence on the working of the London office showed there were ten, and a foot-note said that in addition Mr. Ashwell had three assistants, two at £3 10s. a-week and one at £3. In the estimate the executive engineer was credited with one assistant at 10s. per day. If the exhibit was of any value at all, it showed that the executive engineer had then—and he supposed still had—those officers for the work of inspection. Seeing the prominence that had been given to the matter by the public, it would have been well if a little more care had been taken in framing the estimate. The whole of the officers should be shown, and whether they were paid from revenue or loan vote.

The PREMIER said he could not understand the meaning of the hon. gentleman in wandering to the Loan Estimates, which could not come before the Committee for a long time. Not a word the hon. gentleman had said had anything to do, even indirectly, with the matter now under discussion—one was on page 13 and the other at page 69 of the Estimates. The hon. gentleman ought to know that railway inspectors and men of that class were not put on the Estimates at all.

Mr. THORN said what he wanted to know was, where Campbell, Scopes, and Herbert were paid from. The Government, when in Opposition, pitched into him because he did not schedule the different officers and show where they were paid from, saying it was objectionable to pay officers out of contingencies. They were right, but certainly they ought to practice what they preached.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that when they came to the Loan Estimates he would endeavour to prepare a list of the men paid from that vote; but that had nothing to do with the estimate at present under consideration. He did not think it his duty to be acquainted with the names of all the officers connected with his department, and there were several in the immigration office in Brisbane whom he did not know.

Mr. DICKSON said he agreed that it was no part of the Colonial Secretary's duties to be acquainted with the names of officials; but he differed from the hon. gentleman in his statement that all they had now to consider were the Estimates on page 13. Some of the officials in the immigration department were paid from revenue and others from loan, and it had been frequently considered expedient that, for all

practical purposes, the loan vote should be a subject of discussion along with the revenue vote. If that was not done great confusion would ensue. It was the duty of the Colonial Secretary, and also of the Colonial Treasurer, to see that the whole of the officials employed in the London office were represented on the Estimates as coming under revenue or loan.

Mr. MESTON said he did not intend to make a speech on the Germans, as he had not had an opportunity of hearing what hon. members had said on the subject. It was unnecessary, however, to eulogise the Germans, for they had provided a living practical proof of their capabilities as valuable colonists. Not only in Queensland, but in America, South Australia, New South Wales, and Victoria—long before there was a German colonist in Queensland—they proved themselves to be among the most valuable colonists a young country could attract to its shores. He had always been opposed to the present system of immigration—to a system that was supported by the State; and he did not agree with the hon. member for Northern Downs (Mr. Thorn) that they should employ lecturers to crack up the colony. He thought there had been too much of that kind of work, and that the country had been put to too much expense in connection with that matter. There were two classes of people coming out to the colony under the present system—the people who knew nothing of the colony (many of whom were unfitted for it), and people who came out to their friends. With regard to the former, what was wanted at home was a plain-spoken, practical man, who from his knowledge and experience could tell the people what the colony really was, and who could show them that Queensland offered far wider opportunities for bettering himself to the industrious man than Great Britain offered, or even other countries, and that any man coming out here, if he worked well, could gain an independence. He was of opinion that the old country, considering the benefits it derived from the emigration of its surplus population, should render assistance to the colonies in getting rid of its superfluous population. He believed that if the money employed in keeping and assisting that surplus population out on strike at home was used in sending the British workman to this colony it would be an advantage to the mother-country and to the colony. It was well known, as had been stated by more than one hon. member, that many of the ships coming to this colony with immigrants were filled up indiscriminately, and that the colony had not been receiving anything like the value for their money they had a right to expect. The two great requisites to secure a good class of immigrants were, a profitable field for labour and a good liberal land system by which land at a small price on which he could settle would be open to every man coming here. If the latter was offered there would be no necessity for agents at home, or for the State to pay for people to come here.

Mr. DOUGLAS said there had been one form of immigration agency that had not been yet referred to. He believed it had been said that the colony might well vote a sum of money for agents in the neighbouring colonies to circulate information about Queensland, as there were many people in them who did not know more about this colony than the people at home; that had been represented to him, at any rate, and he believed it to be the case. It had also been represented to him that, considering the disproportion of the sexes here, there might be inducements offered to young women in the neighbouring colonies to come here. He knew that in the southern colonies both young women and young men might be induced to come and cast their lot

amongst us; in fact, it had been one of the hobbies of the hon. member for Northern Downs (Mr. Thorn) that the large percentage of male population here should be compensated by the importation of young women from Tasmania, and he (Mr. Douglas) believed that if they only gave facilities to the large population of young men in the bush who were not married to get married, they would be doing good service to the country. He only wished that the hon. member for the Gregory was present so that he might hear his opinions on the subject. He believed the hon. member would support such a project for the colonisation of the country. However, he had alluded to this matter because he thought it was a matter for consideration whether they could not induce a large number of well grown and healthy women in Tasmania to come and settle in this colony. He referred to the subject, also, because he noticed that the Government had appointed Mr. Byron Moore to act for them as agent at the approaching Melbourne Exhibition, and because he hoped the attention of that gentleman would be directed towards turning the stream of immigration from Victoria to Queensland. There were always a number of people in Victoria and New South Wales who were looking to make their homes in some other colony, and he hoped that the Government would take steps for directing the attention of such people to the advantages to be gained by coming to this colony, by opening up for their use land suitable for agricultural purposes and settlement. He hoped the Premier would give his attention to the matter during the recess. They must have population in the colony if they wanted it to be prosperous. He did not altogether agree with the hon. member for Rosewood, who said that a good liberal Land Bill was the best means of attracting people to the colony, for although no doubt that was a good thing, which they must look to sooner or later, they must do more—they must pay money for their immigrants for some time to come. He did not despise the means which had hitherto been adopted for bringing people to the colony, and he hoped that whatever were the defects the remedies applied would be sufficient. As to the people who had been introduced of late, he had heard them compared with others who came in previous years, and he was happy to be assured by the hon. Colonial Secretary that the class was improved and superior to those that came before. That being the case, he trusted the hon. gentleman would maintain the system, no matter whether by direct payment or by liberal land inducements, and that he would succeed in securing the population in this colony, of which it stood in such need. Until that was done they could not see their way to continue to carry on their public works as they had done, and as they might hope, and might very fairly hope, to be able to do in the future. Population and progress went hand in hand, and if there was not an increased population then public works must be stopped. It was for that reason that he had felt it his duty on the present occasion to recommend that all their energies should be directed towards the attainment of that object. If they did not secure increased population matters must come to a standstill. If they could not get it by some artificial attraction, they must do it by some other; at any rate, they must apply themselves earnestly to some scheme so as to succeed in carrying out the colonisation of this future great colony.

Mr. MESTON said, in reference to the hon. gentleman's remarks about inducing people to come here from other colonies, he might mention that some time ago he had an interview with some sugar-growers on the Clarence River, at

which a desire was expressed by them to settle in North Queensland if the terms were liberal enough. He afterwards called on the Minister for Lands to represent the case to him, and pointed out that by sending a letter he could bring up a hundred small capitalists to take up land for sugar-growing; but the hon. member showed him that by the Land Act he was not able to offer sufficiently liberal terms, and that not more than 80 acres, at 2s. 6d. an acre, could be taken up. If instead of the 80 acres, which was the limit of the Act, 400 or 500 acres could be taken up, he (Mr. Meston) was quite sure they could induce a large number of people to come to the colony from the district he had mentioned.

The MINISTER FOR LANDS (Mr. Perkins) said the hon. member had not stated what had taken place, as he told the hon. member that as much as 2,560 acres could be taken up at 10s. an acre, with ten years to pay for it, for sugar-growing purposes. If that was not liberal enough to induce the class of people referred to by the hon. member to come the colony was just as well without them. He wished for the future that the hon. member would make himself acquainted with the land laws of the colony, so that he might advise his friends correctly.

Mr. MESTON said he was as well acquainted with the land laws of the colony as the hon. member himself, and had communicated to his friends the exact answer given to him by the Minister for Lands—namely, that they could only take up 80 acres at 2s. 6d. an acre.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN: You mean 160 acres?

Mr. MESTON said the hon. member was right. The answer of the Minister for Lands was that they could only take up 160 acres at 2s. 6d. an acre, and if they wanted more they must pay 10s. an acre, with ten years to pay it in.

Mr. FRASER said there was not the slightest doubt that unless they increased their population they could not expect to make much progress. He thought that during the last three or four years of distress amongst the farming classes in England it might very fairly be considered whether advantage might not have been taken of it to increase the population of this colony. As hon. members were aware, a gentleman, a Mr. Grant, a commissioner for a Farmer's Union at home, represented experienced agriculturists with capital from £4,000 to £40,000 each, who were anxious to come to the colonies. He went to New South Wales and Victoria, where every attention was paid to him, and then went to New Zealand, the Government of which set apart 10,000 acres of land awaiting reports from home. He should have thought that something might have been done to induce that capital to come here, and that advantage might have been taken of the opportunity afforded by the distress amongst the agriculturists in England during the last three years. It might be said that Queensland was well known in every corner of the old country, but it was astonishing to find even in the centres of population in England how little was known of the colonies. He did not object to what the hon. member for Rosewood said about offering inducements to people in the other colonies to come, but he believed that the colony could obtain what they wished from the mother-country if they offered the proper inducements. As to the Imperial Government assisting in any emigration scheme to this colony, what class of immigrants would they send except those who had been a burden to them? That was not the class required here. There was no action of the late Government which he had more regretted than that which did away with special

immigration agents in Ireland and Scotland, as those agents had just commenced to attract the attention of the very class desired, and had already sent out a few ships with such. He would be glad to hear that the Government were taking into earnest consideration the best means of bringing under the notice of the people at home the magnificent lands in the northern part of the colony.

Mr. GARRICK said there appeared to be no change in the amount of this vote, although the work had been considerably reduced from what it was a few years ago. In 1878 there were sent out 7,554 immigrants and twenty-six ships; in 1879 there were 1,800 immigrants sent to the colony, and only six ships; and he understood that it was intended to have eight ships sent out this year and a like number next year. Now, surely, in the staff required for the conduct of the office at home and the office here, there should be some difference between this year and what was necessary for 1878 as far as immigration was concerned, seeing that there was only about one-fourth the work to be done.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said if the member examined the Estimates he would find that a considerable saving had been effected. The duties of Inspector of Distilleries were now performed by the Immigration Agent, and the saving effected was £550 a year. There was a good deal of work in the office which was not in the least over-manned; if it was he would soon pack a clerk off.

Mr. GARRICK said the Colonial Secretary's remarks applied only to the head of the department. It appeared by a foot-note that the Immigration Agent was also paid £100 from the Polynesian fund, and he thought it would have been of assistance to the Committee if they were informed by foot-note that that officer also performed the duties of Inspector of Distilleries. He would like to know whether the clerical work connected with the Inspector of Distilleries was done by the clerks in the Immigration Office.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said last year there was a Chief Inspector of Distilleries, and nine inspectors; the nine inspectors were still kept on, and all the rest of the work was done in the Immigration Office. If there had been any additional pay given to the Immigration Agent for the performance of these additional duties, there would have been a foot-note; but it was not usual to put a foot-note when a man did additional work but did not get additional pay.

Mr. GARRICK said the Colonial Secretary's explanation only referred to the office here. There certainly should be some equivalent reduction in the expenditure in the office at home, seeing that the work was so much less; but there was no difference from last year in clerks, travelling expenses, or anything else. It appeared to him that if the Colonial Secretary had been able to effect a saving by combining another office with that of Immigration Agent, that there should be a like reduction, or even a greater reduction, in the home office.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he should be very much obliged to the hon. gentleman if he could show how he could reduce the estimates for the home office. The only officers were the secretary to the Agent-General and an indent clerk at £300 a-year, and how was he to reduce them? All the other officers were paid out of loan, and when their services were not required they were dispensed with.

Mr. GARRICK said he found that there were three extra clerks on the loan vote for the Lon-

don office. It was useless to say that because the salaries now before the Committee were paid out of revenue, therefore hon. members should not refer to loan: they should refer to both. It was made a strong point against previous Governments having officers paid out of both revenue and loan. He maintained that if there was not so much clerical work to do they did not require so much clerical assistance, whether it was paid out of loan or revenue. The increase of shipping and other business might have produced more work, but, as far as emigration was concerned, there was a great deal less than previously. "Travelling and incidental expenses, £400"—to whom and for what was that paid? If it was at so much per ship, of course that was the explanation at once—eight ships at £50 each. Perhaps the Colonial Secretary would give some further explanation.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said if the sum voted for travelling expenses was not required it would not be used. Every charge for travelling expenses came before the Auditor-General here, and would be found in his accounts. The hon. member could not expect him (the Colonial Secretary) to check the travelling expenses of the Agent-General, who had to travel about, and whose clerks had to travel, because ships were despatched from Plymouth and different ports.

Mr. GARRICK hardly knew a greater inducement to an officer to spend money than to see it on the Estimates. He did not wish to attribute any unfairness to the officers, but if money was voted they might be sure it would be spent, and the Audit Office would be no check. If there was less work, the only thing was to vote less money.

Mr. BEATTIE did not think it was possible for the Government to do with fewer officers than were on this estimate, there being only two. Reference had, however, been made to the loan vote, and the Colonial Secretary had pointed out that an alteration had been made respecting the despatching officer in London—that the present despatching officer was a medical man. He (Mr. Beattie) found that the previous despatching officer, whose duties were no doubt a great deal heavier than they were at the present time, received only £300 a-year, and the present officer received the same for despatching only eight ships a-year. If he had simply to see that the ships were properly fitted out according to regulation, his duties were not very severe and he was very well paid—that was unless he had to examine the whole of the immigrants.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said the officer referred to had to examine every emigrant and see that they were in perfect health, and he had already saved a good deal to the country by turning back persons who were not in good health.

Mr. BEATTIE said in that case he did not think the officer was too well paid, but he doubted whether he would be so well fitted for the office as a man whose whole life had been devoted to that particular duty.

Mr. THORN pointed out that the northern portion of the colony was entirely ignored in these Estimates. He understood that the north was to get an equivalent number of immigrants to the south, but he found that there was no provision made for the northern ports beyond Keppel Bay. There was no provision for quarantine stations at Bowen, Townsville, Mackay, or Cooktown, and he wanted to know if the Government intended to ignore the northern part of the colony altogether? When the late Government was in office the north got justice, and he was sure that if immigrants were sent up there they would be readily snapped up; in fact, he believed the

sugar industry in the north was not making the progress it would because of the want of immigrants. He was anxious to see the north progress, but he was afraid the present Government were going to ignore it altogether and let it go back. Chinese were fast taking the place of white people there, and that was entirely the fault of the present Government. He hoped the hon. member for Kennedy (Mr. Stubbley) would be able to enlighten the Committee on these matters before long, as he believed that hon. member had some reliable information. He (Mr. Thorn) was opposed to this estimate altogether, because the present Government as soon as they came into office dismissed a number of faithful servants through no fault of their own, and substituted others. That was his principal charge against the Government, and it had not been answered. He objected altogether to this system of Americanising the Government of the colony. They had heard Mr. Berry, in Victoria, denounced for dismissing old and faithful servants of the State; the present Government denounced him for doing so, and he (Mr. Thorn) had told him that was the greatest sin he had committed; and yet they found the Government here doing the same thing in the public service, and notably in the Agent-General's office. He maintained that those officers should have been treated in the same way that the Minister for Works had acted in regard to the road overseers and others, whose services were dispensed with under the Divisional Boards Act—that was, to take them on again whenever their services were required. The Government had given none of the information he asked for that afternoon, and perhaps the best thing he could do would be to move the Chairman out of the chair until they got that information. The officers who were employed to inspect rails might certainly be dispensed with. It was well known that enough rails had been ordered already to make all the public works for the next two or three years. People were going away from the southern part of the colony wholesale through want of employment, and he wondered that the Government did not notice this. The only place where quarantine stations were now required was in the north, and yet the Estimates completely ignored that part of the colony. The Premier had not given the Committee the information he had asked for at a previous part of the evening, and he (Mr. Thorn) was astonished that the Committee had been so quiet about it. He hoped the leader of the Opposition would take a firm stand and move the Chairman out of the chair.

