

"sented at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition to be held in London next year; and it is a matter for congratulation that the services of the Colonial Secretary are available to represent us as Executive Commissioner.

"16. We look forward with much interest to the results of Sir John Coode's investigations in connection with Harbor Works.

"17. Any reasonable arrangement made with the Orient Company for their steamers to call at Fremantle will be hailed with satisfaction. This Council will be prepared to give every consideration to the terms offered.

"18. The various Bills to be presented to us will of course meet with our careful attention.

"19. Again thanking Your Excellency for the Speech with which you have been pleased to open this Session, we pray with you that our deliberations may be, by the help of Providence, fruitful of good to the Colony."

MR. LAYMAN, in seconding the motion, said he generally agreed with what His Excellency had told them in his speech, but there was one exception. He alluded to the proposal to appoint two members of that House to seats in the Executive. He did not see his way clear to fall in with that proposition; but, as they would have a further opportunity of discussing the question, he would not at present say any more about it.

MR. BROWN moved the adjournment of the debate until the next sitting of the House, which was agreed to.

The House adjourned at four o'clock, p.m.

## LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,

*Friday, 24th July, 1885.*

Brands Act, 1881, Amendment Bill: first reading—Bush Fires Bill: first reading—Excess Bill, 1884: first reading—Dog Act Amendment Bill: second reading—Address in Reply: adjourned debate—Adjournment.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at seven o'clock, p.m.

PRAYERS.

### FIRST READINGS.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. M. Fraser) moved the first reading of the following bills: A Bill to amend the Law relating to the Branding of Live Stock; a Bill to diminish the Dangers resulting from Bush Fires; and the Excess Bill, 1884.

Motion agreed to.

Bills read a first time.

### DOG ACT, 1883, AMENDMENT BILL.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. M. Fraser), in moving the second reading of this bill, said it was not necessary to say much, the measure itself being a very short one. It was what he might term a relieving bill, its intention being to relieve those who offended against the provisions of the Act, in ignorance of those provisions, or inadvertently, and who could show good cause why they should not be subjected to the full penalty. The object of the bill was to extend the time within which dogs must be registered from fifteen days to thirty days, and also to give magistrates discretionary power, in the event of non-compliance with this provision, to inflict a fine not exceeding 40s. At present the bench was bound to inflict the full penalty of 40s., no matter how trivial or unintentional the offence, and this was found to be a hardship in some cases. Speaking generally with regard to the Act now in operation he might say that it had worked well; many of its provisions were found to be most useful. It was true that it had proved rather an expensive Act to carry out its provisions, as regards the destruction of wild dogs, but he believed it had been found very beneficial in its operation, and he thought, if the present amendments were agreed

to, the Act would be found to work well.

The second reading was agreed to *sub silentio*.

#### THE ADDRESS IN REPLY.

##### ADJOURNED DEBATE.

MR. WITTENOOM rose to make a personal explanation. In moving the address in reply the other day, he had, he was afraid, conveyed an erroneous impression, when referring to the Murchison surveys as one of the grievances of the settlers of the Victoria District. It might be supposed that he meant to convey an idea that these surveys were not efficiently carried out. So far from that being the case he thought the work had been most efficiently done. What was complained of was the delay that had taken place before the work was put in hand,—country which had been settled long after the Murchison was settled, having been surveyed before the Murchison surveys were undertaken. He did not intend to have conveyed any reflection upon the Survey Department in the matter: the Commissioner of Crown Lands of course could not carry out surveys without money.

MR. BROWN said it devolved upon him now, as the mover of the adjournment of the debate on the address in reply to the Governor's speech, to continue the discussion, which was so eloquently introduced by the hon. member for Geraldton. In doing so it was not his intention to refer to many of the matters that were contained in the speech: he thought it was neither necessary nor desirable to do so, and he should confine himself to commenting upon a few of its more salient points. Representing, as the hon. member for Geraldton did, a district which had been reported lately to have been disaffected and desirous of severing the silver cords which bound it to its Southern sister, it had been very gratifying to him (Mr. Brown) to find that that district, through its representative in that House, had expressed its thorough appreciation of the good services which Governor Broome had rendered this colony during his recent visit to the mother country. He must confess, however, that it was with some amount of regret that he learnt that the wounds

inflicted upon the district were reported to be too deep to be easily healed. He should have thought that the hon. member would have been able to rely upon the fairness and liberality of the Legislature and the Government to redress any real grievances which the district might consider itself laboring under; and he still hoped it would be found that every proper claim of the district would be recognised by the Legislative Council and the Government, and he sincerely trusted that ere long we should hear no more about that hateful term—hateful to him at all events—Separation, and that the inhabitants of the district would look upon themselves as part and parcel of Western Australia, and see that for Western Australia to advance she must advance as an undivided community, as one nation, and that their best chance lay in pulling together with the rest of the colony rather than in attempting to make a separate mark for itself, as a separate province, among the future Federated Australias. The hon. member referred to one request which he said his constituents considered as of pressing importance, namely, that the district should be visited by Sir John Coode for the purpose of inspecting the harbor. He (Mr. Brown) had no doubt that, if the district could show good cause for that visit being undertaken, both the Legislature and the Government would be prepared to accede to the request and to vote such funds as would be necessary. But he did hope that a far stronger reason would be shown than the reason given by the hon. member the other day—the only reason given—namely, that the hope of Western Australia depended upon the possibility of the discovery of some valuable mineral—in that he did not agree with the hon. member—and that inasmuch as Champion Bay was a mineral district it was possible—he believed the hon. member even went so far as to say it was probable—that a valuable discovery of minerals would yet be made in that district, and that therefore it was necessary it should have a good harbor. Rumor had it that the Government had already arranged that Sir John Coode should visit Geraldton. Rumor, however, was a rather unreliable jade, and he must confess he did not believe her in this instance. He could not conceive that the Government, while the Legislative Coun-

cil was actually in session, would have sanctioned such an expenditure, without in any way referring the question to the House. It was true they had a Finance Committee, but the Legislative Council was still jealous of its rights to control public expenditure, and he did not think it was ever intended that it should relegate to the Finance Committee a right to sanction such an expenditure as this, the House itself being in session at the time. He could of course understand that possibly such an arrangement might have been made with Sir John Coode without involving any expenditure beyond that which already had been authorised. If not, and if rumor was true that Sir John Coode was really going to extend his visit to the North, he certainly should object to such expenditure being incurred without the authority of the Legislature. The financial position of the colony, to which reference was made in the Governor's speech, was, he considered, satisfactory. He believed that last year, when His Excellency met the Council, the balance in the Treasury amounted to £120,000, and that at the end of the year, provided the Supplementary Estimates were passed as the Government proposed, this balance would be reduced to £30,000. But he believed the actual result had been that instead of the balance at the end of last year being reduced to £30,000, it amounted to about £75,000, which was certainly very satisfactory; and His Excellency now informed them that a few days ago, on the 30th June this year, there was a balance in the Treasury of £123,000. Yet His Excellency was obliged to make the somewhat startling announcement that at the end of the year—after providing for the expenditure which he supposed had already been incurred—this large balance would probably be reduced to £40,000. It was impossible for him at present to conceive what was likely to contribute to this large reduction, though, for his own part, he should be perfectly satisfied if the cause of it be an expenditure upon wise measures which had been duly authorised up to the present time, and upon such other measures which that House, during the session, might sanction when the Supplementary Estimates were brought forward. With reference to the question