Mr. GARRICK said he found that during the two past years—1878-79 and 1879-80—the same sum of £400 was set down for travelling and incidental expenses, and this was asked again for the current year. During the three years there was not the same amount of work done, and there should not have been the same expenditure. He would ask the Colonial Secretary whether he was in possession of the accounts from the London office, and whether they showed the same expenditure for 1879 as in 1878? It was clear there ought not to have been such expenditure, and the matter only showed that if money was put on the Estimates, no matter what work was done, a way would be found of spending it. The Colonial Secretary admitted that there had been some change in the office in Brisbane, and that there was not the same work to do. The head of the department had been able to have transferred to him work done by the head of another department. It was clear that there could not be the same work to be done that there was when they brought out 7,500 immigrants, and chartered 26 ships in the course of the year; and when the intimation was made

that the number would not be maintained, there was clearly some room for an alteration in the estimate. Perhaps the Colonial Secretary could enlighten them on that point.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he was not in possession of the accounts, which came through the office and went at once up to the Auditor-General. Those accounts were not checked at the Colonial Secretary's office. With respect to the clerical work at the immigration office, it was something enormous. The accounts of the nine inspectors had to be gone through and checked, and the immigration agent had applied some months ago for an extra clerk, and showed very good reason why he should have one. None had, however, been appointed.

Mr. DICKSON : The hon. gentleman referred to nine inspectors ;—does he say that the distillery inspectors' accounts are checked by the officers of the immigration department ?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY : Yes.

Mr. STUBBLEY said he should like to know whether the Government meant to have a quarantine station at Townsville. There was one there formerly.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said there was a quarantine station at Townsville, but there was no necessity for it. He did not intend to send people to Townsville to die, but wished to keep them alive. If a quarantine station were necessary at Townsville it would be provided. The last time they had a quarantine station there it was for the benefit of a French vessel, and a pretty sum of money it cost them.

Mr. BEATTIE said that if the information that was given the other night from the Minister for Lands with reference to illicit distillation was correct, the sooner they had a head of distilleries the better.

Mr. DICKSON asked if the arrival in London of the new secretary was reported ?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY : No.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he thought that it was a pity to have dispensed with the services of their agents in Ireland and Scotland. He wished to know whether Mr. Bonwick was still employed in the London office. He had recently written a pamphlet on Queensland, and had lectured for them. He was a good agent, and he (Mr. Douglas) took no exception to his employment. It was necessary to employ persons of that kind if they wanted to secure immigrants of the kind they desired, such as the tenant farmers who were now leaving the country, and were likely to leave it. It would be worth while to look after the class of immigrants at present going in considerable numbers to America—the class of tenant farmers having both experience of agriculture and generally a fair amount of means. Even if it were necessary to go to some additional expense in the way of occasional special agents in the agricultural counties, a few hundred pounds might very well be spent for that purpose. If they got a good class of immigrants from the agricultural counties, they could not very well pay too much for the genuine article.

The PREMIER said that Mr. Bonwick had been employed for a short time as a lecturer in the southern counties of England, and he was the sort of man they wanted. The terms on which he was employed were extremely moderate.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he was very glad to hear it. It was the right way to go about getting good immigrants, to employ men who understood their work. They had dispensed with the labour of such men as Mr. Geo. Wight and Mr. MacDevitt, both of whom were very useful, but it was considered necessary that they should not

be employed again. Still, he did not think immigration could be kept up effectually without some such agency.

Question put and passed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY moved that the sum of £2,640 be granted for salaries and contingencies in connection with the steamer "Kate."

Mr. DICKSON said he should like to know whether there was any truth in the report circulated concerning the unfortunate accident which happened on Saturday in the South Passage. The report was, that application had been made to the Government for a more suitable boat for the use of the telegraph operator who resided at the south entrance, and that the application was refused. It was stated that it was represented to the Government that the boat was not sufficiently sea-worthy for bad weather. He should like to know whether that report was correct, though he could hardly believe it was ; but he would give the Government the opportunity of giving it a contradiction, because, if uncontradicted, it would imply that there was a great amount of carelessness in regard to the lives of those officers of the Government who had from time to time to go for mails or provisions to vessels visiting such stations.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he was not aware that any such application had been made, nor was he aware what duty would take the telegraph operator out in bad weather.

Mr. THORN said he should like to ask the Colonial Secretary whether the Opposition might have the use of the "Kate" steamer, or whether she was to be at the service of Government supporters only. He believed great reforms had been effected at St. Helena, and the members of the Opposition would like to have the use of the "Kate" to go down and see them.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said the steamer had never been refused to the Opposition. He had himself invited the Opposition to come down and see the reforms at St. Helena, but, he was sorry to say, they had never come. The Opposition were very welcome to have the use of the "Kate." She had not been lent to the supporters of the Government only—he had never made such a distinction. At the same time, it would be quite impossible to lend her once in every ten times that she was asked for.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked whether the "Kate" was still lent for schnapper excursions on the Sabbath day. He did not think she should be granted for such a purpose.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he did not see why the "Kate" should not be lent for fishing on the Sabbath day. He would fish on that day whenever he got the chance, and was only prevented the last time he was out by the boat going ashore.

Mr. MOREHEAD said the member for Ipswich seemed to forget that the miraculous draught of fishes was made on the Sabbath day.

Question put and passed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY moved that £22,100 should be granted for judicial benches and allowances. There were a few alterations, but not very extensive ones. The first on the list was Brisbane and Goodna, for which £1,325 was asked, as against £1,175 for last year. The increase was rendered absolutely necessary by the increase of business in the Brisbane Police Court. His attention was called, both by the Police Magistrate and Auditor-General, to the fact that it was almost impossible for the clerks in the office to get through their work, and it was found absolutely necessary to give an

additional clerk. The next on the list was a decrease at Goodna—£190 was voted last year for a clerk there. He found that the clerk could be well done without, and on the gentleman who occupied the position resigning he did not see the necessity for appointing another. The work had since been efficiently done by a policeman at £25. There was £25 down for a policeman to act as clerk of petty sessions at Muttaborra. There was also an increase at Thorgomindah for a policeman to fill the same position; and an increase to the salary of the recording clerk at Thornborough, who was very much overworked and only drew a salary of £220, which was a very small one for such a position. At Townsville there was also an increase of £200 for additional clerical assistance which had to be provided. There was an increase for the Police Magistrate at Springsure, who had also to visit Emerald and the Comet; and to the Police Magistrate at Stanthorpe, who had to visit Inglewood. There were increases of £50 each in lieu of quarters to the Police Magistrates at Surat, St. George, St. Lawrence, Tambo, and Thorgomindah. These had been found absolutely necessary. Some of the police magistrates received the allowance out of contingencies, but he found that others were not fairly dealt with—that some in the outside districts received it, and that others who were just as well entitled did not. He had endeavoured to put them all on a fair footing, and he hoped the Committee would not object, for the magistrates in the country districts were really an underpaid class, the expenses of living being great and there being much work to do.

Mr. DOUGLAS asked who was the police magistrate at Banana? At the time a change was made there he thought it a little hard that Mr. Francis should have to go out to Thorgomindah. He believed the Colonial Secretary had intimated his intention of changing the magistrates from place to place. Occasional changes were perhaps advisable, but if the changes were made compulsory the travelling expenses must be found, for it must come still harder to a man with a small salary if it was made compulsory for him to remove at his own expense from a place like Taroom to Thorgomindah, a distance of about 500 miles, he supposed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that where a police magistrate was moved for the convenience of the public service he was always allowed fair travelling expenses, but when he was moved on promotion expenses were not often given. In the case to which the hon. member had alluded a fair sum was paid, though, no doubt, not so much as the officer expected. The present police magistrate of Taroom and Banana was Mr. Compigne, and he had the option of living at either place.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he did not question the discretionary power of the Colonial Secretary, but it struck him, in the particular instance to which he had referred, that a gentleman who was one of the youngest magistrates in the colony was brought in from a far distant place—Thorgomindah—to Beenleigh, which was one of the best appointments in the colony. He did not grudge Mr. Alexander his good luck, but he was sure it must have been looked on with envy, for there must have been many other officers who would have been very glad to have availed themselves of such a move if they had the opportunity.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I have no doubt.

Mr. DICKSON asked why the young man, Mr. Sidney Swanwick, who had misconducted himself in the Supreme Court, was never dismissed?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he was dismissed, and if the hon. member would look back he would, if he (Mr. Palmer) remembered rightly, see that the appointment of the man's successor was gazetted *vice* Swanwick dismissed.

Mr. DICKSON said he did not think that the dismissal was gazetted, or that the appointment of Mr. Swanwick's successor conveyed the intimation made by the Colonial Secretary. An officer who so misconducted himself should have been summarily dismissed. He assumed that, if it was not done, it was intended that the notification of his dismissal should not have been made public. He understood that the officer was still employed in one of the Government departments, though not under a gazetted appointment. Still, a sense of propriety should be shown by the Government in connection with a person who had so misconducted himself, and, although he had forfeited his gazetted appointment, he ought not to be retained in any way in the public service after committing the crime that he did.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he considered that for the offence the man was quite severely enough punished. He was not aware that he was in any Government appointment—it was news to him, and was not with his knowledge and consent. The man acted badly, foolishly, and stupidly, but he (Mr. Palmer) believed without any malicious intent. The man was, however, told immediately that he would be dismissed—that his resignation, which it was stated was sent, but which, he believed, never reached the department—would not be accepted.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said he would like to know what the man had done? He saw a newspaper report that some man took a few glasses too much, and walked into court, when two or three men got frightened. Would the hon. member, however, enlighten the Committee and the country as to what the man really did? Did the hon. member never get a drop too much himself? He (Mr. O'Sullivan) had. He didn't think he was a bit the worse for it either, and hoped he should again.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he knew nothing more of the case than what he had learned from the newspaper reports. If they were correct—and he presumed the hon. member for Stanley derived his information from the same source—he could not view the matter in the same light as the hon. member, nor attempt to palliate what he regarded as a crime of a very serious character.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN: I want to know what the crime was?

Mr. DOUGLAS: I understand it was threatening to use firearms in a court of justice.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN: I know for a positive fact that he did nothing of the sort.

Mr. DOUGLAS: He was found with loaded firearms in his possession.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN: There is no law against that.

Mr. DOUGLAS said the hon. member should know that there was a higher law than any written law. There were many offences which should not and could not be defined by statute, but which came within the category of those offences which the Judges of the Supreme Court considered themselves justified in punishing at sight; and the presiding Judge on the occasion referred to had intended to punish it with a long term—

Mr. MOREHEAD: Forty years.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he did not understand that the punishment was to have been forty years' imprisonment, but he knew that the Judge

took the severest view of the case. Although that punishment might not be justifiable, it was evident that unless such terrorism was put down with the strong hand of rightful justice the commission of acts of violence might be expected. He was astonished and grieved to hear an hon. member attempt to palliate such a high offence against order, morals, and all those restraints by which law and justice were secured. The fact that the man might have been under the influence of drink was no palliation for the crime. It was known that men suffering under the effects of drink were apt to commit crimes, and the action of a man who subjected himself to such influence should be visited with the sternest reprehension. He hoped there was not the slightest foundation for the rumour that the man was now in the employment of the Government. He understood he was.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Where?

Mr. DOUGLAS said if the hon. gentleman would give a direct contradiction to that he should be perfectly satisfied. Would the hon. gentleman say "yes" or "no"?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he had stated that the man was not, to his knowledge, in the employ of the Government. If the man was employed, let the hon. gentleman say where and how.

Mr. DOUGLAS: I have no knowledge of it.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said neither had he, and he thought the less said about the subject the better. The man had acted very foolishly, and he had been punished. He would not have been dismissed on account of what was reported in the papers. That was evidently a scare about nothing, or less than nothing; but he (Mr. Palmer) had further information, and the man was dismissed on that information.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said the hon. member for Maryborough had stated that he (Mr. O'Sullivan) attempted to palliate a crime, whereas he simply asked what the crime was. The hon. member said that the man had been guilty of no crime that could be reached by statute law, but of one that must be judged by a higher court. He stated that the man carried a loaded pistol; but there was nothing in the law to prevent that. The man acted foolishly, but he committed no crime. There was a big bluster got up in court, the lawyers got frightened, and some of them he believed, got under the table.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said if the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) was astonished at what the hon. member for Stanley said, he was astonished at the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) calling the absurd escapade of this individual a crime. A man on horseback and armed with a revolver in England was guilty of a crime, but there was no law of the kind here; and it was evident by the law of England making it a crime that the higher law was not there considered sufficient to deter men from committing the offence. The statute making that a crime was about as absurd as the act of this man in bringing a revolver into court. The man's act was absurd and he deserved to be punished for it, but to call it a crime was about as absurd as the offence itself.

Mr. DOUGLAS said the higher law he referred to was one which could hardly be defined, but which could be recognised. Unless people were governed by that no written law could in all cases be complete. In this case a man, probably under the influence of drink, came into court armed with a revolver—a man who had previously expressed his intention of making use of that instrument—and he was found in the

vicinity of the man against whom he had sworn vengeance; and he (Mr. Douglas) maintained that if practices of that sort were to be tolerated in every court of justice and other places of public resort, society was only removed from the greatest crimes that could be committed by a very thin partition. He believed that it was only by chance that a frightful crime was not committed—possibly, and even probably, murder—and now in the Legislature hon. members were found willing to get up and palliate such usages. He hoped never again to hear such practices spoken of as being of no importance whatever. He felt almost inclined to persecute a man guilty of such an offence, regarding it as one of the greatest possible infractions of law and order.

Mr. MOREHEAD said he should first like to know whether it was a crime to kill a lawyer. In this case he had consulted an eminent layman who had informed him that not only was the man improperly imprisoned, but he was also the victim of a grave outrage—his pocket was picked in court, and then he was committed for contempt. As far as the evidence in the newspaper report went it appeared that the man had done nothing, when he was rushed by a bailiff in court, his pockets were searched, and a revolver was abstracted. Whereupon, he (Mr. Morehead) was informed, every member of the Bar rushed behind the table, and the juniors tried to get behind the seniors. The scene that ensued was almost enough to justify them in letting the man off. Some of the barristers, it was said, were constitutionally timid, and did not like the idea of a man being present with a revolver in his pocket, even when it could not be seen. Afterwards it was stated that the man uttered some threat before going into court; but that could hardly justify them in illegally rifling his pockets, and rushing him away to gaol. Plenty of people went about carrying revolvers; he had done it himself over and over again, and it was rather hard if for doing the same thing this unfortunate man was to be subjected to the hard terms used by the hon. member for Maryborough. This man for one slip had been dismissed, and the vengeance of the Opposition might very well now cease. The vengeance of one hon. member had not terminated with the dismissal of this man; an unfortunate constable had also been dismissed, and it was hard to say how many more were to follow, simply on account of the insane terror of the hon. member, who was afraid of being assassinated. This unfortunate man evidently had not the slightest intention of assassinating anyone, even if he breathed a threat as stated. Had he entertained any such idea, he would not have told everyone, and then gone into the Supreme Court where there were a hundred witnesses, and every chance of being captured; but would have concealed his villainous designs and watched his opportunity. The whole thing was simply a piece of rhodomontade; it was the act of a young man who had been led through a sense of supposed injury to do a little bit of 'falutin'; and no one did more of that than the hon. member for North Brisbane and the hon. member for Maryborough. Hon. members were familiar with the style of the hon. member for North Brisbane: "If anyone put a hand on him what he would do;" and, in a letter of advice to a certain individual in this town: "Anyone who attempted to do so to him would do it at his peril," and the result would be awful. This young man, who evidently did not intend to commit a criminal act, had suffered severely for what appeared to be a venial offence. He had been in the habit in other countries of carrying firearms, and he probably did not know he was doing anything wrong. They saw the man's handkerchief sticking out of his pocket and thought there was a

revolver hanging to it; the bailiff was instructed to make a search, and the man was dragged off to gaol.

Mr. DICKSON said if those were the facts of the case a double wrong had been committed—the dismissal of an innocent man, and the deprivation of office inflicted upon a man who failed to report some words let fall by the officer whose case was now being considered. He did not regard the offence from such an indifferent point of view as some hon. members opposite. It was clearly the duty of the Government to show, as they had done, that they would not allow any officer who was guilty of perpetrating such an offence to remain in office. When he first spoke on the subject he was under the impression that the man had not been dismissed, but the Colonial Secretary said that he was and that the dismissal was notified in the *Gazette*. Since then he had looked through the *Gazette*, and in the issue of the 2nd of June he found a notification that a deposition clerk had been appointed, but it did not say that he was appointed *vice* any other person; there was nothing to indicate that another officer had been dismissed. He was not going into the merits of the case, but he could not help thinking that the unfortunate constable who did not report utterances which he heard at an earlier period on the day had been punished with undue severity; he hoped that the constable would be reinstated. With regard to the officer whose case was under consideration, dismissal *instantly* was but due to the offence which he had committed. He had been informed that the man was now employed in the Lands Office copying deeds.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that what he said was that the man was dismissed. Perhaps he had not studied the *Gazette* as carefully as the hon. member for Enoggera had, but he knew that the man was dismissed.

Mr. DICKSON: It is part of your business to study the *Gazette*.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY thought it would be better if the hon. member would mind his own business. He did not consider it any part of his duty to look at the *Gazette*. The man was not dismissed before his case was carefully considered. If he had been only guilty of the act he committed in court he might not have been dismissed at all. He believed that a number of gentlemen who were in the court were frightfully scared—awfully scared. Some members of the Bar had told him that the scene was beyond description. What weighed with him in regard to the man's dismissal was the fact that it was proved that he had been drunk in the police office—a place where a man ought to be particularly careful as to his acts. The man was not punished on the spur of the moment, as some hon. members seemed to think.

Mr. DOUGLAS said the case presented a new aspect. The Colonial Secretary said that the man had been dismissed for being drunk. He (Mr. Douglas) should have dismissed him for being armed in the Supreme Court and for threatening the use of deadly weapons. If the idea got abroad that Civil servants would be allowed to carry firearms, there would be an end to discipline. To his mind, the man committed the gravest offence next to murder. Although actions might not be punishable by law, there was a feeling of propriety which guided men against the committal of such acts. If it became a custom for men from the backwoods of America to come here and carry revolvers, they would have to pass a law to prohibit it. He was astonished at the Attorney-General, who, in his remarks, almost justified the offence of the man: the hon. gentleman indicated that there was no

law against the offence, and that the man ought to be allowed to go scot-free.

The MINISTER FOR LANDS: You got off the other day because there was no law.

Mr. DOUGLAS said that there were ordinary usages of propriety which governed a man more definitely than any written law ever would—that was the higher law by which he governed his actions.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said that the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) had been guilty of a gross inaccuracy—and it was not the first time that night that he had been guilty—when he accused him of having said that the man ought not to have been punished. On the contrary, he remembered distinctly that he said the man had been guilty of a foolish offence, and that he deserved to be punished. Why should the hon. member be astonished at him when he stated what was a fact with regard to the law?

Mr. RUTLEDGE should not have said anything had it not been for the pool-pooling remarks of hon. gentlemen opposite, who wished to make out that certain people who were in court were scared out of their wits. He happened to be the person who was closest to the man referred to when the weapon was abstracted from his pocket. It was due to the gentleman who was more particularly referred to as having been scared out of his wits, and who was said to have got under the table—all these things being said to reduce him in public estimation—that he should give his version of the facts. The individual was not apprehended in court because he had a loaded weapon, and a bailiff did not rush at him because he saw a handkerchief sticking out of his pocket. As soon as the jury had given their verdict the man made menacing remarks to a gentleman whom he supposed had done him an injury, and it was then that he was noticed firmly grasping something in his hand. Had he (Mr. Rutledge) known that it was a loaded weapon, he certainly would have increased the distance between himself and the man. The gentleman who was intimidated had been apprised that something might happen, and, so far from getting under the table or running away into a safe place, he stood like a man with his eye fixed on the offender. If hon. members had been in court they would have experienced a sensation a repetition of which they would not have cared for. The man committed a high crime, a misdemeanour, and the estimable Judge, who was not a man likely to be carried away by an impulse of feeling, did what was necessary for the vindication of the majesty of justice. His (Mr. Rutledge's) opinion was that it was the man's intention to do a deliberate act of violence; but the jury were a long time considering their verdict, and during that time the fumes of intoxication had worn off—the temporary madness, which would bring the courage up to the sticking point, had evaporated, and the man had not enough courage left to do the deed. The man then acted in a way to provoke an angry remark, and if such a remark had been made he (Mr. Rutledge) believed that they would have heard of something else, which would have given a shock to the entire community—they would have had to mourn over a very serious affair.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he thoroughly accepted what had been said by the hon. member for Enoggera, because he knew the hon. member was accustomed to strict accuracy. The hon. gentleman, however, had given them an entirely new version of the affair—they had heard nothing about menacing before. If that happened, the public had been misled because there was nothing in the newspaper reports about it.

Mr. GRIFFITH: That was what induced the Judge to interfere.

Mr. HAMILTON thought he might also do himself the pleasure of constituting himself a witness. The hon. member for Enoggera might answer for his own sensations; but, for his own part, he experienced the most pleasurable sensations. He had never before seen such a scare among the lawyers. The hon. member for Enoggera said he witnessed so-and-so. All he could say was that if some of the lawyers present witnessed the same things they must have had eyes in the backs of their head. Those lawyers who did not get under the table made splendid time round it. He saw a man with a white face; and directly that individual came behind the bar the lawyers disappeared, and, as an impartial witness, he could aver that neither they, nor the hon. member for Enoggera, were in a position to give reliable evidence as to what took place.

Mr. MESTON thought some hon. members were under the impression that the constable who was dismissed upon the occasion referred to was still under dismissal; but, as a matter of fact, he had been reinstated for some time past, and in his opinion very properly, for he was an intelligent and efficient member of the force, who had served in the British army with infinite credit. With regard to the feud in the court, he had nothing to say save that a squatting friend of his who was present when the scene occurred said it was one of the strangest sights he had ever witnessed—he said he could only compare it to the consternation among a flock of sheep when a native dog appeared. The first impulse of everyone seemed to be to get beyond the precincts of the court as quickly as his powers of locomotion would permit. He agreed, however, with the hon. member for Maryborough, that the carrying of deadly weapons ought to be discouraged. There certainly might be occasions when a man could carry a revolver without in so doing committing a serious offence. He remembered carrying a Derringer in his pocket for two years—not to shoot anyone, except under exceptional circumstances. But in every British community the rising generation should be taught to rely upon their hands and the law for the defence of their honour and personal safety. He was not aware that in America, where the practice of carrying deadly weapons existed, there was less ruffianism or blackguardism, or more immunity from insult, than in Great Britain, where people did not make a practice of carrying revolvers. He was told that the revolver used on the occasion in question was a Belgian weapon, his own experience of which suggested Mark Twain's description of the Arab's gun, which would hang-fire while the enemy walked out of range, and then burst and blow off the owner's head. He thought Swanwick guilty of nothing but an exceedingly foolish act, for which he deserved to be punished. He did not believe he had since been in the Government service—and, perhaps, very properly so—but he had been guilty of no crime which warranted his exorcism from society.

The MINISTER FOR LANDS said he understood the hon. member for Enoggera to say that the person whose conduct had been the subject of debate had been employed in the Lands Department. He desired to give that assertion a distinct denial.

Mr. DOUGLAS had been under the impression that Mr. Swanwick had not been dismissed from the Government service in such a way as to preclude the possibility of his being employed again. He hoped the Colonial Secretary would consider that he was acting in the interests of society, of the Government service, and of everyone more immediately concerned if he did not again give employment to this gentleman.

Mr. MACFARLANE said he was surprised at the light way in which hon. members talked of the conduct of Mr. Swanwick, and of their disposition to condone that conduct as being simply foolish. He did not think a man should be punished for making a fool of himself. In his own opinion Mr. Swanwick had done far more—he had broken the law. The Colonial Secretary admitted that Mr. Swanwick was drunk in his office. He considered, however, that the clerk had been guilty of a far more serious crime in the court. In the neighbouring colonies they had gone to a considerable expense to put down bushranging. What, he wondered, would be said of hon. members who considered Mr. Swanwick's conduct as simply foolish and not calculated to do harm to anyone? It was a very dangerous precedent, and he was sorry to hear the remarks some hon. members had made.

Mr. GRIFFITH said so many statements had been made that he thought it would be well to tell the whole tale. About half-an-hour before the scene happened in the court the learned gentleman who was counsel with him in the case said to him, "You had better look out; that man (whom he named) is in the court with a revolver and a bowie knife, and he threatens to shoot or stab you." He looked round but did not see the man, and directed no more attention to the matter. When the jury returned to the court after a considerable absence he was sitting in his usual place, and the gentleman who had previously spoken to him said "Look out; he is armed." He thereupon looked round and saw the man referred to standing at his elbow—about a foot away from him—with his hand in his pocket. He did not then see any revolver; but the man was grasping something, which did afterwards turn out to be a revolver. When he saw the man standing in that position he placed one or two chairs between them, and other gentlemen, seeing him move away, also moved, he believed, with considerable rapidity. When the verdict was given the man remained standing in the position he first occupied. He kept his eye upon him, and at the same time made signs to a gentleman standing near to grasp his arm if he raised it. When the verdict was given he had to return to his place to go on with a case then pending, and as he approached his seat the man made use of a threatening observation which he reported to the Judge, whereupon the man was arrested. When the man was arrested he said he intended to shoot him (Mr. Griffith). He did not lose his presence of mind, and everything happened precisely as he had stated. The court was unable to proceed with business that day; and whether an interruption of that kind, apart from an intention to kill, constituted an offence, was a question upon which hon. members and the public could form their own opinion.

Mr. THORN said he did not disapprove of the increases in the department of Police; and he would like to call attention to the absence of petty sessions arrangements for Chinchilla, a large and growing place in his district. He would also like to know whether the increase under the head of Townsville was to go to the clerk of petty sessions or to the police magistrate.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said £150 was a new item—the salary of a deposition clerk. The balance of the increase went to the salary of the clerk of petty sessions, who was a recording clerk. With regard to Chinchilla, he had never heard any reasons advanced for the holding of a court of petty sessions there. He believed the place was inhabited chiefly by four-footed native dogs.

Mr. THORN said he could excuse the ignorance of the Colonial Secretary because Chinchilla had

only recently come into existence. It had taken the place of Condamine. Nearly all the population of that place had gone to Chinchilla. The trade from the Dawson and the Auburn part of the Burnett also went in that direction. He had no doubt that, if he waited upon the Colonial Secretary at his office and represented the case to him, he would agree to make arrangements for adequate police protection and a court of petty sessions.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that if the hon. member would place facts before him which would warrant him in asking the Government to appoint a court of petty sessions, he would be listened to.

Mr. DOUGLAS desired to refer to the appointment of the Police Magistrate of Beenleigh. He had referred to the fact that the gentleman appointed was the junior magistrate of the whole list; and the reply he received was that there were probably many others who would have been only too glad to be appointed. If that was the case, the hon. gentleman was not serving the best interests of the service by failing to promote men who were anxious to receive such promotion. If there were men who would have been content to accept that position as promotion, it should certainly have been offered to one of them. If opportunities of that kind were lost, older servants would think that an injustice had been done them. Mr. Alexander had only been something like a year at Thorgomindah—his first appointment, and, although serving out there was an apprenticeship that deserved recognition, still where there were at least a dozen officers deserving promotion, and who would have accepted the Beenleigh appointment as promotion, it was hardly likely to encourage those gentlemen to see a precedent set which seemed something very much like favouritism.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he was rather surprised to see an increase, practically, of £50 a-year all round on this vote. No doubt police magistrates were receiving small, and in many cases inadequate, salaries; but the present was scarcely the time to make indiscriminate increases. There was an increase at Aramac, Blackall, Charleville, Cunnamulla, Goondiwindi, Hughenden, Nanango, Surat, St. George, St. Lawrence, Tambo, and Thorgomindah. The increases were nominally an allowance in lieu of quarters, but they all knew what that meant. The colony had not yet, he trusted, come to the position of Victoria, and compelled them to reduce the salaries of Civil servants all round; and in the present state of the revenue it was very unwise to increase them.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that, as he had mentioned before, he thought it unfair that some magistrates should have allowances in lieu of quarters while others had not, and the present was an attempt to put them all on the same footing. Hon. members must also bear in mind that the item of £300 for contingencies was struck out of the estimate. Some of the magistrates were grossly underpaid, and he had said long ago that if ever he had the chance he would endeavour to put them on a fair footing. A salary of, in most cases, £300 a-year was not a large sum for a gentleman living in an outside district, and who had to keep up a certain appearance.

Mr. BEATTIE agreed with the Colonial Secretary that the country magistrates were not overpaid. Would the Colonial Secretary inform the Committee how often the Brisbane Police Magistrate visited Woogaroo? It took that gentleman all his time to look after his own court, and the business of the court would certainly go back unless he was largely assisted by the unpaid magistrates. The work of the Police

Court at Brisbane could not be done without them, for the unpaid magistrates took one of the courts every day. Woogaroo might very well be visited by the Police Magistrate of Ipswich. The position of a justice of the peace was an honourable one, no doubt, but they were never referred to without a sneer. If they did good service to the country they ought at least to get credit for it.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said the Police Magistrate of Brisbane visited Woogaroo at irregular intervals, and always in case of a death.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said that Woogaroo was formerly visited by the Police Magistrate of Ipswich, who would be very well satisfied with £50, half the allowance given to the Police Magistrate of Brisbane for going thither. With regard to the attendance of the latter gentleman at Woogaroo, it was a complete farce.

Mr. GRIFFITH said that at Thornborough there was an increase of £80. Was it a new office, or an increase, or what? When he was there an officer of the Mining Department did the work of the clerk of petty sessions without extra pay. The foot-note said the money was paid to a recording clerk, with a salary of £220. There was no such official there.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY explained that the words "recording officer" were a misprint for mining registrar.

The MINISTER FOR WORKS explained that formerly there were at Thornborough a mining registrar and a deputy mining registrar, each receiving £220 a-year. The latter officer was dispensed with, and the former did the work of the clerk of petty sessions as well as his own for the sum mentioned in the Estimates.

Mr. GRIFFITH called attention to a sum of £50 for the salary of a Police Magistrate at Ingham, and asked who was to perform the duty at that salary.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that the sub-collector of customs at Cardwell used to perform all the duties, but a court-house was built at Ingham by some means or other; so cleverly was it done that the Commissioner for Police did not know it was done for some time. The Police Magistrate at Cardwell had to do the duty, and had to walk there or get there as best he could.

Mr. GRIFFITH said he thought it was a mistake to put down these sums as allowances, and more especially in the form of quarters. He knew that increases were often begun in this way to avoid the appearance of increasing the salary of an officer. First of all an allowance was paid out of contingencies, and then, when it appeared in the form of an increase in the vote, or as a new vote, and some member complained of it, it was said, "Oh, that is not a new vote, it has been paid for years out of contingencies; only we think it better to put it on the Estimates." Afterwards it would appear as salary. It was well known that the "allowance in lieu of quarters" was a mere mockery—that there were no quarters anywhere; and it would be much better, if it was desirable to give an increase to a police magistrate, to put it in a direct way. He did not think that at the present time, when no other increases were being made to the salaries of Civil servants, the Committee should be asked to vote these allowances.

Mr. DOUGLAS thought the proper way to deal with the question would be for the Government to build quarters for police magistrates, as those gentlemen were frequently put to great loss and inconvenience by being removed; in fact, that was one reason for not moving them about more than they were. At present they were virtually allowed sums of money

n lieu of quarters; but if a police magistrate, after living at one place for a few years, built a house for himself and family, the probability was that he might be ordered at a few months' notice to go to some other place. He quite agreed with the leader of the Opposition that in these days when there were no other increases, the Committee were not justified in voting what were called allowances, but which were virtually increases of salary. If the hon. leader of the Opposition did not do so, he should himself move for a reduction of the vote.