of immigration, touched upon in His Excellency's speech, no doubt it was one of the most important questions for their consideration. He thought it was admitted on all sides, although something had been done by the Board which had proved of considerable benefit to the country, he thought it was generally admitted that the Board might have done more. If hon. members would look into the question they would see that something like 450 immigrants had been introduced into the colony in about eighteen months. This was nothing like the number intended to have been introduced, which was, that something like 500 a year should be brought into the colony. Hon. members therefore would see by the papers laid before them that the Board had made a recommendation that, in addition to the nominating system, which was the system that had been chiefly carried out up to the present, we should have immigrants specially selected, also that the passages of immigrants on their arrival, or after their engagement, should be paid to the various outports, or to their destination, either by steamer or by rail. The nomination system had worked well in this respect, seeing that only some three or four persons out of the 450 introduced under that system had left the colony,—which he thought must be considered exceedingly satisfactory. The next and the only other question he intended to refer to was the proposal of His Excellency to appoint to the Executive Council two members of the Legislative Council. This was a subject which, so far as he was concerned, he should have preferred to have dealt with in general terms, but the hon. members who moved and seconded the address spoke of the proposal in such a manner as to necessitate, he thought, some little reference at any rate to it on his part. The hon. member for Geraldton, who moved the address, stated that at first he was opposed to the proposal, but that he had come to the conclusion that His Excellency had made it in what he deemed the best interests of Western Australia. No one would dispute that. He and every other hon. member, and the country at large,—all who had watched the career of Governor Broome would acknowledge at once that the proposal was put forward in what His Excellency conceived to be the

best interests of the colony, for its advantage and its advantage alone. He would go further, and say, not only had that been His Excellency's intention, but he felt perfectly satisfied that no undue advantage would ever be taken of the fact that two of their members had left them to hold seats in the Executive, or that they would be called upon in any way to forfeit their independence by His Excellency the present Governor. He would go further still, and say that so far as the mere exercise of Executive functions were concerned he was sure—and he believed each member of the Executive would agree with him in that—he was sure, or at any rate it was highly probable, that the election of these two members would conduce to good work and be of good service to the Executive Council, and he believed they would give their views full and proper attention. But there were other phases of the question. He believed that when the proposal was first mentioned to him by a gentleman in the streets of Perth, merely as a suggestion, he then expressed an opinion that it would be a very good thing in some respects. But, now, when the proposal came before them in real earnest, and they were asked to exercise their judgment and say whether in their opinion the proposal was really one that would be a good one for the colony, that was another matter. In considering that question he must say, in the first place, that it was highly desirable they should protect their rights and their privileges as members of the Legislature. At the present moment they were living under a constitution which had been provided by law. That law set out the proportion of power to be exercised by the representatives of the people in that House. It gave one-third of the power—he was going to say to the Government, but he would not say that, for he was satisfied that under the existing Constitution the nominee members were as independent as any members in that House; they were considered to be so, and, so far as he had been able to observe, they were not interfered with; therefore the constitution set out this,—that on the Government side of the House there shall be four members holding offices of emolument under the Crown, and four Nominees not holding offices of

emolument, and that the remaining two-thirds shall be elected members. This proposal of the Governor would—let hon. members say what they liked—take away a certain amount of power from what he might—without using the contrast in any offensive sense—call the independent members of the House. He could not conceive a member being perfectly independent of the House and of the Government, which would be a most anomalous position. At any rate he could not conceive any gentleman going into the Executive Council, and, having there assented to proposals or measures of the Executive, coming back into that House, and, finding that his views were not in accord with the views of the representatives of the people, stultifying himself, and saying, "Although I agreed with you when in the Executive Council, I must now separate myself from you." Moreover, it appeared to him that there was a great constitutional point involved in this proposal. He did not understand how it could be carried out without having resort to legislation. Of course, he was speaking somewhat without book, for at the present moment they had not the Royal Instructions (referred to in the Governor's speech) before them. But he very much doubted indeed whether these Royal Instructions contemplated the appointment of two members of the Legislative body to a seat in the Executive. No doubt (speaking without book) these Royal Instructions authorised the Governor to place a certain number of gentlemen, not officials, in the Executive Council, and there could be no objection whatever to such a proceeding, for, in doing so, the rights and privileges of the people of the colony, as represented in that House, would not be in any way interfered with. Neither did he think that it was at all necessary for the Governor to come to that House to get thoroughly good and efficient men for the Executive Council. Surely they were not the only men in the colony possessing a practical knowledge of Western Australia and its requirements. Why then should not these appointments be made from outside? He could name many men quite as able to give the Executive assistance as any member in that House; and he trusted that that was the course that would yet

be followed by His Excellency. He had dwelt at some length upon this point, but he wished hon. members to understand that he was open to reason. This was a deliberative assembly, and it was their duty to come there, not with fixed ideas upon points which might to them require elucidation. This was one of those points, and if it could be shown to him that his views on the subject were wrong—and it was possible that it might be shown to him that he was wrong—he should know what his duty to the country was. He thought it would be undesirable for any of them at this stage, until they had before them a copy of the Royal Instructions—if they could get them, to refer to—and also the Governor's own proposals in the matter fully explained by His Excellency,—he thought it would be undesirable for any of them at this stage to commit themselves (if he might use that term) in such a manner as the hon. member for Geraldton and the hon. member for the Vasse (the mover and seconder of the address) had done, by saying that they would or that they would not assent to this proposal. He had no doubt that some hon. members would say that it had worked well in Natal. But he would point out that, according to the Colonial Office List, the Natal Legislature consisted of seven Executive members and twenty-five elected members. Whether two of those Executive members, or even more, had been taken from the elected members he could not say. But, supposing they had, the plan had only been a very short time in force there, and it was rather early yet to say that it had worked well. In any case, these appointments would not interfere so much with the balance of power in the Natal Legislature as the appointment of two members from that House would interfere with the balance of power here. If upon the mere strength of these Royal Instructions—of course they knew where they came from, the Secretary of State for the Colonies—and the *ipse dixit* of a Governor, it was competent for the Government to come down to that House and say, "We will nominate two of your members to the Executive Council," there was no reason why they should not say so. But, at the same time, he thought that the Legislature ought to stick to its constitutional rights. They all of them

must see that to lose two of their number would take away some of their power. He thought it would take away sufficient power to enable the Government to dominate that House, if they chose. Let him not be misunderstood. He believed that under the existing state of things there would be no attempt to dominate the House; but they knew that different Governors had different views as to the scope and extent of their functions under the present constitution. They had had Governors who considered the position of a Governor under this constitution to be that of a despot, and who considered the constitution itself to be nothing more nor less than a "mild despotism;" and, if they were to return to that state of things, what position would that House be in then? He therefore thought it behoved them to be very careful what they did in this matter. Before concluding, he thought it was his duty to ask leave to state that his fellow-members had done him the great honor of placing him in the position which was so long and ably filled by his hon. friend Mr. Steere—a member whom they would all have rejoiced to have seen elected to a seat on that bench; but they one and all felt that, in his present position, administered as the constitution now was, he would be able to do as good service in that House as he was ever able to do as an elected member. They felt, notwithstanding what had been said by a section of the press, that it would have been a loss to Western Australia had the hon. member not consented to accept his present position as a nominee member. He (Mr. Brown) could not hope to fulfil the duties of the position in which he had now been placed by the suffrages of his fellow-members, in the able manner in which his predecessor fulfilled them. But he would do his best to carry out those duties honestly and faithfully, and he trusted that the same cordial relations that had hitherto existed between the elected members and the various branches of the Legislature would not be in any way marred by reason of his holding the position.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. M. Fraser) moved that a select committee be appointed to consider and bring up the Address in Reply; such committee to consist of Mr. Wittenoom, Mr. Lay-

man, Mr. Brown, Mr. Steere, and the mover.

Agreed to.

The committee withdrew to prepare the address, and, upon their return,

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. M. Fraser) brought up the address, and moved that it be read.

The Clerk read the address, which was the same as that moved by the hon. member for Geraldton (*vide* p. 8 *ante*), with the omission of the words—"a fact which evidences careful management," at the end of the 6th paragraph.