Mr. RUTLEDGE said it was a right-down farce to expect that gentlemen dispensing justice in the far away interior should be rewarded with a salary which was not equal to that which a magistrate in a large town, and occupying a far more comfortable position, received. It was a farce to offer a gentleman £300 a-year to go into the interior where provisions were three times as dear as they were in Brisbane; and to expect him to keep up the appearance of a gentleman and to keep out of debt, so as to be able to properly adjudicate upon cases that came before him. The proposed reduction was a foolish policy, and one he could not support.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he could not understand the objection of the hon. member for North Brisbane, and he thought it was extremely unfair. The hon. gentleman knew as well as he did, from having had the administration of the Education vote, that whenever a schoolmaster was transferred from one place to another he expected quarters or an allowance for quarters, and if a policeman was sent to an outside district he received extra allowance. He was surprised that an attempt should be made to do away with these small sums for allowances, especially as they were only put down in order that equal justice should be done to all and that all the police magistrates should be put on the same footing, which they were not before.

Mr. FRASER said that he had known many instances in which police magistrates had been put to great inconvenience and loss through being removed after having built houses for themselves, and having to sell their property at a sacrifice.

Mr. FEEZ said that if hon. members opposite would consider the changes which were caused through the extension of the railways, and how many townships had sprung up, they would see that the Government were amply justified in putting down allowances for quarters for police magistrates. He thought it was very wise indeed instead of expecting magistrates to build houses all over the country to allow them so much for quarters. He had heard an hon. member refer to the Police Magistrate at Springsure as being overpaid, but he only received £400 a-year, whilst he had to travel seventy miles to attend another court once a month, to act as land agent, and to attend to many other duties. He did not think it was too much to allow him a small sum for quarters. If any reductions were justifiable they would be in the salaries of those police magistrates where there were plenty of unpaid magistrates to do the work, and not in those of gentlemen who perhaps had large families and were at present not very well paid. He thought the Government had acted with great judgment in the matter of these allowances.

Mr. GRIFFITH said the question was not whether all police magistrates should be put on the same footing, or whether there should be allowances for quarters, but whether this was the time for what were really increases. There were many of these police magistrates who received a great deal more than appeared at first sight. For instance, the Police Magistrate at Spring-

sure, instead of getting, as the hon. member for Leichhardt said, only £400, received £100 for visiting Emerald and Comet, and £50 for quarters, and £25 as land agent. Last year, when the Estimates were under consideration, he called attention to an allowance to the Police Magistrate at Townsville for visiting Dalrymple. That was an allowance that was first made to the Police Magistrate at Townsville before there was a police magistrate at Charters Towers, and had since been continued, although Charters Towers was much nearer to Dalrymple.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said what the hon. member referred to was a mistake in the Estimates, and the money would not be used. The Police Magistrate at Townsville did not visit Dalrymple last year, but the Police Magistrate of Charters Towers did so when necessary. He found, however, on inquiry, that there had not been a solitary case at Dalrymple during the year.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he did not begrudge these officers the salaries they received, but they were very fairly paid, and he maintained that the present—when private incomes were reduced, when men found that in order to live they must reduce their expenditure—was not the time to give increases—for, practically, these were increases—to a set of men who, however worthy they might be, should not be singled out and distinguished as deserving these increases above all others in the service. If they admitted these increases there were others in the service equally entitled to increases. The circumstances of the colony just now would, he believed, justify a reduction right through the Estimates. Private expenditure was reduced throughout the colony; the standard of expenditure was necessarily reduced in most families high and low; profits were not what they used to be; and he contended that, under these circumstances, they were not justified in making any increases. In doing what was called justice to these men they would be doing injustice to others. There were scores of men who would be only too happy to perform the duties performed by these officers at less salaries than they were receiving, and who would perform them just as well. There was, perhaps, no justification for such a reduction as that at the present time—he did not advocate it; but he thought the circumstances of the colony would relieve them from any responsibility of reducing all round. Yet, anxious as he was to avoid that, he was equally anxious to avoid granting what were really increases, and he should move a reduction of this vote. The total increase, he saw, was about £750; he was willing to allow £50 for Springsure, as the additional duties at Emerald and Comet would no doubt necessitate that expenditure. He moved the reduction of the vote by £50 at each of the following places:—Aramac, Blackall, Charleville, Cunnamulla, Goondiwindi, Hughenden, Nanango, Springsure, Stanthorpe, Surat, St. George, St. Lawrence, Tambo, and Thorgomindah—making in all £700.

Mr. MOREHEAD hoped the Committee would not consent to any such motion, injuring as it did wholly and solely the police magistrates in the outside districts; men who must incur large expenditure, and who must have greater capacity than those in large towns. He maintained that police magistrates in the outside districts must be men of greater capacity than the highly paid magistrates of large towns, who had every means of reference at their command. To his mind, these outside men were very much underpaid, and if any reduction was to be made, it should be in the salaries of highly paid magistrates in large centres of population, and, to start at the top, let them commence with the Police Magistrate of Brisbane. If it was to be

done at all, let it be general; otherwise it would be doing injustice to these outside magistrates. Take the Police Magistrate at Aramac. He had £300 a-year and £50 for quarters; and he (Mr. Morehead) had no hesitation in saying that it cost that man twice as much to live out there as a man living in Brisbane, or any town near the coast; and at the same time, he had much more difficult duties to perform. If the motion was carried it would inflict great hardship on these men. And what, after all, was £350 a-year for a police magistrate in one of the outside towns? Police magistrates there occupied positions of very great trust, and had to be relied on much more than those in coastal towns. He was sure every hon. member who had been in the interior would bear him out that, if they were to have police magistrates at all, £350 a-year was not too much for a man who had to administer justice in the outside districts. Take the Police Magistrate at Aramac, the first on the list; he had been in the service for very many years.

Mr. DOUGLAS: He got promotion.

Mr. MOREHEAD said he got promotion but no increase of salary, and the hon. member ought to know that, for it was done when he was in office. If they were to go in for this reduction in salaries of police magistrates, let it be done upon a percentage—let the £700 be knocked off in that way; but he decidedly objected to police magistrates in Brisbane and other large towns receiving £600 and £700 a-year while those at Aramac and Tambo were paid only £350. It would be grossly unfair, and no one knew it better than the hon. member for Maryborough himself. That hon. member knew perfectly well the difficulty there was in getting suitable men to fill the position at the present salary. Unfortunately the position of the colony would not admit of paying these men more; unfortunately the scattered population of the country rendered a large number of police magistrates an absolute necessity, and if they reduced their salaries he felt perfectly certain they would not get competent men to fill the office. He therefore hoped the amendment would not be passed.

Mr. DOUGLAS said there was nothing unfair in his motion, which would simply have the effect of keeping things as they were by knocking off these increases, for such practically they were. He would point out that promotion was secured and appreciated in this branch of the service by officers commencing at a low salary of £300 a-year, and gradually working up to £600 or £700. For instance, Mr. Pinnock, the senior police magistrate, had served many years in a subordinate position at Bowen, and ultimately he was promoted to Brisbane. Mr. Murray, of Warwick, served in the native police and was promoted to Clermont, and, being one of the oldest police magistrates, was promoted to Warwick, and in that way he received his due arising from long service. He thought they were bound, as a matter of discipline and economy, to retain these outside offices at the present rate, certainly at the present time. It was true that it might be considerable hardship to serve for several years out in the bush, but there were other things that compensated for that. A man in the bush had not to keep such an expensive mode of living as in town. His actual expenditure for food was no doubt greater, but there were many other additional expenses—call them extravagances if they liked—which a man incurred in town. His (Mr. Douglas's) justification for his action was this—that the service of police magistrates was regulated by a system of gradation, gradually rising from the lower to the higher office, and by granting these increases

they would be doing away with that and placing these officers on equality, and at the same time they would do away with the inducement there was for men to do good work—the prospect of being promoted in consequence of that good work.

Mr. RUTLEDGE thought it was really unfair to suppose that men could keep up the dignity of police magistrates on anything less than £400 or £500 a-year, especially in country towns. These men were expected to set an example to the rest of the community in all respects, and unless they had something like a decent salary upon which to keep up appearances they could not maintain that independence which was absolutely necessary to the dispensation of justice or command the respect of their fellow-townsmen. He did not consider that the member for Maryborough was wise in pressing the objection he had raised to the increase in the salaries. He quite held with that hon. gentleman that there ought to be gradations in the service, and prizes to which men in the outside districts could look forward. It could not be forgotten that many years had often to be passed in the bush before many of them could hope to have promotion or increased salaries. The larger portion of them were no doubt destined to remain in the bush as long as they continued in the service—they could not all come to Brisbane, Warwick, Maryborough, or other large towns. They ought to have something to encourage them to do their duty, especially in the far-distant districts. He should certainly oppose the attempt to limit the estimate by a single shilling.

Mr. STEVENS said that there was no comparison between the position of a police magistrate in the interior and a Civil servant in Brisbane; it cost twice as much to live in the interior. The hon. member who proposed the amendment said this was no time for being extravagant. This was not an extravagance; it was simply remedying an injustice.

Mr. BEATTIE said he did not intend to support the amendment, and hoped that the hon. member would withdraw it. The majority of cases were recent additions, and a great many of them were new townships. If he was correctly informed, some of the magistrates were compelled to live at public-houses, and he did not know of anything more objectionable than that. If an extra £50 would place them in a position to get clear of public-houses in small country places, it would be well spent. If it was a fact that through necessity they were compelled to do as he had said, it was only doing an act of justice to themselves and the country to place such gentlemen in a position to get clear of those places. Seeing that a large number of police magistrates had quarters, it was only fair that an allowance should be made to the others.

Amendment put and negatived.

Original question put and passed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY moved that £30,775 be granted for police salaries and contingencies. The vote was the same as last year.

Question put and passed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY moved that £70,553 be granted for Executive salaries, &c. There had been some additions to these items, but the first-class inspectors were the same as last year. The second-class sub-inspectors were reduced by three. The senior-sergeants were the same in number, as were the sergeants, senior constables, constables, and supernumeraries; the native troopers were reduced from 200 to 128. There was a vote on the Estimates which had appeared upon them last year with respect to Inspector Lewis, and he was told that if several members who voted against him last year had

understood the matter they would not have voted against him. Amongst his other duties he had now to fulfil the duties of Inspector of the Detective Department, which in previous years had had an inspector for itself. The estimate was rather under that of last year, and very considerably under that of previous years. He had intimated last year that he intended to reduce the police to this amount, and this had been done; but it was not all done at once, the reduction had to be gradual as he stated it would be. Something would have to be put on the Supplementary Estimates to make up the difference between the salaries voted for last year and the number gradually reduced. He believed that the police had done their work well, although they were less in number; but it was quite possible that before the end of the year, from the number of applications he got for constables in almost every part of the colony—which he must say were sometimes most unreasonable requests for constables where they were not wanted one bit—he would require a few more, but they would be very few, he hoped.

Mr. STUBBLEY asked whether the 52 black trackers mentioned were part of the 128 troopers, or if they were separate altogether?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY pointed out that the 52 trackers were put down on the Estimates separately.

Mr. STUBBLEY asked whether they included the black troopers who had gone down to Victoria, and were present at the capture of the Kelly gang?

Mr. GRIFFITH thought that the Colonial Secretary should have told the Committee what was the nature of the change proposed to be introduced in connection with the native police. The estimate indicated an evident change in the working of the force. He understood that it had been decided to attach the fifty-two trackers to the service of the white police. It would be well if the Colonial Secretary would tell the Committee the nature of the change indicated in the estimate for the police.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said if the hon. member had looked at the report of the Commissioner of Police for the year, he would see that the object was eventually to do away with the Native Police Force altogether. It was a step in a direction that had been contemplated for some time, and it was to attach these native trackers to the white police. For instance, if there were two policemen stationed at an outside station there would be two or three trackers attached to them. These would be quite distinct from the native troopers, who would still be retained for service in the outside districts. He hoped that the black police, as they were commonly called, had nearly done their duty, and that the Government would be able, gradually, to do away with them entirely, and retain native trackers to act with the white police, who would be always in company with them. He believed they would be a very useful force, and he was supported in that belief by the Commissioner of Police.

Mr. DOUGLAS: Cannot the hon. gentleman tell us where these black police are stationed?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I think the hon. gentleman asks a great deal too much. It is impossible for me to repeat, from memory, where these police are stationed. If he wishes for a return let him ask for it, and he can have it to-morrow; but it is really too much to suppose that I can remember the names of all the black police and where they are stationed.

Mr. THORN said the hon. gentleman should be able to inform them, and should have all such information at his fingers' ends. It was his

duty to be able to tell them the different places where the black police were stationed. He (Mr. Thorn) contended that the native police were not wanted in the Western Districts; they were only wanted on the coast, because the blacks elsewhere were pretty well shot down and got rid of. The time had arrived now when the services of the black police might be well dispensed with everywhere in the outside districts. Long before now the blacks ought to have been allowed to go into the northern towns. They ought to have been let into Cooktown. Two or three years ago he did all he could to induce the blacks to go in, in order to save bloodshed and expense, all the way down the south as far as Townsville, where they were let in. There would be no horses and blacks killed if the natives were let in and the officers in charge of the white police did their duty. Besides, on the ground of humanity they should have been let in. Raids were made daily all along the coast, and these would be avoided if the blacks were let into the towns. If the Government had done its duty during the last two years the black police would not be wanted at the present time. Were there no black police at Warrego now?

Mr. STEVENS: No, not now.

Mr. THORN said that was because there were no blacks there now. At one time, at Warrego, he could not get blacks there, and he was informed they had all been shot down by the police. The same thing was going on to the west of Rockhampton, where he believed there were native blacks still. But the black police could be got rid of in the same way as they were got rid of in the southern part of the colony. He himself was instrumental in shifting the police out of East and West Moreton, and the same thing could be done now in the north and north-western part of the colony. He hoped the Colonial Secretary would take action and see that the police officers did their duty. It would be a great saving to reduce the outlay in the northern part of the colony.

Mr. PERSSE said he wished the hon. member for Northern Downs would confine himself to things he knew something about. The hon. member said the native police ought to be done away with, and afterwards said he would only have them in the coast districts; but the hon. member had never been in the interior. He said he could not get black boys in the Warrego; but he (Mr. Persse) could get plenty there. There were hundreds of boys in that district. The hon. member said the black boys ought to be done away with in the interior of the colony; but to do that would be to do the greatest injustice ever was done to the blacks. He did not say the blacks ought not to be allowed to come into Cooktown and Cairns; but if the black police were done away with in the centre of the colony great harm would be the result. The result would be the interference of the whites with the blacks, which was the cause of all the massacres; whereas the black police being there would prevent the blacks being ill-treated. The black police, properly officered, were the best protection to the blacks in the colony.

Mr. KING said he hoped the Colonial Secretary would be prepared to offer compensation to the settlers in outlying districts for the losses they would sustain at the hands of the blacks in case the Native Police Force was largely reduced. He regretted to hear the Colonial Secretary say it was intended to do away with the force, because he believed from what he had seen and read that the resolution was due in a great measure to a spurious agitation caused by the publication in the *Queenslander* of some sensational articles written by a highly imaginative reporter,

the greater part of which he (Mr. King) knew to be false. Stories were published which every man who had been many years in the colony knew to be utterly and entirely false. It was very hard that men in outlying districts, who even now ran the risk of losing their lives and were constantly aware of the necessity of being prepared to defend themselves, were to have the small amount of protection the country at present gave diminished. He held that the duty of every man was first to care for his own family and race; and it was their duty as a colony first of all to protect the whites and afterwards the blacks. They should first protect their own countrymen who came out at their invitation; and they would not be acting fairly if they induced people to come to the colony and then allowed a few persons—living safely in Brisbane, and exposed to no dangers, and in order to get a good name as humanitarians, protectors of the blacks, and Exeter Hall adherents generally—to surrender them to the blacks instead of protecting those immigrants who were occupying outlying farms in the northern districts.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he could assure the hon. member that the ridiculous articles in the *Queenslander* and *Courier* had not had the slightest effect on the preparation of the Estimates. It had long been under consideration—long before any articles appeared—that the native trackers attached to white police would be more useful in many districts of the colony than native troopers, as at present; but when he stated that he hoped to do away with the black police, he spoke of it as a thing of the future. There was no immediate intention of doing away with the force, for they could not be done without suddenly. If the hon. member for Northern Downs had received as many applications as he had for assistance in the way of black police he would probably change his opinion; and if the hon. member was in one of the outside districts, or one of the districts along the northern coast, he would be one of the first to make an outcry for protection. There was not a mail that came from the north or north-west that did not bring an application for assistance. In some cases the applications were for assistance that did not come within the duties of black police. It was not their duty to bring in stray cattle, for instance. But even with legitimate applications in view, the force could not be done without at present. The Commissioner of Police, however, thought with him that attaching native trackers to white police would have a very beneficial effect in many portions of the colony. The greatest part of the force were now along the coast districts, where there were 113; in the interior there were 73.

Mr. MOREHEAD said there was some reason for alarm, and he held that the hon. member for Maryborough (Mr. King) had reason for his fears after hearing the Colonial Secretary state that not only was he going to reduce the Native Police Force, but that he would take care that not many more white police were put on. He (Mr. Morehead) maintained that a good many more police were wanted. There were townships springing up in the interior every month, and white police were absolutely necessary; and they would have to be provided. It was all very well for the Colonial Secretary to say he would be chary, but the police would have to be provided. With reference to black-fellows, it was all very well to say that they should be protected; but it was a trite saying and true, that where the white man appeared the black man disappeared. And they all knew that the black man had to disappear off the face of the earth before the tide of advancing European civilisation, if he stood in the way. If the

black attacked the white man he suffered tenfold, but he would not be molested if he kept quiet. It was all very well for quasi-humanitarians, while they sat at ease in their arm-chairs, to say it was a shame. They did not consider that men had to deal with the blacks in a rough-and-ready way. There was not an hon. member on the other side—with the exception, perhaps, of the hon. member for Maryborough—who knew anything about the blacks, and what pioneers had to undergo in the first instance. Those hon. members could afford to philosophise, and moralise, and be very good. They could be like the Pharisee looking up to heaven and thanking God they were not as other men were. The men in the outlying districts had to fight their way and hold their own; and, because they did that, they who to a great extent made the colony were to be held up to contempt and scorn by hon. members opposite who were reaping the benefit of their trials and sufferings. It was utter rot to talk about the outrages on the blacks. Only the other day they saw the account of a station being stuck up by the blacks, and an unfortunate black boy who happened to be friendly with the whites was taken out and cut to pieces by savages. There was only one way of dealing with them, and that was by short, sharp, and swift reprisals. Leave them alone as long as they left other people alone, but teach them from the outset that they would suffer if they committed outrages. No doubt the blacks had suffered great injustice by being hunted down, and shot, and ill-treated; but in many cases they got only what they richly deserved. The colony must have the protection of black police, which would be necessary for a considerable number of years to come; indeed, he might say that until the blacks were brought into thorough subjection so long would the black police be necessary. When that time arrived there would be no necessity for them.

Mr. RUTLEDGE said it was possible to indulge in a great deal of sentiment while desirous of mitigating an evil, and that by so doing people weakened their cause. At the same time, it could not be denied that very many strong arguments could be employed for the purpose of showing good cause why, in a short time, the native police as an institution should disappear. He did not wish to say a word in depreciation of the energy of those men who had gone to every point of the compass and subdued the wilderness and colonised the interior. All honour to those pioneers! They were deserving of all the protection the Government could afford. But it was one thing to say that the settlers in the interior should have sufficient police protection, and another to say that they should have protection of this particular kind. The remedy in such a case might be worse than the disease. It was a very serious reproach to any British community when it could be said that, in obedience to the natural law that seemed to govern the conduct of invasion, the black man must disappear by reason of the violence of the white man. No doubt it was the result of the operation of a natural law that aboriginal races did disappear before the advance of European visitation; but the secret of that was that the aboriginal races were intellectually and in other respects inferior. They were ever ready to imitate the vices of the European, and were thus carried off by diseases and other causes. But he did not believe it was a correct way of putting it—that they were justified in using violent measures to exterminate aboriginal races in any land. While it was true that the blacks in the interior had done a great deal towards harassing squatters by destroying their cattle, and even by taking human life, yet a great deal might be said on the other side which would make it abundantly clear

that those who had gone out and come into contact with the blacks had only themselves to blame. He found the following paragraph in a newspaper the other day, and, as it was short, he would read it to hon. members :—

"The *Riverina Herald* states that on Monday, 7th June, a mob of Queensland cattle arrived at Echuca for trucking to Melbourne. The drovers in charge of the cattle had a diminutive and wonderfully agile black boy in their company, whose presence with them they explained. They stated that they captured the little fellow over the Queensland border after a long chase. His parents followed the drovers for three days in the hope of regaining their lost child, and he was tied up at night to prevent his escape. When captured he was quite destitute of clothing, but a large coat was supplied to him by the drovers, which enveloped the little fellow from head to foot. It cannot be said that he was ill-treated, for he was well fed, clothed, and comfortably housed. The youngster was most useful to the drovers, and by his wonderful activity he could go into the mob of cattle and subdivide them as required, whilst, if one of the wild brutes rushed at him, he quickly dodged it, and with all the agility of an opossum soon placed a substantial obstruction between the bullock and himself. The little fellow accompanied the stockmen to Melbourne. He appears to be perfectly happy and quite reconciled to his captivity."

That might be justified by persons who were opposed to all humanitarian sentiment, and who might say that because this little fellow enjoyed more indulgences and had more to wear than if he had been left with his parents he was better off; but could it be wondered when such an act of violence was done that the unfortunate parents, who followed the drover for three days without recovering their child, should in their blindness and rage try to wreak vengeance on the first white man they met? This was only a sample of the testimony which could be supplied to show that in all cases where violence had been offered by the blacks to the persons and property of Europeans in sheer wantonness, it had been by way of retaliation for very substantial injuries received at the hands of white men who ought to have known better. He had gone into the library to look at late copies of the *Queenslander*, in order to substantiate the convictions he had formed upon the subject, and what he had read had made it clear to him that whatever acts of violence had been done by blacks had been the result of prior violence by white men who ought to have known better. The Colonial Secretary had said that what he intended to do in the matter of the reduction of the Native Police Force was not in the least attributable to the articles of the *Queenslander*. The hon. gentleman would have been right in not being influenced by those articles if it could be shown that they were all the production of one pen; but when he (Mr. Rutledge) found communications from all parts of the colony, and bearing the signatures of different individuals, and evidently written by men of intelligence, he must come to the conclusion that what all these men said must be correct; and when he found, further, that those who wished to make the white man's case appear more favourable, and who took up his defence, were compelled to admit that a great deal of violence was done by white settlers and the black police, and mourned the fact, he was forced to believe that in the tale of cruelties committed by the black police there was a substratum of truth. It was in July and August that a series of communications appeared in the *Queenslander*. One on the 3rd July had reference to some jocular expressions which were employed by the officers in the native police in order to get rid of their troopers who did not obey orders strictly. A kind of military discipline, stricter than modern usage recognised, was apparently enforced by the native police officers for the maintenance of order, and they found that one of the jocular ways in which these officers spoke of getting rid of disobedient troopers

was, that they had died of rheumatism—meaning that they lay stiff and rigid somewhere, and were unable to move about in the discharge of their duties. This statement was made by a writer who evidently knew what he was talking about. He quite admitted that if he got up in his place and talked about black men and the cruelties committed upon them by the native police merely upon his belief he should lay himself open to censure for endeavouring to discuss a subject he did not understand. But he should be very sorry to lay down any law or opinion for the guidance of the Committee merely upon a state of facts existing in his imagination. He took the facts as he found them. On the 10th July he found another letter from a different writer. On the 17th July another communication. On the 24th another letter written by a gentleman who dated his letter from Natal Downs. On the 7th August a communication from a gentleman writing from the Lower Herbert, over the initials "J. C." On the 11th September a letter written by Mr. Spencer Brown, of Townsville. These were only a few of the communications appearing in the *Queenslander* from gentlemen who had made the subject a study. One or two stated that they had over twenty years' experience, and another, who supplied the most harrowing details of cruelties perpetrated upon the blacks north of Townsville, stated that some of them were committed as late as 1879. Hon. members could not say that these people were ventilating falsehoods—that these clouds of witnesses had banded together for the purpose of blasting the reputation of the native police by representing a state of things which did not exist. These were men who stated what they knew, and when hon. members found that the practice of black troopers was to disperse their native brethren whenever they came upon a camp of them, that they used their rifles to show their expertness as marksmen, they could understand that this kind of deadly sport was quite in accordance with the savage nature of the black trooper. All the civilisation that he got was to be dressed in a uniform with red facings and to be obliged to obey the orders of his superior, and it was his delight and recreation to go out and disperse his black brethren. He did not say that they should leave the white settlers without police protection, but, on the contrary, maintained that if necessary they should incur expense to keep up an efficient staff of white police. He did not deny that the black police had their uses, and their proper use was, as the Commissioner of Police had reported, to employ them as black trackers. They had not their natural passions under control to judge when it was discreet to shoot and when it was not. It was only Europeans who could be trusted so far; but when the Committee knew that the officers in command sent out small detachments of the native police, under the command of black subordinates, to disperse natives, and knew also that it was their constant practice to shoot down indiscriminately all blacks who came in their way, he said that to employ such an institution for the suppression of crime on the part of the blacks was a national disgrace. When was this condition of things to terminate? The Colonial Secretary said for the present the force must be kept up, by which they must conclude that when these poor wretches had been put down, and when no more were left, the black police would be withdrawn. He did not say the hon. gentleman meant to convey that, but that was the deduction he was warranted in drawing from his remarks. When he found a gentleman who wrote from the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Carpentaria—the gentleman wrote under a *nom de plume*—did the hon. members who opposed this view wish him or any

hon. member to believe that the editor of the *Queenslander* had been guilty of writing these letters himself, or that he allowed gentlemen in Brisbane to write these things under various signatures?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Yes.

Mr. RUTLEDGE said he did not form so low an estimate of the Press. The Press had its faults, but he did not believe that the editor of any paper in the colony would admit letters signed as the communications were to which he had referred, and purporting to come from certain localities, and in that way impose upon the credulity of the public. He knew that the *Queenslander* and other weekly journals were circulated throughout the colony, and he was justified in believing that the statements in the *Queenslander* were the honest productions that they purported to be. One statement of the gentleman who wrote from the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Carpentaria was that for the four years—from 1864 to 1868—he had the full benefit of the protection of the black police, and during that time he found himself continually harassed, some robbery was always going on, and his loss of sheep and cattle amounted to £200 yearly. There was constant turmoil. He applied to the authorities for the removal of the black troopers, and at once the state of things described ceased, and, so far from being a sufferer to the extent of £200 a-year, he found that he was able to utilise the blacks who were formerly a nuisance. Until hon. members who disagreed with him could show him that those who professed to be defenders of the system of black police were guilty of complicity with those who made the broadest accusations against it, he was perfectly justified in assuming that these statements were made by witnesses of truth. Many of those who defended the system stated the same thing as those who opposed it; and he would ask, leaving on one side all the barbarities, the recital of which made one's blood run cold, whether they should not concur in stating that this was a condition of things which should not exist. He rose for the purpose of pointing out to the Colonial Secretary the absolute necessity there was for employing a Royal commission, or commission of some kind, for the purpose of investigating the whole question. That was a heavy blot upon the fame of the colony, and it should either be disproved or atonement should be made for the wrong done. In South Australia efforts were being made to alleviate the miserable condition of the blacks, and the action of that colony contrasted very forcibly with the method of doing things adopted in this colony, where not only did many of the settlers use the form of violence which the paragraph in question referred to, but the duly constituted authorities went out and slaughtered the blacks. It was due to the other colonies that it should be shown that these statements were libels on the colony. If true, they could be proved; if false, let them be disproved to the whole colony. The sooner that was done the sooner would the country be purged from a very foul reproach. The Minister for Works, last year, in very forcible language descanted on the state of things revealed in the report of the Commissioner of Police—how the blacks were hunted from the coast to the table lands, and from the table lands to the coast, and how they were forced to prey upon cattle on account of their natural means of subsistence having been destroyed, and were then ruthlessly shot down. He endorsed every word spoken by the Minister for Works on that occasion; and he maintained that it was the duty of the Government, in the interest of the honour of this country, to appoint a commission to investigate the whole question of the native police. If the force was to be done away with

immediately, there would be no necessity for a commission, except to vindicate the national character; but if, as the Colonial Secretary said, it was not to be done away with immediately, such a commission would have a twofold object—the vindication of the national character and the prevention of such abuses as were universally acknowledged to exist, though in different degrees.

Mr. ARCHER said in the discussion of this question passion had been aroused on both sides, and it was probable that the truth lay very much in the middle. Some of the statements which had appeared lately about the blacks were false. In some cases it was true that the blacks had been badly treated, but the hon. member, in his ignorance and not by design, had stated what was without foundation. He (Mr. Archer) knew cases in which the blacks without any provocation had committed unwarrantable barbarities. Some time ago a man named Wills passed the station upon which he (Mr. Archer) then resided, taking sheep to a new station beyond Springsure called Cullinlarin. He asked whether the blacks had given much trouble, and was told that there had not been much fighting, but it was hard to prevent them from killing strangers and sheep. The blacks were then capital friends with the people on his (Mr. Archer's) station, but were dangerous to strangers. For instance, a man named Elliott, who camped about four miles from the station where no blacks had been seen, was attacked in the night time, some of his men being killed and himself injured. Wills passed to the westward and told the people on the station that he was not going to take half the trouble, because he was quite sure he should be able to manage the blacks by treating them kindly. His method of treating them kindly was to allow them to come to the station with arms, feed them with flour, tea, and sugar, which they had not seen before, and not allow his shepherds to carry arms; and he carried on that method until one fine afternoon the blacks came upon them and killed every man, woman, and child—seventeen persons in all. That was the result of treating the blacks, not as strangers, but as his own children. He stated this, not because he did not believe that a great deal of injury had been done to the blacks, but believing there had been mistakes on both sides. In this case no white people had been settled there before, and the blacks had had everything they wanted. The only man who escaped was Wills' son, who did not happen to be at home at the time. He (Mr. Archer) had never been exposed to any personal danger from them: they never attacked the people on his station, but they had often attacked strangers who had done them no harm. It was a great mistake to suppose that no outrages had been committed except in revenge for other murders. At the same time, he (Mr. Archer) was perfectly satisfied that there were a great many police officers who had been perfect brutes, and the Colonial Secretary knew that also.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Hear, hear.

Mr. ARCHER said hon. members were now regarding the different sides of the shield; hon. members on the Opposition side believed the blacks had never done any harm, and hon. members on the Government side believed that the police officers had never done any harm.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS on the OPPOSITION SIDE: No, no!

Mr. ARCHER said he could deliberately state that in some cases it was utterly impossible to take possession of new country, however kindly the blacks might be treated, without recourse to violence. There was not the slightest doubt that

there were police officers that were a disgrace to the nation that produced them. Most of the stories which had been told were exaggerated—a great many of those which had appeared in the *Queenslander* were false, and many were not true as stated. A great many were inventions, and many more were exaggerated. He could speak with confident knowledge that his name was not connected with any harsh treatment of the blacks. The remedy did not lay in the appointment of a Royal commission, nor in the withdrawal of police protection from the outside settlers. The proper remedy was for the Colonial Secretary to keep his ears open and dismiss every officer whom he saw was not fit to be entrusted with the command of men. He had known men who were a disgrace to the force, and some who would be a credit to any force—men who would never allow their troopers to commit depredations or disperse the blacks, and who caused the peace to be kept. Some of them would shoot blacks simply because they were blackfellows; and the Colonial Secretary as head of the force ought to inquire into such cases, and where the officer could not clear himself from the charge dismiss the offender and appoint a man who could be depended upon in his place. To suppose that all the frightful stories of black trackers were true would be a great mistake, and it would be an equally great mistake to believe that the blacks did not kill, not from motives of revenge, but in order to remove strangers who came into their places. The best plan would be to let the Colonial Secretary make the officers understand that if they exceeded their duty they would be dismissed and brought to disgrace; but not to deprive the outside settler of the advantage of police protection. Only half-truths had been told on both the defensive and the accusative sides of the question.