MR. STEERE said he should be sorry if the debate on the address were to close without his rising to make a few remarks on one or two points, and especially did he wish to refer to that paragraph in His Excellency's speech in which he proposed to give that House liberty to elect two members to a seat in the Executive Council. Having occupied the position which he had done in that Council he thought he was bound almost to make a few observations with respect to this proposal. He must say that when he was first informed that His Excellency intended to make this concession to the members of that House, he thought it was one that would have been received with great gratification, as it was enabling them to participate, to as great an extent as possible under this constitution, in the Government of the colony. But he regretted to find that there was likely to be opposition to the proposal. He believed that a good deal of that opposition was in consequence of hon. members feeling or thinking that they would thereby lose their independence of judgment in that House. He thought they were wrong in that supposition. He knew, so far as his own experience went, that he did not lose his independence in that Council when he accepted a seat in the Executive, and he did not think that any hon. member who was in the House last year thought that he had lost any portion of his independence. He acted in that House as independently as if he had not belonged to the Executive; and he felt certain that any hon. members who might be elected to a seat in the Executive Council would very soon acknowledge the truth of his own experience, and that they would find themselves just as free to act in that

House as they were now. If it should be decided to elect these two members as proposed by His Excellency, they would enter the Executive perfectly free to exercise their judgment in discussing any questions that came before it, and leave it perfectly free to exercise their judgment in that House. He therefore thought it was well worthy of their consideration whether they should not accede to this proposal. He did not think that any legislation would be required to give effect to the proposal, as stated by the hon. member for the Gascoyne. His Excellency, under the Royal Instructions, had power to appoint any two persons as unofficial members of the Executive; they might be members of the Legislative Council, or they might not belong to the Legislative Council. But, so far as his reading and experience went, it would be a most anomalous thing for His Excellency to appoint as member of the Executive any person who had no seat in that House, and he did not suppose His Excellency would think of doing such a thing. To do so would be to appoint persons who would feel they had no responsibility cast upon them at all, whereas a member of that House appointed to a seat in the Executive would feel that he had a very serious responsibility.

MR. BROWN: Responsibility to whom?

MR. STEERE: Responsibility to this House.

MR. MARMION: Responsibility to his own conscience and to his constituents.

MR. STEERE, continuing his remarks, said he hoped hon. members would pause, and that they would come to the determination that it would be to the interest of the colony to accept the concession that had been offered to them. The only other question he intended alluding to that evening was the question of immigration. He had read the report of the Board, and he was very happy to find that the members of the Board had made the proposal which they had made for extending our system of immigration. He only regretted that this proposal did not emanate from them twelve months ago, when the House was in session last year. If it had, we should be in possession of a good many more laboring men than we had now. He had always felt, from the information he had, that it was

a great mistake to depend solely upon the nomination system for our immigrants. It was a very good system no doubt, so far as it went, but it did not supply the general wants of the labor market. These nominated immigrants came out here to their friends, and were not available for supplying the general requirements of the settlers throughout the colony. Moreover, he believed that since the system had been our main source of supply, not more than 25 per cent. of the immigrants who had been nominated had ever come out to the colony. He thought the Board had been somewhat misled in this matter. They had been under the impression that because a large number of persons had been nominated by friends in the colony, all those persons nominated had come out; but they had now found out that such was not the case, and the Board had made a very good recommendation, that the nomination system should be supplemented. He hoped the Council would agree to this recommendation, and that no time would be lost in inducing as large a number of suitable immigrants as possible to come out, for there could be no doubt that this question of labor was becoming a very serious one. He believed the want of labor was never felt so much as at the present time, and, as the colony was going to embark on further public works, it was absolutely necessary that no time should be lost in getting out as large a number of immigrants as we could induce to come out here.

MR. CROWTHER said that on the part of his constituents he could not allow this opportunity to pass without recording their appreciation of the good services which His Excellency had done to this colony while in England. They all felt sure, guided by past experience, that the welfare of Western Australia was the one sole object of His Excellency's life at the present moment, and that the value of the services he had been able to perform for the colony had without question done more good to the colony directly and indirectly than any services that could be rendered to the colony by any other individual within it. He would say no more on that point. There were one or two matters, however, which the hon. member for Gascoyne had just been speaking about which he

could not allow to pass. That hon. gentleman, some few years ago, was a red hot supporter of everything conducing to the prosperity, harmony, and progress of the Northern parts of the colony, but, he was very much afraid that since he had removed his residence to the Southern part of the colony the hon. member had become imbued with rather strong Southern sympathies, which he was afraid had not always done as much as one could wish to allay that feeling of irritation at the North to which reference had been made in the course of this debate. The causes of this irritation perhaps were not very serious in themselves, any more than a sandfly was an object of very serious trouble or annoyance by itself; but when they came to be surrounded with sandflies, and pretty nearly goaded to desperation with sandflies, it was a very different matter. And that was just what was the matter with the Champion Bay people. One thing after another had caused them so much irritation that they were driven almost to desperation, and the climax came in that unhappy despatch already referred to, which was the last straw that broke the camel's back. No doubt this feeling of irritation had been somewhat allayed, the wound had been partly healed, but not cured. But if they found, as the Governor told them in his speech, that the Legislature of the colony was fully alive to the just requirements of the district, they would find no one more ready to meet them half-way, no one more willing to help the people of the South than the Champion Bay people. With reference to the allusion in the Governor's speech to the financial position of the colony, he should have liked to have had some intimation as to the intention of the Government as regards reducing the surplus balance of £124,000 to £40,000 by the end of the year. He should also have wished to be informed whether it was proposed to relieve the country of some of its burdens in the shape of taxation. Some years ago that House increased the *ad valorem* duties by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. at one stroke, and placed a specific duty on many goods that up to that time had been on the free list, on the distinct understanding to his mind at the time that this was only done to enable them to bridge over a financial difficulty. When that difficulty increased

they put forward one of the most obnoxious taxes to his mind that ever existed in Western Australia: he alluded to the stamp tax. The Stamp Act itself had proved almost unworkable. It led men into pitfalls in every direction, and it was almost impossible in a country with a widely scattered population like this to carry out such an Act in its integrity; and, for his own part, he was sorry that the Governor had not informed them in his speech that it was the intention of the Government to do away with the Act altogether. They got about £4,000 a year out of it, it was true; but he was certain it did not compensate for the great trouble and annoyance and unjust penalties which arose out of the difficulties of carrying out such an Act in a rudimentary colony like this. He thought the debate on the address had taken a turn which it was hardly intended it should have taken, as regards the election of two members of the Executive, for if they read the Governor's speech they would see that His Excellency simply asked them whether they would have it or not, and that before we arrived at any decision upon that point His Excellency would tell them exactly what he intended doing, and in what position these two members would stand. Under the circumstances he thought it was scarcely wise on their part to come to any decision for or against the proposal, until they heard from the Governor again; and, for his own part, he must reserve his decision until he saw what position these two members were expected to occupy. If they were to hold their position anything like Mr. Steere did when he had a seat in the Executive, he should most unhesitatingly vote for the proposal. He could not conceive how any men with the same brains in the Executive could come to a different conclusion on any important subject from the conclusion which the same men with the same brains came to in that House. He could not conceive that any member (say) of the Audit Party would sanction an expenditure here that he would not sanction in the Executive, or approve of an expenditure in the Executive which he would not approve of in the House. He could not conceive how a member of the Board of Immigration could come to one conclusion at the sittings of that Board, and vote in a