Mr. KING wished to state, in answer to the hon. member for Blackall, that he had never stated that the black police were entirely in the right. Could it be maintained that because outrages were certain to be committed after a war was begun, therefore a just war was not to be fought? When outrages had been committed, was the colony to sacrifice its own people for fear that if war were waged other outrages might be committed by those whom the colony might employ? Such a thing was absurd. He was somewhat surprised at the hon. member (Mr. Rutledge), who stated that, having a certain conviction, he went into the library to look up material to corroborate that conviction, and found them. Had the hon. member never heard of a penny-a-liner? He brought forward a paragraph from a paper published in New South Wales, in which a wonderful story about a black boy being kidnapped was very artistically worked up. Did he not know that there were men who would be happy to write that for five shillings, even if there was not a blackfellow within fifty miles of them? Then the hon. member brought up about half-a-dozen anonymous letters, and called them a cloud of witnesses. Not one of them had a signature.

Mr. DOUGLAS: One, at least, was signed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: Name the writer.

Mr. KING said that he had been told by a friend of the writer that one of them was written to hoax the *Queenslander*, and that the editor fell into the snare and inserted it. The hon. member, as a lawyer, ought to know better the value of such testimony. If the hon. member wanted to bring charges he ought to have gone back to the origin of the black police, when Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday went out together to kill blacks. That story was quite as authentic, and it had the merit of being more interesting and amusing. The argument of the hon.

member went to show how murderous was the disposition of the people outside Brisbane, and how kind-hearted were those within. He drew a comparison between the brutal settler in the country and merciful people in the towns. If anything, the people inside were, in his opinion, worse than the country people. Those who came first and opened up the country incurred all the dangers that were inseparable from first occupation, whereas the others came after like camp-followers, getting nearly all the profits and benefits resulting from the labours of those who had done the work of pioneering. The hon. member who talked about those stories—all more or less apocryphal—that have appeared in the *Queenslander*, must have heard, if he had been any length of time in the colony, some sad stories of white families massacred; but not a single word did the hon. member say about that. In the conflict between races that must take place in every newly settled country it was clearly the duty of the Government to protect its own people.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he had listened with some regret to the speech just made by his hon. colleague. He could to some extent sympathise with the hon. member, yet he believed that he had arrived at wrong conclusions. He quite agreed with the hon. member that where there was a war such as existed between the whites and the blacks they must look forward to the eventual extinction of the weaker race. That might be admitted on all hands without the imputation being made against the towns people that they spoke of the country settlers as brutal. They did not speak of them in that way. It was not necessary to make any distinction between the "brutal country settlers" and the "mild merciful dwellers in town." The hon. member for Enoggera did not make any such distinction.

Mr. WELD-BLUNDELL: The whole tone of his speech was in that direction.

Mr. DOUGLAS said that did not strike him as being the tone of the hon. member's speech. Fortunately, he had never been personally concerned in any of the massacres, but he had been in districts where the most awful massacres had been committed. The blacks had killed white people in the most atrocious and brutal way, and, on the other hand, the whites had killed blacks in the most brutal, atrocious, and cowardly way—they had been even more cowardly than the blacks, considering that they were the stronger power.

Mr. WELD-BLUNDELL: And more treacherous?

Mr. DOUGLAS believed that they had been more treacherous than the blacks—they had been terribly treacherous. Recent instances had been reported which would substantiate that statement. His opinion about the Native Police Force was that it was neither one thing nor another. They were acting under civil law, although quartered in an enemy's country, and what could be expected? The original intention was that the force should be kept in training and be maintained for the purpose of executing warrants, and in virtue of the execution of those warrants they used to disperse tribes by firing amongst them. Under martial law that might be perfectly justifiable, but certainly it was not justifiable under civil law. It was an unfortunate thing that the force occupied such an anomalous position, because officers and men did things which had no sanction, either in civil or in military law. That seemed to have been the defect of the force throughout. A soldier in command of a body of men would treat an enemy in a different way to what a policeman did. The officers of the native police were not justified under the

civil law in acting as they did, and they did not exercise that discretion which military law demanded. He heard with some satisfaction the statement of the Colonial Secretary that the present reduction in the force indicated its probable final extinction before long, but he regretted to hear the hon. gentleman explain subsequently that the force could only be disbanded gradually, and that it must be maintained in its present condition. That was the point on which he closed with the hon. gentleman—he thought the force ought not to be continued in its present condition. The time had arrived, and evidence had accumulated to such an extent as to warrant them in doing so, when they might fairly make that demand. He could not view the statements made in the public Press in the same light as his hon. colleague did. He did not believe that they were the productions of penny-a-liners—he believed they were substantially backed up by evidence. He knew of his own knowledge that such deeds as were spoken of occurred in the old times, and he believed there was sufficient evidence accumulating to prove that they were being perpetrated now. As the hon. member (Mr. Rutledge) put it, they could not avoid putting the statements to the proof. For the honour of the country they must be disproved, and if they were not disproved the force must be abolished. He quite admitted that they must have a force, and probably a force composed of whites and blacks would be better than one composed almost exclusively of blacks. Although there were officers attached to the black contingent, the cruel butchering work was done very often without the knowledge of the officers. He believed that there had been some admirable officers connected with the force. Walker and Murray, for instance, acted as protectors of the blacks in the districts in which they were located, although they were native police officers. It seemed a curious thing to say that a man who was in the midst of enemies and who sometimes had to shoot them down could be their protectors, but it had existed, and with a strong, decided, just man, it might still be made to exist.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN: We know all about Walker and Murray.

Mr. DOUGLAS said perhaps the hon. member heard only about the worst side of their character. Taken altogether he believed they were better officers than many who were subsequently appointed; they were much more humane than another officer whom he could name—a man who was a most inhuman, brutal butcher. In the correspondence which his hon. colleague thought so little of there had been made statements which the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney-General ought to take notice of. The statements were backed up by evidence of a certain kind, and they were deliberately made.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: What are they? Anonymous letters?

Mr. DOUGLAS said they were not, but there was plenty of information contained in anonymous letters which could be made valuable if the hon. gentleman chose to make it so. There was a letter in the *Queenslander* of the 26th of June, signed "James Cassady," and dated "Ingham, Lower Herbert, June 11."

Mr. PERSSE: He was about as cruel a man as ever had anything to do with the blacks. He used to flog them with bullock-whips. He has been known to flog a poor gin with a bullock-whip.

Mr. DOUGLAS said it would be desirable to know if that were true. He knew nothing about Mr. Cassady, but he was challenged to produce a

letter which was not anonymous. Mr. Cassady's letter was as follows:—

"Your Lower Herbert correspondent of the 15th ultimo evidently writes with a desire to contradict the truth when he states that he has been a resident on the river for many years and never heard of a black gin having been shot or burnt in the district. I will not trespass on your columns by going into detail; but with your permission will inform your correspondent that a few years ago a sub-inspector of native police was dismissed from the service for the shooting and burning of a gin named Kassey on Mr. Cudmore's selection near the public road. Lower Herbert—not the Herbert River out west. A few days after this outrage occurred the Premier of this colony visited the Lower Herbert, and the matter was brought before that hon. gentleman's notice. I could mention other cases of this kind if your correspondent is not satisfied with the above."

Another letter, dated "Lower Herbert, July 23," which appeared in the *Queenslander* of August 7, was signed "J. C.," which he took to be the initials of Mr. Cassady, and there were statements in that which called for the Colonial Secretary's direct interference. He did not know who was the Premier referred to in Mr. Cassady's letter, but nevertheless there was the fact that the place was visited by a Premier at some time, and that he took cognizance of some charge which Cassady reported, the result being that a native police officer was dismissed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: James Cassady never reported one case.

Mr. DOUGLAS said in the letter signed "J. C." crimes were mentioned which he considered nothing more nor less than cold-blooded murders, committed in the presence of white people. In common justice the statements demanded attention. It was necessary that the question should be settled one way or another. It was all very well to talk of the extinction of the black race—whether they deserved to be extinguished or not was another question; but it seemed to him that they would have a good hold of the country up north for more than another generation. On the western and north-western coasts of the Continent a very different treatment of the blacks was adopted. Both in Western and South Australia they were utilised. In Western Australia they looked to the employment of the blacks as a means of developing their industries; and if anyone doubted what he said he would ask them to refer to an article by Mr. Charles Harper in the *Victorian Review*. Mr. Harper contrasted the condition of the natives of Western Australia with that of the natives of Eastern Australia, and pointed out, as an inducement for people to go to Western Australia, that the blacks were there employed as shepherds and pearl-fishers, and in every industry to which European enterprise was applied. Here was an altogether new factor in the relations between black and white. If, instead of shooting the blacks down, they could make them industrious, and show them that they gained something by submitting to them—if they applied such a system resolutely and determinedly—they could not fail to reap great benefit. Look even at the results of attempted civilisation at Mackay. The efforts made there by the late Government in the direction of teaching and civilising the blacks—not from an extra superfine humanitarian point of view, such as that spoken of by some hon. members opposite, but from a sensible, practical point of view—had been instrumental in making the blacks available, to a great extent, for labour purposes. Through the exertions of Mr. Bridgman, a reserve was made and a school was built. Mr. Bridgman entered upon a work which not only entitled him to the thanks of the blacks, but to the thanks also of his fellow-colonists for whom he endeavoured to make black labour available. But what did the present Government do? They

upset all that had been done. They abolished the Commission and sold the reserve; and these steps, it must be admitted, were somewhat disheartening, when a commencement had been made in a movement which would in all probability have extended its beneficial influence throughout the whole of the northern district. But in spite of these retrogressive measures the aborigines in the Mackay district had been found of great service to settlers. If anyone doubted what he said upon that point he would ask them to refer to an article which appeared in the *Queenslander* of June 5th, the writer of which related that, although the action of the Colonial Secretary had practically dispersed the blacks, some of them had been collected together, and employment among the settlers had been procured for them. They could not go on in this brutal way—shooting down blacks wherever they met them. That must be stopped at all hazards. It must be stopped by passing such laws as would bring the aboriginal within the sphere of something like transitional civilisation. That could and ought to be done. The abolition and reconstitution upon an entirely different basis of the Native Police Force must form part of any scheme by which the blacks would be placed in a position similar to that of the blacks of Western Australia. It was a mistake to suppose that the blacks upon the northern and north-eastern coasts were not still numerous. Some time must elapse before they would be completely obliterated. In the meantime, let them make the best possible use of them, and, as far as possible, ameliorate their present miserable condition. Their present mode of dealing with the blacks could not be justified in open warfare. What was more abominable than the practice of allowing prisoners to escape, and then shooting them down? This was a common practice in the treatment of the blacks. It could be proved by evidence, if a Royal commission were appointed. Not only ought a commission to be appointed, but the Commissioners should be empowered to grant an indemnity to witnesses, as in the case of the Royal commission upon the Sheffield Cutleries. They should either prove that they were wronged by the statements which had been made, or fully expose a state of things which ought immediately to be stopped. He hoped the Colonial Secretary would give the Committee an assurance that something of that kind would be done. They not only required to gradually abolish the Native Police Force, but to consider in what way they could deal with the blacks so as to render them of use to settlers. They ought to found their administration in this direction upon principles of humanity more in accordance with modern civilisation than those which they at present applied. He believed their present system was as inhuman and uncivilised as any similar system in any other part of the world. Doubtless they could completely obliterate the aborigines if they chose to do so; but it was not to their interest to do so. Let them protect the outside settlers by the best means in their power—by a black force, by a white force, or by a black and white force combined. He did not advocate the abolition of the Native Police Force upon economical grounds. He would not object to the spending of more money if it were necessary; but let the force upon which the money was expended be a force of which the colony would not be ashamed.

Mr. HAMILTON did not think any exception could be taken to the native troopers on the score of efficiency or economy; nor did he agree, seeing that their outside settlers stood in need of protection, in the proposals for a diminution of

the force. The objectionable feature in the service was the manner in which it was officered. He did not mean to say that there were not good officers, but some men who were a disgrace to the service—who had brought discredit upon Queensland—had crept into the force. There were men in the force whose careers were long records of crime sanctioned by the Government, and virtually by the people of the colony. These men had committed murders which were unparalleled in the records of the Bulgarian atrocities, at which they had then held up their hands in such horror. They were *particeps criminis* to crimes quite as revolting as the Bulgarian atrocities; and they could not plead ignorance of the fact, because the frightful narratives had been placed before them, not only in the Press, but in the House, and in other ways. It was incumbent upon them for honour's sake to take some action in the matter. In many cases where steps were taken for protection of their countrymen the object was defeated by the appointment of men unfit for the service—totally unfit to be invested with the power of life or death. He knew of such men who went patrolling through the country shooting the unfortunate blacks wherever they met them. It was perfectly immaterial to them whether or not those whom they shot were guilty of crime. Was it surprising, under these circumstances, that the blacks, in sheer desperation, should retaliate? The hon. member for Blackall described the statements of the hon. member for Enoggera (Mr. Rutledge) as false.

Mr. ARCHER: I did not.

Mr. HAMILTON: I took down the word at the time, because I was surprised at its use.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: He said the statements in the newspapers were false.

Mr. HAMILTON said that he could, at any rate, give one or two instances in support of his contention. He knew of an officer who was appointed to make a track from an inland place to a port. He came across blackfellows and shot two of them down without the slightest provocation.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Did you see it?

Mr. HAMILTON said he did not; but he could bring forward witnesses in support of any statement he had made. No white man had been to the place he had mentioned; but shortly afterwards, when white men went there, the blacks washed out the debt of vengeance in the blood of unoffending men. The men who committed the atrocity went free, and the innocent suffered—or, in other words, the very men who were sent out to protect the white men were the cause of their murder. Again, on the advent of a party of white prospectors to a part of the country far removed from settlement, they came across some blacks who made hostile demonstrations. Some of the whites levelled their rifles, but better counsels prevailed, and they made signs of amity, which were at once reciprocated by the blacks. The whites remained there several months, during which time they were never molested. They lost not a hoof, although the traces of the blacks were discovered side by side with those of the horses. After a time the officer of whom he had already spoken came to the place, ostensibly to protect the white men, and shortly after his advent horses were speared, reprisals took place, and blackfellows were shot. After one outrage by the blacks that officer went on their tracks, remained away two days, and on returning brought back a number of spears, and said he had taught them a severe lesson. He (Mr. Hamilton) knew everyone connected with the affair. A person whom he knew well wished to increase the severity of the lesson, and, knowing that the

blacks would return on their tracks to dispose of their dead, he followed the well defined tracks of the officer until he reached the camp, and found that the only retribution the officer had exacted for the outrage was the dead bodies of two gins who had been murdered; and there was the testimony of the officer's footsteps that he himself had committed the murders. No other white man had been in the camp, and there was a certain peculiarity about the footsteps that was unmistakable. That was the way the blacks were civilised and the police officers protected the whites. It was unnecessary to mention more cases. He had said sufficient to show that the black troopers were less culpable than the men under whom they acted. He was willing to take upon himself the onus of any statements he had made, and could bring witnesses to prove them. If the statements were not borne out they would recoil upon himself. The hon. member (Mr. Archer) made a remark about Wills and seventeen white men being killed by blacks; but the blacks acted as whites would do under similar circumstances. When white men were shot, and troopers went out to make reprisals, they did not look for the people who committed the deed, but shot the first blackfellows they saw. Some time before the last case about thirty-six men were shot in a water-hole. One of the men concerned in the massacre showed him fifteen notches on the butt of his rifle which he said was the number of men he had shot on the occasion. There was a man called "King Twopenny" living in the Bay, who wore a medal for having saved the lives of white shipwrecked sailors at the risk of his own. Where was that man's son? Shot by one of the inspectors of police. He believed with the hon. member (Mr. Douglas) that a Royal commission should be appointed and immunity given to witnesses; many would be glad to give evidence, but were restrained by their knowledge that if they were even to give information to civilians at the present time it would be the knell of their dismissal.