different direction when the same subject came to be dealt with in that House. It appeared to him that these two unofficial members of the Executive were wanted simply to give the Executive the benefit of their advice, on matters of colonial interest with which the official members of the Executive might not be conversant from personal experience or personal knowledge; and, if that was the correct view as to these appointments, he for one should very warmly support the proposal. It was somewhat strange to his mind that the most strenuous supporters of this proposal were those who supported the present constitution, and who wished to make it work as everybody must want to see it work who had the true interest of the colony at heart; and, on the other hand, it was a somewhat strange thing that nearly all who opposed this proposal were those who wished to do away with the present constitution, and who therefore did not wish to see it work well. This coincidence had struck him as being somewhat peculiar. With regard to the immigration question, he was very glad indeed to see the decision arrived at by the Board. He might state from his own knowledge that if this decision had been arrived at last year, we should have had more nominated immigrants now in the colony, from the sheer fact that the expense of getting from their homes to London, and the ignorance and dread of country people at home as to the journey to London, and the expense again of getting to their destination when they landed in this colony, had debarred many from coming out that otherwise would have come out. He had no doubt that the proposals now made by the Board would have the effect of inducing many more people to emigrate to the colony. But, do what we liked in this matter, we must before long have a representative in England to look after our immigrants. Those who were sent out here now were, as a rule, men whom the local authorities, the magistrates and the police, were only too glad to get rid of. He hoped the Government, before the session closed, would consider the question of the appointment of an Immigration Agent for the colony at home. Speaking generally, however, he was pleased to record his satisfaction at the conduct of the Government as represented in His Excellency's



speech. He regarded the whole programme put before them as a progressive one and a conciliatory one, and he honestly believed that the Governor individually, and his Executive individually and collectively, were sincerely desirous of doing what they conceived was best for the common good.

MR. BURT said, touching the matter of immigration, it would seem, so far as he could make out at present, that some new departure was about to be taken, and he should therefore desire to record his view on this subject, and it was this—that, after giving much consideration for some years to the question, and seeing the manner in which it had been worked by one means and the other, he had come to the conclusion that we could do very little good indeed in the way of introducing the desired class of laborer unless we have an agent to attend to our business in England. It was only a few days ago he was told of three men nominated as ploughmen, and they had to be approved as ploughmen by the Crown Agents. These men when they came here acknowledged that they had never had a plough in their hands in their life. Possibly the Crown Agents never saw a ploughman, and if they did see one they would not know him. He could not help thinking that we were throwing away a great portion of our money, and would continue to throw it away, unless we appointed some person as he had stated in England, who understood the requirements of the colony, and who would make it his duty and business to see that the immigrants sent out were the class of persons which we wanted. A few years ago we had two or three lunatics sent—one he could speak positively to, for he was sent direct to the Asylum on landing; another was blind, another was so halt and lame that he could not pass the Invalid Depot under the Mount. These were specimens of what had been sent out to us as able-bodied immigrants, by the Crown Agents he believed, and it was quite time we had a change. One matter he had noticed with satisfaction in the Governor's speech as likely to bring the colony into considerable notice was the proposed lighthouse at Cape Leeuwin. This had been an intercolonial question for years past, and it would appear now, from this

mention of it in His Excellency's speech, that the lighthouse would be erected before long; and, in connection with this subject, he should like to state that he knew it to be the opinion of Captain Archdeacon, who was lately in command of the Admiralty Survey on our coast, and who was a very competent authority, that this lighthouse should not be placed on the mainland, but on an island very close to the Cape,—he had forgotten the name of the island, but no doubt if Captain Archdeacon's report were searched the name of the place would be discovered. He trusted our Government would make satisfactory arrangements with the other colonies as to throwing a great portion of the expense of this lighthouse upon their shoulders, for the lighthouse would not be nearly of so much benefit to this colony as it would be to the other colonies, with their great carrying steamers always going to and fro, whereas we had only our little coastal steamers. Touching the question of sending two members of that House to the Executive, he should like to say a word or two. It was said—so he had learnt on coming to the House this session—that there was some dissatisfaction amongst the Northern members or their constituents—he was not quite sure which; but it struck him that this dissatisfaction, if it existed at all, had been reduced to very narrow proportions indeed. The matters with respect to which dissatisfaction was supposed to exist were such mere trifles that it appeared to him they were investing the subject with an importance which it did not deserve. He should like to know what real cause of dissatisfaction they had. The House had not heard of them that evening, and, if the feeling existed at all, it must be upon very trivial points; and he was surprised to find the hon. member for Geraldton leading the van in expressing any doubt with regard to the proposal he was now touching upon—the appointment of two members of that House to the Executive—when the result of such appointments must be to make matters work more smoothly, by importing into the deliberations of the Executive a practical knowledge of the requirements of the country, which at present could not be expected to be possessed by men who had not been engaged in business, like some members of that

House, but who had been officials all their lives. He thought much of the feeling of irritation referred to would be avoided if this proposal were agreed to. It would be found that on many points which had from time to time come before that House, the firm stand which had been made by the members of the House had had a marked effect,—the Water Police expenditure, for instance. Attention to that subject had frequently been called by members on this side of the House, and strong protests were made when it was found that the Local Government had been allowing the Imperial authorities to “do” them, and to filch from them money which properly belonged to this colony and carry it to suspense account. This state of things might have gone on to the present day, had it not been pointed out by the elected members of that House, who insisted upon the just claims of the colony being recognised. And what did they find to be the result? After having very strongly indeed insisted against the colony being saddled with the cost of the Water Police, and even gone so far as to refuse to pass an Excess Bill embodying this expenditure, and so entering the strongest protest they could against it, what was the result? They found that Governor Broome had been successful in convincing the Imperial authorities that we were not going to pay the money. If the matter had been left to the official members of the Executive this money would have been paid long ago, and there would have been no more about it. But if they had two free and independent members from the elected side of the House in the Executive, such trouble and delay as had taken place in having such a matter as this settled would not be likely to happen. The thing would be pointed out plainly and a stand would be made, and he thought that in a matter of this kind the two unofficial members would be very likely indeed to lead the way. They had been told by his hon. friend on the right (Mr. Crowther) that the feeling of dissatisfaction at Champion Bay had been made up of a lot of small matters in themselves—[Mr. CROWTHER: Some of it.]—sandflies, he understood the hon. member to liken them to. Well, sir, these two unofficial members would rid the district of these sandflies. There would be no more of those little misunderstandings, those little mistakes, and this feeling of dissatisfaction would not crop up because of the actions of the Executive Government. For his own part he could not see any danger to the constitution or to anything else in this proposal, that two members of the Legislative Council should be appointed to the Executive. He certainly thought there was a great deal in one remark that had fallen from his hon. friend on the right, that it was chiefly those who had pledged themselves to strenuously advocate a change of constitution altogether, who seemed most to fear this proposal. They seemed to think, and perhaps rightly, that it would be against their interest, as it would tend to strengthen the present constitution, and thus make it last longer than they would like to see it last. But that it would be of benefit to the Government, and therefore to the country, he had no doubt at all. It had been said that we should have these two unofficial members coming down to that House and supporting the Executive. Supposing they did so; he did not suppose they would support the Executive if they thought the Executive was wrong; and, if they did support it, it would be because the Executive was right. It appeared to him that if that House found a measure supported by four official members and two non-official members of the Executive, they might take it for granted that there was a great deal of good to be said in favor of that measure. He certainly thought at present that he should be in favor of the proposal, and in the meantime he desired very much to see what further information would be given to the House by His Excellency on the subject. Viewing the matter as he did now, he should feel it his duty to the country to support His Excellency in the step which he contemplated taking.

Mr. MARMION said that after what had fallen from some hon. members in the course of this debate, he thought it behoved them all to express some opinion upon the principal points touched upon in the address. He thought they might congratulate themselves and congratulate the Governor and the colony generally upon the satisfactory state of the public finances; but, with other members who had referred to the subject, he was desir-

ous and somewhat anxious to see how it was proposed to reduce the surplus balance to the extent which His Excellency had hinted it would be reduced. He could hardly imagine at present how a surplus of £123,000 could possibly dwindle down in six months to the comparatively small amount of £40,000. Doubtless in this matter His Excellency had, if he erred at all, erred on the side of caution, as he had done before, and, in all probability, instead of having only £40,000 at the end of the year we shall have a very much larger sum. He did not recollect any hon. member in the course of this debate alluding to the satisfactory fact that the whole of the public works loan, as mentioned in His Excellency's speech, had been satisfactorily floated. For himself, he thought if there was any one point of policy more than another upon which His Excellency was to be congratulated it was upon the fact that he had the good sense to notice the tendency of public opinion in this particular direction and saw that it was the general desire that the whole of this loan should be raised at one and the same time, and thus enable us to start all these works simultaneously throughout the colony, if that should be considered desirable. If it had been known that this was the intention, he thought very little of the discontent and dissatisfaction which had shown itself at the North would have been shown and expressed in the warm manner it had been. He did not blame the inhabitants of the North, nor did he blame their representatives in that House, for starting up a little agitation and bringing to the front the claims of their district to priority in the expenditure of those large sums of money which were included in this loan. It must be remembered that it was the original intention of the Government to raise the loan in small instalments of £150,000, and one could easily conceive that the Northern people might think that unless they stirred themselves they might be left out in the cold, seeing that the Government at first only proposed to raise a portion of the loan.

MR. CROWTHER: May I ask the hon. member when the Governor ever expressed such an intention?

MR. MARMION said it was very generally understood throughout the

colony—and certainly at the North, when that "agile" member of the press referred to on a recent public occasion by a distinguished official devoted a leading article to the subject—it was generally understood that the original intention was to raise this loan by small instalments, and no doubt being under that impression the North thought it was time it should look after itself. He thought, if only for this one stroke of policy, the Governor was to be congratulated. He thought another matter for congratulation—and more especially was it a matter of congratulation for that House for the share it took in it—was the opening of the Eastern Railway to York. There was another announcement in His Excellency's speech which, though of great interest and importance, had hardly been touched upon in the course of this debate. He alluded to the negotiations with reference to the Albany-Beverley line, with reference to which the Governor told them that the contractor, Mr. Hordern, had informed him that he was successfully completing his arrangements, and that the works would be begun and continued as provided in the contract. There were many not only in that House, but also outside that House, who had entertained and expressed the opinion that these works would never be carried to a successful issue, and he was very glad to hear the announcement made on the subject in His Excellency's speech. He was also pleased to hear that some encouraging intelligence had been received with reference to the other land grant railway project, the Geraldton line,—a most important work, and one which would do more to smooth away any little feeling of dissatisfaction or discontent which occasionally arose at the North than anything. He was also gratified to hear that the Northern telegraph line was progressing satisfactorily. His Excellency said he trusted it might be found possible to carry this line on to Derby without delay. He cordially agreed with His Excellency. He hoped, if the question of priority in the expenditure of the loan money came before the House, that this necessary and useful work would take a first position. With reference to the proposal to deal with the Land Regulations, he should be most anxious to see, what he presumed they

would see, a memorandum from the Commissioner of Crown Lands setting forth his views on this important question. He felt sure the subject was one to which every hon. member would give that attention which its importance entitled it to. Allusion was also made in the speech to another very important subject, the extension of our territory in the direction of Cambridge Gulf. He trusted that before the session closed, the House might be in possession of information which would materially affect the future of this particular portion of our territory,—he alluded to the possible discovery of an alluvial goldfield. Many hon. members had already referred to the question of immigration, but, possibly, as he was a member of the Board, he might be permitted to add a few words. He could hardly coincide with the disappointment expressed by the hon. member Mr. Steere, when the hon. member expressed his regret that the proposals now made by the Board were not put forward last year. He would remind the hon. member that events marched rapidly in these days, and that this colony during the last twelve months had shown signs of a healthy vitality and a rate of progress not thought of a few years ago, and that we were now looking forward to such advancement as we did not then look forward to. If the Board of Immigration last year had recommended a large expenditure upon a scheme of any magnitude, he scarcely imagined the House would have been inclined to have coincided with the Board. But the departure now recommended by the Board was, he thought, a necessary one. He did not altogether agree with those who said that the result of the nominated system had been disappointing. He thought, if they took into consideration that there had been more immigrants by three times introduced into the colony from Europe under this system since the Board had been established than had been for some years before, it could not be said that the system had acted unsatisfactorily. With reference to increased expenditure, he would remind hon. members that the Board was placed in a position of responsibility, and he thought the Board could hardly be blamed for carefully watching the expenditure of the public funds placed at its disposal, and

not be too lavish. Up to the present we had been paying the whole of the passage money of immigrants, and in some instances the Board had assisted them to get from their homes to the port of embarkation, and also in some instances assisted them to reach their destination after they landed in the colony. And now it was proposed to add to this very liberal expenditure the further expense attendant upon incurring the responsibility of the whole of the cost of conveying immigrants from their homes to the port of shipment in England, providing accommodation for them on their arrival here, and meeting the further expense of sending them to any part of the colony. The result would be, that, whereas under the system in operation up to now the cost per head had been £16 or £17, the cost per head under the new arrangement would in very many instances amount to from £20 to £25 per head. Hon. members would therefore see that the Board was justified in hesitating to commit the colony to this additional expense; and it was only when they found that there was still a drawback to the success of our immigration scheme that the Board saw they would be justified in the eyes of the Government and of the Legislature in recommending this increased expenditure. With regard to the question of taxation, which some hon. members had alluded to, it would probably be the duty of that Council, when it was placed in possession of the proposals of the Government as to the expenditure of the surplus revenue, to reconsider the whole question of taxation. It certainly appeared to him that the time for reducing taxation was when the finances of the colony were flourishing, and possibly it might be found that the burden of taxation might be reduced now; if so, he thought it would be their duty to endeavor to do so. With regard to the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, he believed the Commission was doing its best to ensure a proper representation of the products and resources of the colony, but, as a member of that Commission, he must express some slight regret at the apathy displayed by the colonists generally. He believed it was found by the Commission that the greater part of the exhibits had to be purchased and paid for. There did not appear to

be that patriotic spirit displayed which one would have expected when an opportunity like this occurred for showing in the Metropolis of the World the resources of the colony. He thought it must be gratifying to hon. members that we were at present honored by a visit from the eminent marine engineer Sir John Coode. He could only say, speaking feelingly on the subject, that he trusted Sir John Coode's researches whilst here might be such as will ultimately tend to the benefit, welfare, and progress of the colony, and that the decision arrived at would be one which would be viewed with satisfaction by the members of that House. With reference to the question of policy indicated by the Governor in the opening paragraphs of his speech,—the appointment of two members of that House to a seat in the Executive, he might say it was only that evening that he remarked that the proposal was not intended to apply exclusively to the elected members. He now found on reading the paragraph that these members need not necessarily belong to the elected side of the House, but that they possibly may be selected from among the nominee members. This he did not think had been generally understood, and he thought it well to draw attention to it. He might say that he had given the matter a great deal of consideration, and had very carefully weighed what in his mind were the arguments, strong in some respects, against the proposal, and in other respects strongly in favor of it; and he might say that the conclusion he had arrived at was that it could not possibly do any harm, and that it probably might do a deal of good. At present, and before they had any further communication from His Excellency on the subject, he did not intend to speak at any length upon it. He thought the information that would be conveyed to them in His Excellency's message would possibly enlighten hon. members—it certainly would enlighten him—as to what were to be the duties and responsibilities of those who might be elected. If he found, on consideration of that message, that these duties were not such as were likely to detract in any way from the independence of members—which he almost felt sure they would not do—and that the position was such that it might be held