Mr. SIMPSON said that on this question there were no doubt faults on both sides. When such extraordinary statements were made as those uttered by the last speaker, he could not but ask himself why did not the hon. member give information which would lead to the punishment of those murderers? If he (Mr. Simpson) knew a man to be a murderer, he should certainly give information to the police as soon as possible. If one-half what the hon. member said was true—and he said he could prove it—he ought to go before the Colonial Secretary and prove it at once, so that the perpetrators might be hanged; in fact, the hon. member ought to be made to prove it instead of coming forward with vague talk. In the outside districts the black troopers were a necessary evil. They could not be done without; but it was the duty of the Colonial Secretary, as far as possible, to see that the evil was reduced to the smallest dimensions possible. If the man who murdered fifteen blacks and boasted of it could be found, and the charge brought home to him, he ought to hang as high as Haman.

Mr. HAMILTON said he should be very happy to give evidence before a Royal commission, if indemnity was given to the other witnesses.

Mr. SIMPSON said that if the hon. member knew that the murders had been committed, he ought not to wait for a Royal commission, but volunteer his evidence.

Mr. THOMPSON said this was a perfectly new departure. They had previously been railing at anonymous statements in the Press. Now they had the word, which they were bound to

respect, of an hon. member. It was a matter of such importance as to justify the most serious consideration. When he had spoken on this subject before he had always been met by the same argument that had been used to-night, that the townspeople were as much to blame as those in the country. He fully admitted it—the nation was to blame. From the first time he sat in the House till the present he had never hesitated to express his conviction that the whites, being the stronger race, should be merciful towards the blacks. His first experience of atrocities towards the blacks was very soon after his arrival in the colony, when a lot of blacks were shot in the neighbourhood of Ipswich without any reasonable justification. At that late hour, he would suggest that the Chairman be asked to report progress, and obtain leave to sit again.

Mr. PERSSE said he had had as much experience, perhaps, among blacks as the hon. member for Gympie. He had been seventeen years in the colony, had been as far west as any man in the House, and had never shot at a blackfellow or had a blackfellow shot for him. No blackfellow had ever been shot on his station, although he had been seven years between the Diamantina and the Thompson Rivers, simply because he had taken the precaution not to allow blacks and whites to mingle too freely. There were hon. members present who had been in the House almost since Separation; they had seen those outrages committed, and yet they had not taken the slightest trouble to find a remedy until the blacks were destroyed, and now they called for a Royal commission, which would be of no use whatever. What was wanted was a disciplined force of whites and blacks, headed by properly paid officers. There should be an inspector, sub-inspector, sergeant, and constable, and ten or eleven troopers in each detachment. With such a force it would be to the interest of the officers to see that justice was done to the blacks. At present far from the best men were employed in the force, and he did not know where they were to find men who would see fair-play to the blacks on £125 a-year. Let the force be properly disciplined and the pay good, and then even-handed justice would be dealt out. During his long experience he had never heard of such charges as those stated by the hon. member for Gympie, and he did not give the smallest credence to them. Did the hon. member know those things of his own knowledge? As to the articles in the *Queenslander*, he firmly believed, and could almost state it as a fact, that the man who wrote them was paid £3 an article, and did not care what he said. The only man who attacked the native police and signed his name to his letters was Mr. Cassidy, who, as was well known, lived with gins, and shot down blacks unmercifully.

Mr. THOMPSON denied that he had never done anything for the blacks. The first of the atrocities that he knew of was the Fassifern murder. The law tried to interfere, but did not succeed. That he had done nothing for the blacks, as stated by the hon. member, he denied.

Mr. PERSSE said that what he stated was that the hon. member had done nothing to bring about an alteration of things as regarded the black police.

Mr. HAMILTON said that what the hon. member for Fassifern had stated in regard to the writer of the articles in the *Queenslander* was in some respects untrue—he said that the men who wrote those articles were paid £3 a-piece for them, and that he knew that as a fact.

Mr. PERSSE said that what he stated was that he knew one man had received that amount.

Mr. HAMILTON said that, as regarded the remarks of the hon. member for Dalby, that hon. member must know that it was very difficult to get hold of cases which could be proved in a court of law. He knew that in the case to which the hon. member took exception—where two gins were shot by an inspector—there were three white men present, one of whom was his (Mr. Hamilton's) authority, but he said that if a word was mentioned of the matter to a civilian there would be immediately a black mark against his name.

Mr. FEEZ said he should like to know whether the hon. member heard of that case shortly after it occurred, or when. He had heard of it as far back as 1851, and he knew many of the persons mentioned by the hon. member, and did not believe they would be guilty of such a crime. He knew gentlemen on the Clarence River, some of whom were now holding positions of trust in this colony, who treated the blacks with every consideration, and yet on one occasion when the men drove the cattle into a yard they found a number with spears in them. He and Mr. Edward Morrisett and some troopers went in search of the blacks and demanded from them the men who had speared the cattle, but they refused to give them, and the troopers followed them up and rushed them into a shed on the sheep station, and not only killed the blacks who were guilty but also others. He had seen in later years, when he came on to the Darling Downs, a great many depredations committed by the blacks, and also punishments inflicted by the police. In 1858 he went out on foot to Gracemere, a station near Rockhampton, and met Mr. Archer, a brother of the hon. member for Blackall, with a large escort; and, on asking them where they were going, was told that they were going to punish the blacks for depredations they had committed; and he (Mr. Feez) had no doubt that they gave the blacks a very severe lesson. He remembered meeting Mr. Wills, whom he knew in Victoria, at Westwood, about thirty miles from Rockhampton, and he told him that the blacks were very troublesome, and that he must be very careful to keep them at a distance; but the blacks followed him, and although Mr. Wills treated them most kindly, they turned round on the hand that fed them and murdered him. There were numbers of other cases, but all attempts to arrive at the truth of any of the charges made against the native police would always be useless until a blackfellow's evidence was made legal. No white officer ever confessed to shooting a black, and always took care never to shoot one in the presence of a white man; therefore, until it was arranged that a number of white men must be with the black police it would be impossible to prove anything.

Mr. KING said that all the evils of the present system arose out of the injustice of the law in this respect—that the law assumed the blacks to be British subjects, and consequently they could not be punished until after trial, whilst in point of fact they were not British subjects but their enemies. They would murder men, women, and children, and yet it was not legal to go on their track and shoot them. He knew of a case where a blackfellow was thrice convicted on a charge of murder, and when at last he was hanged, at Brisbane, it was known that he had killed thirteen white men. Taking the case of a man found killed at a waterhole with his inside taken out, the English law was perfectly powerless in such a case to find and punish the actual murderers, and the only thing to be done was to follow the tribal law of the blacks and hunt them down and shoot them. To bring a lot of blacks into trial in such

a case would be a perfect farce, as there could not be got sufficient evidence against them to warrant a magistrate in even committing them for trial.

Mr. HAMILTON said that the hon. member for the Leichhardt (Mr. Feez) had attempted to throw discredit on his statements, and said that an officer never shot a black in the presence of a white man; but he (Mr. Hamilton) had seen it done himself in a case where a white man had been murdered. The hon. member also said that his statement about the two blacks being shot was untrue, because he was in the district and never heard of it; but the hon. member could not have been in the district at the time.

Mr. GRIFFITH hoped the Government would agree to the suggestion of the hon. member for Ipswich (Mr. Thompson)—that the debate be adjourned, as it was a matter of very great importance, and did not come on for discussion until 9 o'clock. He (Mr. Griffith) had himself something to say on the question.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that the hon. member for Ipswich made no suggestion, but moved that the Chairman should leave the chair and report progress. There was no occasion for adjourning the debate. He had listened to a debate like the present for every session during the last fifteen years, and it had always come to nothing. Hon. members could say no more now than they could fifteen years ago. It was true that there had been a lot of old stories raked up by the hon. member for Maryborough (Mr. Douglas) from the columns of the *Queenslander* newspaper, and on his (Mr. Palmer) challenging the author of some of those stories, he had been given the name of Cassidy. He was Premier at the time the circumstance mentioned by the hon. gentleman was supposed to have occurred, and on going on a trip to the North with Lord Normanby, the then Governor of the colony, he saw Cassidy, who never gave any such information as that stated by the hon. gentleman. It was true that information was given by a lady on the Lower Herbert that a gin had been shot by the native police, and he (Mr. Palmer) immediately ordered the police magistrate, Mr. Sheridan, to make the strictest inquiries into the case. That gentleman did so, but there was no proof whatever that the gin had been shot as stated; at the same time there was the body of a gin found half burnt. That was one instance of how reports got about of atrocities committed by the native police. He quite agreed with the hon. member for Blackall that there was a great deal to be said on both sides. There was no doubt that there had been a great many bad native police officers—perhaps worse men could not be found under the sun; but things were different now, and what in the world was the use of raking up old matters when the men connected with them had gone? This he would say—that if any hon. member would give him the name of any police officer who had shot, or ordered to be shot, any blacks except when they were caught red-handed after some murder, he would promise that every inquiry should be made to the bitter end. It was very odd that statements of atrocities committed by the native police (of which he had never heard) should be bandied about by newspapers. How was it that the men who knew of those cases, or professed to know of them at the time, did not report them to the nearest police magistrate. After all, there had really been no more information given by hon. members that evening than had appeared in the columns of the *Queenslander* in articles by anonymous writers, which were of no practical use whatever. It had been suggested that a Royal commission should be appointed to inquire into the whole question; but

that he looked upon as a perfect farce, because, although ten or twenty thousand pounds might be spent on a Royal commission, they would be no nearer the truth; but if any hon. member would tell him the time and place of any murder of blacks that had been committed by the native police, he would, whilst observing the greatest secrecy until the offender was brought before a court of justice, have the inquiry pursued and carried out to the bitter end. He had lived a long time in the colony; he had been a great part of that time on the frontiers, and had mixed with every class of men who knew thoroughly what was going on in the bush, and during the whole of that time he never heard one-tenth of the stories he had seen published in the *Queenslander*. He believed that many of these stories were the same that he had heard in a different guise many years ago, and merely cooked up for the purpose of making a sensation. He had lived for a great many years in New South Wales, on stations on the borders of Queensland long before it was a colony, and he knew a great deal about the blacks, but he never in all his life heard of any of these frightful atrocities except through the columns of newspapers by anonymous correspondents. He had heard stories by camp fires very much more horrible perhaps than any in the newspapers, but of course they all knew they were pure invention. He had mentioned in the House years ago the story about the thirty-six blacks shot in a waterhole, and the man with fifteen notches on his rifle as representing the number he had shot; but he was sure no lawyer would for one moment suppose that—even if a man were so foolish as to do such a thing as to put fifteen notches on his rifle—it would be any proof that he shot those blacks. He remembered a good many years ago hearing a man who had been a native police officer boast, in a tap-room in Rockhampton, that he was surprised by the blacks when he was totally unarmed, and with a stirrup-iron he—something like Sampson with the jaw-bone of an ass—slew twenty-five blacks. That was a yarn people were expected to believe. A great many of these reports of atrocities originated from the blacks themselves. Anybody who knew anything at all about the blacks of this colony knew that a greater set of liars, with the most vivid imagination possible, did not exist in the world. They were exceedingly quick to gather the kind of answer a white man wanted, and they would, in common parlance, just string a white man as quickly—a great deal quicker, in fact, than any barrister of his (the Colonial Secretary's) acquaintance. Another sample of how these yarns got about was in connection with the murder of Wills, which had been alluded to. He (the Colonial Secretary) happened to go through that part of the country immediately after that murder, and he heard wonderful accounts of the retribution that had taken place by the parties of men who had gone after the murderers. According to these accounts the numbers of blacks killed outnumbered all the blacks in that and the neighbouring district; but he had had a letter from a gentleman who had headed one of the parties, who stated that from his own knowledge they only got three blacks the whole time they were out, while if the number were computed from hearsay there would have been hundreds. Another assertion that had been made by the hon. member for Gympie, and which he (Mr. Hamilton) no doubt believed to be perfectly true, was that a son of old Tumpenny—the blackfellow who got a boat now and again as a reward for having saved lives at the wreck of the "Sovereign" many years ago—joined the native police, and was shot by one of the officers. The fact of the matter was that this young fellow and some others deserted from the

force up north and endeavoured to make their way down overland; some of them succeeded in doing so, but this lad was reported as having been killed by some of the coast blacks. That was another sample of how these stories got about. He agreed with the hon. member for Maryborough that they themselves were to blame for the whole of it—that they had no right to come here—that they ought to have stayed away and left the blacks their own country; but it was talking utter nonsense to say that after having come here and tried to win the desert they should allow their people and themselves to be murdered by blacks without resisting it in the best manner they could. That atrocities had taken place he was the last to deny; but the instructions now given to native police officers, and that had been given for years, were that they were not on any account to shoot blacks unless it was absolutely necessary. Their orders were to patrol their districts, to get the confidence of the blacks, and to make them understand that as long as they did not interfere with white fellows, white fellows would not be allowed to interfere with them. He knew from his own knowledge that that system had been very successfully carried out in portions of the colony where blacks were at one time very bad. He knew that in the case of one officer, of whom he could speak from personal knowledge, he had got such influence over the blacks that if any depredation were committed by the blacks he had only to tell them that he insisted upon the offenders being delivered up to him, and they would be delivered up immediately. He believed that a great many officers endeavoured to perform their duties in the same manner; and a more wanton abuse of a very useful, patient, and intelligent class of men than had been showered upon the native police in the columns of the *Queenslander* he had never seen in any newspaper. He had been ashamed to see the remarks made. That there had been some brutes in the Native Police Force he did not deny, but he now challenged any member to give the name of any officer of the native police who did not behave himself like a man and a gentleman, and if he could get it accompanied by proof, he would make an example of that officer for the benefit of the rest.

Mr. GRIFFITH said everyone would be very glad if the statements they had heard could be disposed of so easily as the Colonial Secretary seemed to think. The hon. gentleman said that if representations were made to him he would institute a searching inquiry, but that would be idle. What would be the use of such an inquiry? In the first place, no man could give evidence on oath, and every witness would probably decline to answer questions, because according to our law a witness would not be bound to answer if he would criminate himself; and he (Mr. Griffith) presumed that in all these cases the witnesses would be persons who had been participants in the offence. Therefore, the only possible way of getting at the whole truth of the matter was by appointing a Royal commission and giving them the authority of a statute by which witnesses would be prevented from excusing themselves from answering on the ground that by so doing they would criminate themselves, and under which they would be indemnified against the consequences. He believed it would be far better to find out the whole truth than to have all these stories in circulation. No doubt many of them would turn out to be very largely exaggerated, but at the same time a great many things might come to light which would show that the management of the native police was not satisfactory. He knew that in the past there had been some very bad officers employed

in the native police. There was one against whom he had presented an indictment for murder; he was released on bail, by some extraordinary means, and got away. He (Mr. Griffith) then got a bench-warrant for him, but he was never found, why, he (Mr. Griffith) did not know. He heard, a short time ago—since he ceased to be Attorney-General—that one of his successors in that office entered a *nolle prosequi* against him, although, from the evidence, it was as clear a case of murder as ever came under his (Mr. Griffith's) notice. He often wondered why the *nolle prosequi* was entered; he thought an indictment of that sort should have stood until the man was caught, especially as the witnesses were all available. For his own part he thought, whether a man was in the native police or out of it, that if a murder was committed, in the interests of common humanity the offenders should be treated as murderers. Of course he did not say that all cases of reprisals should be treated as murders, because there were many cases in which recourse could only be had to the tribal law, and in which it would be absurd to allow the offence to go unavenged. But otherwise he thought they should be guided by the dictates of common humanity; and he believed a Royal commission would be of great advantage. It would set many of these stories at rest if they had no foundation, and do more to clear the reputation of the colony than the making and denial of stories which would always go on until the whole thing was thoroughly inquired into, which could only be under the authority of a statute.

Mr. SWANWICK said the hon. gentleman was mistaken in his reference to the case of Wheeler. He (Mr. Swanwick) entered the *nolle prosequi* on behalf of Mr. Pring, and the reason why that step was taken was because the only white witness available at the time of the murder had left the colony about the same time that Wheeler left, and there was therefore no evidence available in the colony, or, as far as he could understand, out of the colony to convict Wheeler.

Mr. LOW said he had been forty-one years in the colony, the greater part of which he had spent in the bush, and on the frontier, and he believed it was a complete libel to say that in these cases white men were the aggressors. He had travelled over most of the southern part of the colony, and, as far as his knowledge went, the whites had always been anxious to cultivate the good feeling of the blacks. He believed that a great deal of the evidence taken before a Royal commission would be on the side of the whites, and the sooner it was appointed the better.