by any member of that House without neglecting his duty to his constituents and to his own conscience, he should warmly support the proposal. He could not see, in what had fallen from the hon. member for the Gascoyne, what possible harm could arise from it. They had now in that House many members occupying positions on other boards of advice—the Finance Committee, the Immigration Board, the Central Board of Education, the Scab in Sheep Board, and others; and yet he did not find that these gentlemen were any the less respected, or that their influence in that House was thereby in any way lessened, because they had taken upon themselves these honorary duties of assisting the Government of the colony in carrying out their duties to the public. Nor could he see what possible harm could arise from this other proposal. It had struck him also as a suspicious circumstance that the opposition to this proposal came from those who were opposed to the existing constitution, and from that section of the press which had always done its level best to prevent this constitution from doing that good service which it had done in spite of all opposition. When they found that section of the press telling them that this proposal could not possibly do other than lead to mischief and interfere with the independence of that House, he thought they might very fairly arrive at the conclusion that there certainly must be something good in it. He must say that he viewed it to a very great extent in that light; and he felt sure if that section of the press considered it was likely to hasten the end of the present constitution, they would write it up to the skies; and it was because they were of opinion, whether rightly or wrongly was not for him to say, that it would possibly prolong the existence of the present constitution that they were so bitterly opposed to it. In conclusion, he could only add that he joined His Excellency in the belief expressed in the last paragraph of his speech "that the day is at hand when Western Australia will be remarkable, not only for the magnitude of her territory, but for her real value and importance as a dependency of the Empire, and as a member of England's Australian family of States."

MR. T. BURGESS said he had not intended taking any part in the debate, had it not taken a turn which he did not expect it would have taken. For his own part he approved very much of this idea of the Governor in asking that House to nominate two of its members to hold seats in the Executive Council. It was unnecessary for him to travel over the ground that had been already travelled by other speakers, and he would therefore content himself by saying that he quite approved of the idea. With regard to what had been said as to the dissatisfaction at Geraldton, he thought it was his duty, as a resident of that district, to say a few words. The hon. member for Geraldton in his remarks on this subject the other day did not perhaps go as far as he might have done; therefore he thought it was necessary he should strengthen the hon. member's hands. Dissatisfaction undoubtedly did exist, for the people felt that they had not been fairly treated so far as public expenditure was concerned. No doubt they had some share of the public expenditure, but the people felt that there were other works which the district stood very much in need of, and a public meeting was called to consider the question. That meeting resulted in some very important resolutions being adopted, which resolutions asked the Government to take in hand certain public works which in the opinion of the meeting and of the district generally were very much required; and the people were much hurt at the reply they received from the Government to those resolutions. It was a very unfortunate reply; but the expression of sympathy which the Governor had given since had somewhat removed the feeling of dissatisfaction, but not altogether. The people attached considerable importance to the local works referred to, and especially to the request that Sir John Coode should, while in the colony, visit the district. They were consequently very much disappointed at the curt reply which they received; but he trusted, if that question came before the House—the question of Sir John Coode visiting Geraldton—that hon. members generally would approve of the idea, so that the harbor might be reported upon by a competent authority. Geraldton might not be the most important port in

the colony, but it was second or third in importance, and it was a harbor that certainly required improving. It would be necessary either to extend the present jetty or to build a new one; and before a large expenditure like that was incurred it was very desirable that some reliable opinion should be obtained. He assured the House that the feeling of dissatisfaction felt by the settlers and expressed by the hon. member for the district was not a myth. It had existence still, although partially allayed. With regard to the question of immigration, there was a very great want of labor in the country districts, and he hoped that the suggestion of the Immigration Board would have the effect of improving our position as regards this labor question. The class of men we had been getting out in the past had not on the whole proved satisfactory, and it appeared to him that an Agent-General was very much required to represent the colony in England, and he hoped that at the proper time the Council would take steps in that direction. In conclusion, he could only express a hope that their deliberations would be characterised by a liberal and progressive spirit, in the interests of the whole colony and not of any particular part of the colony. There were only a few new bills promised for their consideration, and in that case hon. members would have more time to carefully and deliberately consider the other very important matters that would come before them during the session.

MR. GRANT said it had been stated that the feeling of dissatisfaction at the North was only the irritation that a few sandflies would cause, but he begged to intimate very plainly that it was no such thing, and that the cry for separation was much stronger than the southern people imagined. The little mistakes made by the Government from time to time no doubt did give rise to a feeling of irritation, which might pass away again, but the feeling in favor of separation was much more deep-rooted, and was shared in by all classes of the people. The very uncourteous reply that came back from Perth to certain resolutions representing the public wants of the district did certainly cause a great deal of irritation, and, though that irritation had since been to some extent re-

moved, yet he assured them separation was only slumbering. This was shown at the late election, when the successful candidate, after pledging himself not to oppose separation, was elected by a two-fold majority over one of the most popular men in the district, Mr. Maley. If the conciliatory attitude of Governor Broome had not allayed the irritation felt in the district, and, had the agitation continued, hon. members might depend upon it the rents of the settlers of the district would not have been paid. He thought no one looking at the subject in a broad light, and without prejudice one way or other, could deny that there was ground for this dissatisfaction, for, there was no mistake about it, the district had not received that consideration which its importance entitled it to. The exports of their ports amounted to something like two-thirds of the exports of the whole colony as regards that staple product of the colony, wool; and the North was quite justified in looking forward to self-government, and to Federation with the other colonies. With regard to the election of two members to the Executive, he considered it would weaken the power of that House very much, and, more than that, he did not think he would be doing his duty to his constituents if he were to vote for it, or anything else of the kind. It was very possible that the members who might be appointed to these seats might be loyal and true and all that; but they might be men with strong proclivities in favor of Perth and Fremantle, and the South generally, and the North would get none of their favors. He was glad to find from the Governor's speech that there was a prospect of the telegraph being carried on to Derby, and that the importance of the Kimberley district was beginning to be recognised. There was very little doubt in his own mind that gold would be discovered there yet—there was every reason to believe it—and unless the district was placed in direct communication with the seat of Government, what would be the result? Men would go there from the other colonies, who had been accustomed to live under free institutions, and Kimberley would fly from our possession. We might bid good-bye to it. He thought we ought to take immediate steps to prevent such a thing happening. He was glad to hear

that the land regulations of the colony would come under their consideration this session. It was about time they were attended to, in the interests of the country at large. As to the Northern districts they wanted a longer tenure, so as to encourage people to improve their lands. The whole subject was one that deserved the greatest attention. As to the coming Exhibition in London, he was somewhat sorry that it was to be held at all, or, rather, that any attempt should have been made to have this colony represented at it, for he felt that we were in a very poor position indeed to compete with the other Australian colonies in the eyes of outsiders. He was very much afraid, if he was the gentleman appointed to represent this colony at the Exhibition, he should be very much ashamed of the very paltry show that Western Australia was likely to make, side by side with the other colonies. We might perhaps have a good show of timber, but our wools would look very poor indeed beside the exhibits of the other Australian courts, and he thought himself it would have been better if we had not gone to any expense in connection with this Exhibition, whereas he was very much afraid it was going to be a very costly affair.