Mr. STUBLEY thought the proper course to adopt would be to declare the blacks in certain districts outlaws, so that any man could shoot every black he saw. They had outlawed white men such as the Kelly gang, and the Gardiner, and Ben Hall, and Gilbert gangs, and surely if they outlawed white people they should outlaw blacks and let them be shot.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said that, in his opinion, the present had been a long and useless debate. About a year or something less after Separation they had just such another, and no year had passed since without their having their annual attack upon this subject. The hon. member for North Brisbane would find in the report of the select committee all that he could get from a Royal commission. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) had been as long in the colony as any of the hon. gentlemen who had spoken, and he had heard more of the massacre of blacks during the last two years than he ever did in his life before. He had been among the blacks, and contended with them, too, some-

times, upon the Hunter and elsewhere. The truth probably lay between the two extremes. If the debate had any effect at all, it was that of paying a compliment to the Colonial Secretary for his courage in bringing forward in the manner he had a topic which been unsettled ever since 1861, since the first select committee of the House to inquire into the state of the blacks. The idea was mooted then, and had not lost ground ever since, that white police should be placed among the native troopers. The idea was quite an old one, and it was always said that the white men were kept away to encourage the massacre of the blacks; and, of course, when there was no white man to give evidence, any penny-a-liner who felt inclined to write sensational stories could do so without contradiction. If things were carried out as proposed—namely, have white men with the blacks as trackers, the force would be as effective as ever on the borders of the colony. He never looked upon the blacks as being so wonderfully innocent. He had seen many massacres, and knew that the natives were very treacherous. When he was member for the Burke his greatest trouble was to find native police protection for the miners. He was always receiving letters, but there was one particular one by a very respectable storekeeper at Gilberton, named Steele. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) never saw the gentleman, but he thought, as far as his judgment went, that he was one of the finest correspondents he ever had. He was so delighted with the letter that he showed it to the present Colonial Secretary, who asked him to publish it. In this letter he was asked for a detachment of native police for Gilberton, and it was stated that it required in that neighbourhood two men to do one man's work, because one had to stand on the bank of the creek to protect the other when working. He was sure the Colonial Secretary would bear him out when he said that he (Mr. O'Sullivan) was as troublesome as the member for the Burke—as any member of the House—for he had to be every week looking for police protection for his constituents. At Georgetown the blacks absolutely attacked the camp and speared the police horses. What was to be done in such a case as that? The plan suggested by the Colonial Secretary would prevent such crimes, or reduce them to a minimum. The reports they had heard would be contradicted with authority from every camp where complaints were made if white police were there. He believed there was a good deal of truth in the statements made by the hon. member for Gympie. Some officers had been great scoundrels, wild young devils, sent out here to gain colonial experience, who perhaps could trace their families beyond the flood, and had carpet bags full of testimonials, and who were sent away in charge of these police. The statement made by the hon. member for Ipswich with regard to the Fassifern affair was certainly a terrible disgrace. It occurred a long time ago, and was due to a wild young villain, just such a one as he had described; but things of that sort should never be charged to the whole colony, for neither the House nor the country ever recognised anything of the kind. The whole debate redounded to the credit of the Ministry, who had courageously brought forward the recommendation of the first select committee which was held in 1860. That was twenty years ago, and he hoped that before another twenty years were over, or half of it, there would be no necessity for black police at all. If they only got the roads to the Gulf of Carpentaria and other matters of that kind carried out, the whole country would soon become civilised, and they would not require them.

Mr. MOREHEAD said it was quite astonishing that the hon. member for Maryborough had

been three years in power and never discovered the nature of the black police. Was it anything new? Was he being educated by the *Queenslander*? He did nothing to institute an inquiry or interfere with the management of them, and he (Mr. Morehead) now held in his hand a copy of some estimate brought forward by the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government, and he found that there were 200 black police provided for. The hon. member for Ipswich had also been in power, and it was all very well now to get up on the other side and appear sentimental. Why did he not when he was in power do something to check the tremendous injustice, and not wait until he was in opposition? Surely what was wrong now was wrong then. Probably it was more wrong then, for now most of the stories brought up were old stories. When they were in power they were silent, but now they were awfully indignant, tremendously just, and fearfully wise.

Mr. THOMPSON said he was quite willing to bear any blame that was attachable to him. There were many occasions in his career when he was ashamed to say he had not shown sufficient courage. He nevertheless felt very deeply on the matter, and asserted that it was a disgrace to the age that they should have in their metropolis a society for the protection of animals, yet that they should go shooting their fellow-men. He was ashamed of his own kith and kin who had shot them. But the time had come when public feeling was thoroughly aroused, and when something must be done. He had no idea that his action in the matter was an item in the consideration of the subject, and he did not care whether in that respect he was consistent or inconsistent. The question was—had the nation done right? He did not intend to go into the matter at length now, for the bringing forward of the subject had taken him by surprise. He had seen the articles in the *Queenslander*, and if the *Queenslander* was wrong it had been guilty of a great crime to the colony; if it was right it had taken a great responsibility upon itself, and had laid a distinct charge. The Colonial Secretary, he thought, had asked when those things occurred why they were not reported to the magistrate, so that the men might be prosecuted. In the *Northern Miner* there was a detailed account of a wholesale murder of women and children by a man named Hamilton, but there was nothing done. Anybody could see the account by turning up the files. The charge was laid, the details given, the man's name was mentioned, and yet nothing was done. They could not always choose their own witnesses; besides, the paper was not a witness; it was simply the informer; it simply told that the murder was committed, that women and children were driven into the sea, and whilst swimming were quietly potted by a man whose name was given. There was a distinct case.

The MINISTER FOR WORKS: Was it not quoted from some other paper?

Mr. KING said that if the advice of the hon. member for Ipswich was taken, and every time a person was denounced in the *Northern Miner* the person denounced was prosecuted, so many Attorneys-General would be required that there would not be enough legal gentlemen in the House to fulfil the office, and the first person concerned would be the Minister for Works. The hon. member for Ipswich could not be serious in what he said. If a man was actually cognisant of a crime it was his duty to give information to justice, and the man who failed to perform that duty, when he himself was a witness, by

holding back information he was bound to give, would be discredited in any story he might afterwards tell.

Mr. STUBBLEY said he was still of the same opinion. His sentiments might be very hard to digest, but he thought that if white people were speared or murdered by the blacks the blacks should be outlawed and shot down till there was not one left. That was the way to settle all disputes.

Mr. DOUGLAS said there was a great deal more to be said. It was one of the gravest subjects they had to deal with. Considerable progress had been made, and he had no objection to vote the general amount if the hon. member would withdraw the item "Native Police."

The COLONIAL SECRETARY: I will not.

Mr. DOUGLAS said if the hon. gentleman would postpone the amount for 128 troopers he had no objection to voting the amount for 52 trackers. The whole question ought to be fully debated.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said any further debate on this question could be of no practical use. If any hon. member opposite thought a Royal commission ought to be appointed let him put a notice on the paper requesting His Excellency to appoint a commission. They could then argue out the whole case. The idea of asking him to withdraw or postpone a vote of this sort because hon. members had been talking all night, and wanted still further to air their hobbies, was ridiculous. He had no intention whatever of postponing this vote or moving the Chairman out of the chair. If, as he had said before, hon. members thought a Royal commission ought to be appointed, they might give notice of motion and argue the question over again as they chose.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he hoped the hon. gentleman would respond to reason. There had been substantial complaints made to high authorities elsewhere which would not reflect credit upon the colony. It was undoubtedly better that they should deal with their own difficulties by themselves and thoroughly sift out this matter. He himself believed that a case had been made out, and all that he asked now was that time should be given for consideration on the part of the Government as to what they really proposed to do. The proposal made by the Colonial Secretary was not a good one, and he (Mr. Douglas) was not content to go on from year to year doing nothing. Public feeling had been sufficiently roused by statements made in the public Press and elsewhere, which he believed to be substantially correct. Within the last year or two, he believed, brutalities and murders—deliberate and cold-blooded murders, unjustified by any retaliating act—had been over and over again committed in the north, and these had become so common that the European nature was in danger of demoralisation. It had been pointed out that on the western coast of Australia the Government there were making a very different use of the natives. It was quite possible to do so; and having these facts before them, and public attention being directed to them, it was indeed time to deal with them. The most effectual way of ensuring this being carried out was not to vote the money until it was dealt with. He hoped the Colonial Secretary would not insist on passing the vote at that late time of night. There was a great deal even in the correspondence under discussion that should yet be considered. The statement made by one hon. member to-night was so deliberate, and was substantiated by—

Mr. FEEZ: Not substantiated by anything.

Mr. DOUGLAS said it was substantiated as far as it could be by one man's testimony.

Mr. KING : He only said that somebody told him something he heard somewhere.

Mr. DOUGLAS said the hon. member (Mr. King) had had considerable experience ; but he would point out that in this case there were witnesses, and that the narrator believed that if those witnesses were indemnified they could give facts which would establish the case. They stood on the threshold, as it were, of an inquiry which would result, he hoped, in something being done ; in a change being effected ; in the radical cure of a disease which had long pervaded the system, and which now outraged decency. He hoped, therefore, he should be allowed an opportunity of stating what he had to state deliberately. The hon. member for Ipswich (Mr. Thompson) had stated that he had not an opportunity of saying what he wished to say ; and others no doubt were desirous to speak on the subject. It was a subject that was important enough to justify the postponement of the debate.

Mr. MOREHEAD said he should like to know which hon. member on the Opposition side could state what he knew about the subject from his own experience ? Even the hon. member for Gympie said he could bring witnesses to prove something they had seen. If good cause could be brought forward for granting a Royal commission, the Committee or the House would not refuse it. However, that was no reason for refusing to pass the vote to-night. The thing was absurd ; it was an act unworthy of the hon. member for Maryborough, and that was saying a good deal.

Mr. THOMPSON said when the rattening case was brought before the House of Commons there was probably no member who had any personal experience in the matter.

Mr. MOREHEAD asked if the hon. member would state how many years he had been in the Ministry when this vote was passed and he made no protest. The hon. member was too old to learn now.

Mr. THOMPSON said he was not so old as he appeared to be, but that had nothing to do with it. He did do something for the blacks, but was sorry to say it had been undone ; and he was prepared to do it again if he got the chance. If he had been supported as he should have been by those whose profession called on them to do so, viz., the various ministers of religion, he should have succeeded better than he did. The only man who really had the thing at heart was Father McNab, who had done good, and had induced him (Mr. Thompson) and the hon. member for Maryborough to do good. He believed the whole thing had been upset now. He had also assisted Mr. Bridgeman, who had done a great deal of good in preventing murder and in utilising the labour of the blacks.

Mr. SIMPSON said he would like to ask the hon. member what he did. As far as he knew nothing had been done since 1861.

Mr. THOMPSON said if nothing had been done it was time to begin now.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, with reference to the remarks of the hon. member for Dalby, he did not say that nothing had been done ; he had seen several things done. What took place in 1861 was only the beginning.

Mr. SIMPSON said he believed a good many crimes had been committed since, but when the hon. member for Ipswich claimed distinctly that he had done something for the benefit of the blacks, he would ask the hon. gentleman what ?

Mr. THOMPSON said he would make up a list on a future occasion of the various times in which he had attempted to do something. He had not been almighty, and had not done as much as he wished.

The PREMIER said, if the hon. member for Maryborough was sincere in trying to get the House to come to some practical conclusion with regard to the way an investigation should be made, he might be satisfied that this was not the proper way to get it—namely, by delaying the Government business of the Estimates. He knew this vote must pass, and that he had it in his power to have the question thoroughly debated on another occasion. It might then occupy the whole day, and the House could come to some conclusion without party feeling and without blocking Government business. The hon. member could even get the Thursday after next and could then freely test the feeling of the House as to the proper remedy to apply. The hon. member knew perfectly well that no remedy could be applied upon the vote, but something might be done if he tabled a motion for a Royal commission. He surely did not expect to get the Government to make a concession by delaying their business. It was quite possible that if the hon. member showed sufficient reason at the proper time the Government might concede something ; they had no objection to hear the matter argued.

Mr. DOUGLAS said he was anxious to secure a further discussion in a full House, and obtain a decision which could not be obtained that evening. There were many members who were not present but who were anxious to express their opinions and record their votes, and it was only fair that they should have a privilege which was accorded in every important debate. There had hardly been a question raised which affected the character of the colony so much.

The PREMIER said that after spending a whole night in discussing one item, and wasting two hours before tea listening to twaddle from some hon. members opposite, they were asked to adjourn because there were some members of the Opposition who would like to speak. Why were they not present ?

Mr. SIMPSON should like to know whether the member for Maryborough or the member for North Brisbane was leading the Opposition ?

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said the hon. member for Maryborough was only demanding that, in order to air his hobby, the whole Government business should cease. Adjourning the debate would have no effect upon the appointment of a Royal commission. Did the hon. member suppose that a division that evening upon the item would make any difference. Even the members sitting alongside him, and the member for Kennedy in particular, would not vote for him. The Government would not have their business stopped simply for the hon. member to air his hobby.

The MINISTER FOR WORKS said the question of the blacks had cropped up regularly every session since Separation, and the remedy pointed out by most hon. members who had spoken upon it since he had been a member of the House was to either abolish the force or gradually reduce it. The process of reduction was going on. The force formerly consisted of 200 troopers, but under the present system it was to be only 128 ; and yet, when the Government attempted to carry out what had actually been contended for by the hon. member and others, they were being "stonewalled." The vote must pass, and the force be kept up until it was abolished in some legal way. He hoped the hon. member would not be obstinate and foolish.

merely for the purpose of airing a sentiment which could be much better aired by appointing a field day for the purpose.

The PREMIER : No.

Mr. DOUGLAS said it was not an uncommon thing in the House of Commons when an admittedly important matter had been raised to grant a Government day to a private member for the purpose of having the question discussed. He would ask the Premier to consider the matter in another light—what was there to prevent him (Mr. Douglas) and others taking a Government day? At the present stage of the business paper he could not secure a fair discussion of this important question within a reasonable period.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN really thought that if the Government gave up a Government day to the hon. member he would not take a quarter of the time to discuss the question that he would otherwise do.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said that no doubt the hon. member could interrupt public business as he had done during the session, but he could not make the Government debate the question. The Government would debate it fairly on a private members' day, but if the hon. member chose to interrupt on a Government day they would not debate.

Mr. GRIFFITH said it appeared to him that speaking and stonewalling were synonymous words in the opinion of the Government. According to the views held apparently by the Government, the business of the Opposition was to hold their tongues, and when they spoke of matters of urgent public importance they were accused of stonewalling. That was not the way to carry on important Parliamentary business. He did not wish for his part that a Royal commission should be sent out from England, as in the case of Jamaica; he should much prefer that they should find out for themselves, and settle the matter the best way they could. He hoped that the Premier would see that the matter was thoroughly discussed shortly. The House, to come to some practical conclusion in the matter, must take steps early. Should a Royal commission be determined on, it must be followed by a special Act for the purpose of compelling witnesses, and protecting them against the consequences of their evidence, as was customary in England in the case of bribery commissions.

Mr. DOUGLAS said that after what had been stated by the hon. members for Ipswich and North Brisbane, he thought he had better submit himself to the high hand of the Government, though it would probably have been a wiser act on the part of the Government to allow further discussion of a question which was now occupying the public mind to a very great extent. The House had in some cases spent two or three nights in discussing questions of far less importance, and the Government might with a very good grace have assented to an adjournment at an earlier period of the evening. As he was not supported in that opinion, and there were members in the House who were anxious to divest this question of anything like a party aspect, he should withdraw any further opposition to the passing of the vote in this form. It must be understood, however, that he in no way pledged himself to the perpetuation of the force as now constituted. He should take the earliest possible opportunity of introducing such a measure as would secure an impartial sifting of the statements made both in the Press and in the House, and to a very large extent accepted by the public outside. He pledged himself to undertake that somewhat unpleasant

duty, and he should endeavour to perform it. Therefore, he should at this stage, withdraw his opposition to the passing of the vote.

Question put and passed.

On the motion of the PREMIER, the Chairman reported progress.

The House adjourned at five minutes past 12 o'clock.