Mr. SHENTON said he had listened with gratification to the speech with which His Excellency had opened the session, and which called attention to the continued prosperity of the colony. As to the question of Separation, to which reference had been made in the course of the debate, he thought a great deal of this cry about separation emanated from the brain of the hon. member for Newmearra. He believed that so long as the people of the North found their requirements supplied and their wants attended to, they would rest quite satisfied with the present order of things. He was very much afraid that what troubled the hon. member was not so much the question of the separation of the colony as his being himself separated from the hon. members of that House. But he hoped the hon. member, before he returned to Newmearra would find that all the reasonable wants of his constituents would be attended to. He was glad to find from the Governor's speech that Her Majesty's Government had at last recognised the

necessity of taking steps towards the fortification of Albany. He thought that Council should meet this proposal so far as lay in its power, for he understood that this colony was only to be called upon in proportion to its population to contribute towards the expense. The financial position of the colony still looked encouraging, and although with other hon. members he was anxious to see how it was proposed to expend such a large amount of the surplus balance as would reduce it to £40,000 at the end of the year, he should be sorry to see the balance reduced to less than £50,000, to meet any contingencies that might arise. Some hon. members had expressed a hope that some steps would be taken to reduce taxation; but he thought that in a matter of this kind we should be cautious. They were aware that when they were about to float their previous loan and the tariff was increased so as to bring in more taxation, they were aware that in the event of a further loan being required it was the impression that the Government would be compelled to resort to increased taxation; but they found that they had been quite able to have another loan, and a very large loan without increasing the taxation in any way, which he thought was a matter for congratulation. If the revenue continued to increase as it had done, he should be glad to join with those who advocated a reduction of taxation, and to endeavor to lessen the burden of taxation where it now pressed most heavily. But at present he thought they ought to congratulate themselves that they were able to borrow more money without at the same time being called upon to increase the public taxation in order to meet our increasing liabilities. Although our last loan perhaps did not realise such a very high price as some of them had expected; still, he thought, when we came to receive the Crown Agents' despatch giving full particulars of the conditions under which the loan was floated, it would be found that the result was more satisfactory than at present it appeared to have been, especially when they bore in mind that a neighboring colony, in view of the unsettled state of affairs, actually had to withdraw its loan. The opening of the Eastern Railway to York was of course a gratifying event in the

history of the colony, and could not fail to have a beneficial influence upon the districts more immediately interested. He thought that one of the most important measures that would be brought before them this session would be the revision of the land regulations. The future prosperity of the colony depended to a great extent upon the new regulations which, in all probability, the House would agree upon for recommendation to the Secretary of State. In certain cases no doubt greater concessions must be given to land owners; at the same time it would be necessary to protect the land revenue as far as lay in their power without inflicting any hardship upon the *bona fide* settler. The suggestion put forward by the Board of Immigration would, he thought, do away a great deal with the present drawbacks to the satisfactory working of our immigration system. More people would be sure to come out here if we made it easier for them to do so. One great drawback of the present system was there being no depôts at Perth or Fremantle and at Champion Bay, where immigrants might be accommodated on their arrival, but he thought this drawback might easily be remedied in view of the Imperial buildings about to be transferred to the Local Government. He thought the Council might congratulate itself upon the able manner in which the Governor had carried out the negotiations with the Imperial Government for the transfer of the Convict Establishment, and especially with reference to the settlement of that old-standing dispute as to the Water Police claims. Hon. members would have an opportunity of reading the papers on the subject, and, as one of the members of the Commission, he would state that he thought we could not do better than accept the offer made to us. The erection of a lighthouse at Cape Leeuwin would be of great service not only to the shipping interests of this colony but also to the shipping trade of all these Australian colonies, and he presumed it would be erected by each colony contributing its share according to its population. With reference to the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, he thought it would prove advantageous to this colony, especially if we succeeded in making a good show of our timbers. There was no doubt, in his



mind, that there was a great future in store for our timber industry, and if we made a good show at this Exhibition it must have a beneficial result. It was gratifying to find that the colony would be represented at the Exhibition by the Colonial Secretary, who had successfully represented us at former Exhibitions, both in Melbourne and Sydney, where he did his utmost to further the interests of the colony. Sir John Coode had arrived, and they all looked forward with great interest to the report which that eminent authority would present upon the long-vexed question of harbor improvements at or near the port of Fremantle, and which it was to be hoped would put an end to that much disputed point. The Works and Railways Department, the Governor told them, had been reorganised, as suggested by the House last session, and he was sure that those now at the head of the department would recognise the fact that our railways were not made for the convenience of the department but for the convenience of the public. If they did recognise this fact, they would find that our railways would be in a better position. He also hoped that the great drawback and inconvenience now felt from the want of trucks would be removed. He believed if the present drawbacks were done away with, we should find that the traffic on the Eastern Railway would exceed our most sanguine expectations. He was glad to find that a proposition was likely to be made by the Orient Company with a view to their steamers calling here; and, if the proposals which the company made were anything within reason, he hoped hon. members would be disposed to deal liberally with the company, in inducing them to call at Fremantle. He hoped some definite offer would be made before the present session closed, and a satisfactory decision arrived at. He was sure if we could only induce the company's steamers to call here, it would do more to bring immigrants to the colony than any other scheme. Before concluding, he would refer as shortly as possible to the suggestion made by the Governor as to appointing two members of the House to seats in the Executive. In making that proposition to the House he was sure His Excellency was simply actuated by a desire to make the present constitution as

popular as he could in the eyes of the country. Objections had been made because the official members of the Executive, being sometimes strangers to the colony and having no opportunity of becoming practically acquainted with its wants, were not always in a position to give the Governor the best advice, and he thought it would be generally admitted that some of the members of that House, men of business capacity and practically aware of the country's requirements, might be able to give the Governor and the Executive much useful information. He should not say any more on the subject at present, until the promised papers on the subject were sent down, when hon. members would have an opportunity of thoroughly explaining their views on the subject. In conclusion, he could only express a hope that the result of their labors during the session they were now entering upon would be such as would be productive of measures calculated to lead to an increased state of prosperity.

Mr. PARKER said he had not intended inflicting any remarks upon the House, upon the address in reply, but for the fact that hon. members had somewhat prominently brought up the Reform party in connection with one part of the Governor's programme. He referred to that portion of the speech relating to the proposal to appoint two members of that House to seats in the Executive. One hon. member said it was a suspicious thing that those who were advocates of Responsible Government were those who were most opposed to this change. He did not know what there was suspicious about it, but it certainly was a remarkable thing that in this instance the members of the Reform party were the only members who appeared to have any idea of what was due to the constitution. The reformers were the only people who were prepared to act in a constitutional manner, and in accordance with constitutional principles in this matter. Why was this proposal put forward at all at the present moment? Everything was working smoothly just now between the Executive and Legislative Councils. The constitution never worked better than it was working under the present Governor. Then why was this change put forward now? One hon. member told them it would tend to make

the constitution work more smoothly still. Another hon. member said it would promote harmony and good feeling. Was there not harmony and good feeling in that House now? He was not aware that they did not work harmoniously together. He had yet to learn that they did not work harmoniously also with the Executive. Why then this change? Simply, apparently, because some pressure had been brought to bear upon the Governor, and His Excellency thought it would be a popular move. He believed His Excellency brought it forward solely under that belief. But he had no hesitation in informing the Executive and in informing the Governor that it was not a popular move, and, if the country were polled on the subject, nine-tenths of the people would poll against it. He was a constitutionalist himself. Although he might aspire to hold a seat on the Executive bench, he desired to do so in a legitimate way. He did not wish to get there by a side wind. He did not wish to get there and be responsible to no one when he got there. He did not wish to get into the Executive, and hear the discussions amongst the members of that body,—he did not wish to get behind the scenes, and then to come back to that House and oppose the members of the Executive. He did not wish to be placed in that false position. Whenever he came to occupy a seat in the Executive, he would take care that he did so in a constitutional and legitimate manner; and, until he was able to do that, he would remain as he was, a free and independent member of that House. As to the opposition to this proposed change coming from the advocates of reform, he would tell them plainly that he was not prepared to do anything further in the way of tinkering the present constitution. So long as the present form of Government remained he was prepared to give it a loyal support, and no one could say that either he nor those who were acting with him in this matter had not given the constitution a loyal support, and done all they could to make it work smoothly and harmoniously and well. He was still prepared to do his utmost to make it work harmoniously while it lasted; but, at the same time, he should use every legitimate measure he could to bring about self-govern-

ment. What he said was that there was no occasion for the change now proposed; and it would be his duty to object to any change in the constitution short of that radical change which involved the introduction of a system of ministerial responsibility. But the advocates of the change proposed wanted the power without the responsibility. They wanted to get into the Executive, but were frightened to assume the responsibilities that ought to attach to a member of the Executive Government. Why should hon. members who called themselves constitutionalists and conservatives want to act in this unconstitutional manner? He was too much of a true conservative himself, reformer as he was, to agree to this radical change in the constitution by unconstitutional means. He was a staunch advocate of self-government, and when he said that he said no more than the staunchest Conservative in England would do. Under the present constitution of Western Australia the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government were distinct and clearly defined bodies; one being responsible to the Crown and the other responsible to the people. He had also been under the impression that the Constitution which gave us this representative form of Government could not be changed without the consent of the Legislature and without the consent of the people. Several changes had been made in the constitution since its first introduction, but they were all done by an Act of the Legislature. It was a well-known constitutional principle that when any change in the constitution was contemplated the proposal should be first submitted for the approval of the people who were to be governed by that constitution. But in this case it was proposed to effect a change in the constitution without reference whatever to the people. And what was the nature of the change which it was sought to bring about? It was proposed to fuse two members of the Legislative Council with the Executive body. It was proposed to recruit the Executive body—a body responsible to the Crown—from amongst the members of the Legislative body, who were not responsible to the Crown but to the people. If the Governor, as was contended by the supporters of this change, could of his own mere motion convert

two of the members of that House into Executive officers, what was to prevent his converting all of them in the same way, and so snuffing out the Legislative Council altogether? If the idea was to make matters work smoothly and harmoniously between the Executive and the Legislature, why should not His Excellency fuse them all into one body. Let them all meet, a happy family, at Government House; come there once a year to hear the Governor's speech; agree to everything placed before them *sub silentio* (as the reporters said), and depart in peace. If the Governor could do this, if of his own mere motion he could make Executive councillors of any two members amongst them, why should he not make Executive councillors of them all. If it was within the province of the Governor to alter the constitution in this way, of his own mere motion, all he could say was the constitution itself was a farce. If a radical change like this could be carried out quietly without an appeal to the country, then the people were utterly deceived as to their constitutional rights and privileges. Up to the present they had been laboring under the belief that they were living under a representative constitution, whereas it would appear that in reality they were living, not under a "mild despotism," but under a system of despotism of the grossest kind. If by a mere stroke of his pen the Governor could abolish the Legislature and turn its members into Executive officers, why, it seemed to him, we were living under the most despotic form of Government he could imagine. For his own part he was too much of a conservative to assent to such a change without lifting his voice against it. He knew better what was due to the constitution itself than to submit tamely to its being abused in this way. It was not necessary that he should, at this stage, go into the question fully, and he should not have spoken on it at all had not some hon. members thought it proper to twit the Reform party as being the party most strenuously opposed to the proposed change. The hon. member Mr. Steere told them that these unofficial members of the Executive would be entirely independent of the Government. The hon. member said he could tell them that from his own experi-

ence. But, with all due deference to the hon. gentleman, he would remind him that he only occupied a seat in the Executive for about two months, so that his own experience of the position could not be large, and such limited experience as the hon. gentleman did have was confined to a period when that House was in session, and perhaps the hon. gentleman was not behind the scenes to any great extent. If as members of that House they were also to join and take part in all the discussions of the Executive, and, afterwards, come down to the House and oppose the Government,—if that was what these two unofficial members were expected to do, or allowed to do, he knew of nothing calculated to bring the Executive Government more into disrepute, or at any rate that would conduce more to that end. They had it on the greatest authority that a house divided against itself could not stand; and he could not think of anything calculated so much to bring the Executive of their colony into that unfortunate position than to have its members divided among themselves. One of the accepted ideas as to the present Executive was that they worked together as a whole, and that in the event of any difference of opinion the minority were loyally bound to the decisions of the majority, so that when they came into that House they presented a united front. This was the principle upon which every Ministry and every Executive was worked, and, without it, no Government could hope to make any stand, or to accomplish any good work or useful legislation. It was said that these two unofficial members would be responsible to the Legislature. He should be very glad to learn in what way they would be responsible to the Legislature. As members of the Executive they would meet in secret conclave, and were bound under an oath not to divulge what was done at these Executive meetings. How then could they be made answerable to that House for their actions or for their sayings? Nobody could question them, and, if they were questioned, they dare not answer. How then could they be held responsible to the House? The members of a Ministry, under constitutional Government, as in England, could be questioned in the House of Commons, and judged accordingly; but, if the Executive

here introduced some important measure upon which there might be wide differences of opinion, nobody could question these two unofficial members of the Executive as to their part in the matter: nobody could bring them to account. The House would not think of making scapegoats of these two members, or to condemn them in any way, for it might be that their action in the Executive was such as, if it could be divulged, would be found to be quite in harmony with the feeling of the majority in that House. On the other hand, their action as members of the Executive might have been such as to have been entirely opposed to the views of the majority in the House, but the House could not take them to task for it, as it would be quite in the dark as to what view they had taken of the matter in the Executive. It was therefore absurd to say that these two members would be responsible to the Legislature. It seemed to him that they were asked to turn two of their members into that Executive to be responsible to nobody, and who would be absolutely without responsibility. That was such a grossly illogical proposition, such a ridiculously illogical change, that for his own part he could not imagine how any member who had any idea of what was due to constitutionalism could ever think of voting for it.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. M. Fraser) said, if no other member intended rising, he should like to make a few remarks. He thought himself it was a pity that hon. members at this stage should have addressed themselves to this question at such length and with such earnestness. There was really nothing yet before the House to call forth these addresses, and those who spoke on the subject were in the position of a preacher speaking without a text, or of a mathematician attempting to solve a problem before it was set. Hon. members were aware that His Excellency proposed to address the House on the subject by message—they were told so by the Governor in his Speech—and that the whole question would be placed before them, with His Excellency's own views on the subject. He therefore thought it was premature at this stage to discuss the proposition at all, and he thought it would have been better if

those hon. members who, like the hon. member for Perth, had spoken with so much vehemence on the subject, had restrained themselves until they had at any rate a text to preach upon. He did not intend at present to refer to any other matter touched upon in the course of the debate; ample opportunity would be given them for discussing all these matters in due course. He only hoped, in conclusion, that their deliberations would be attended with good to the colony, and that the feeling of unanimity which had generally characterised the debate upon the Governor's address would also characterise all their proceedings, throughout the session.

The question was then put—That the report as read be adopted—which was agreed to; and it was resolved that the Address-in-Reply be presented to His Excellency on July 28th.

The House adjourned at a quarter-past ten o'clock, p.m.

## LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,

*Monday, 27th July, 1885.*

Eastern Railway Loan: Unexpended balance—Free Passes on Railways to Members of the Legislative Council—Message (No. 1): Appointment of two Unofficial Members of the Executive Council—Message (No. 2): Defence of King George's Sound and Fremantle—Message (No. 3): Land Regulations—Message (No. 4): Indemnification for War Losses—Message (No. 5): Miss Barlee's proposal for Training Home for Girls—Message (No. 6): Mr. Lempriere's proposal for the establishment of Ostrich Farming—Message (No. 7): Forwarding report of Sanitary Commission—Message (No. 8): Proposal of Mr. Geo. Smith, of Queensland, for the establishment of the Sugar Industry—Message (No. 9): Water-Boring, Eucla District—Law and Parliamentary Committee: Appointment of Unofficial Member—Explosives Bill: first reading—Brands Act Amendment Bill: second reading—Bush Fires Bill: second reading—Excess Bill, 1884: second reading—Appointment of Chairman of Committees—Dog Act Amendment Bill: in committee—Adjournment.

THE SPEAKER took the Chair at seven o'clock, p.m.

PRAYERS.