

sire or intention that evening to inflict upon the House his views upon the relative merits of this or that form of Government; but he did think it would be better for all concerned to get rid of the present state of uncertainty as to the future form of Government, so as to allow the public mind freedom to deal with subjects of paramount importance to the colony. With regard to the question of Harbor Works, no doubt that was a question that would be debated very seriously if not very bitterly before they separated. He would therefore refrain from saying any more than this: he hoped the House would most seriously consider the question of whether it would be wise, whether it would be expedient, for us under any circumstances—much less at the present juncture, at this period of transition, with all its uncertainties—to think of entering the money market and of imposing further burdens upon our present limited population.

MR. FORREST moved the adjournment of the debate until Monday evening.

The motion was agreed to.

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

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,

Monday, 27th June, 1887.

Excess Bill, 1886: first reading—Gold Duty Repeal Bill: first reading—Magistrates Jurisdiction Bill: first reading—Jury Act Amendment Bill: first reading—Representation of the Kimberley District—Address-in-Reply: Adjourned Debate—Adjournment.

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

PRAYERS.

EXCESS BILL, 1886.

Read a first time.

GOLD DUTY (REPEAL) BILL.

Read a first time.

MAGISTRATES JURISDICTION BILL.

Read a first time.

JURY ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

Read a first time.

REPRESENTATION OF THE KIMBERLEY DISTRICT.

MR. FORREST, in accordance with notice, moved that an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, praying that he will be pleased to introduce a bill at the present session of the Council to amend the Constitution Act, by dividing the Kimberley District into two constituencies, to be called East and West Kimberley, and giving one member for each division. The hon. member said he rose to move the address with a great deal of diffidence, because he was well aware that on Monday next it was proposed to move a resolution in favor of giving the colony Responsible Government. At the same time, as they were not aware yet upon what terms they should get that form of Government, or whether many of them, in the event of a dissolution and an appeal to the country, would again have a seat in that House, he thought it better to move this resolution at the present time. In asking for this increased representation of the Kimberley District, he might state that the population of the district, in round numbers, now amounted to about 2,000—which, he believed, was even larger than the adjoining district. The number of sheep in the district was very close upon 100,000, and the number of cattle about 20,000. During the last five years the district had paid to Treasury in rents alone—he was alluding to the rents paid by the squatters—a sum of £95,293; while the revenue from the sale of town lands had reached a sum of about £20,000. Hon. members were aware that lately a great many auriferous reefs had been taken up in the district; and, no doubt, before long they might expect a population there, not of 2,000 but of 20,000. He might also say that before the session closed he might perhaps ask that a bill should be introduced for the construction of a rail-

way to these goldfields, and a telegraph line. He was afraid that some of his hon. friends on that side of the House would oppose this address in favor of increasing the representation of the district, but he hoped they would not press their opposition, but consent to the granting of this act of justice towards this important portion of the colony. He was sure, if they did so, the far North would appreciate it, and that the result would be that instead of the district as at present returning one member who was entirely in favor of Responsible Government, it would return two.

MR. MCRAE seconded the address.

MR. PARKER said that in view of the fact that already there appeared on the Notice Paper a resolution affirming the desirability of a radical change in the Constitution—the adoption, in fact, of another Constitution—it was obvious that it would be inadvisable, pending the result of that motion, to attempt to tinker in any way with the present Constitution. He would therefore suggest to the hon. member for Kimberley the desirability of postponing this motion until after the debate upon the larger question of the introduction of Responsible Government. Under the circumstances he would now move that the debate be adjourned until Thursday, July 7th.

MR. MARMION objected to the proposed adjournment. He could see no reason why, although the present Constitution had been described by some hon. members in that House as being in an effete condition, hon. members were not as capable that evening of dealing with this question as they might be at any future time. It appeared to him that the hon. member who had moved the adjournment of the debate desired to cast a slur upon the present Constitution, so that when that most brilliant Constitution of which the hon. member himself would probably be the most conspicuous ornament, came to be introduced, the hon. member should have the honor and glory of giving Kimberley, not one additional member, but probably more than one. For his own part, he thought there was quite enough vitality left in the present Constitution to enable them to do full justice to the Kimberley District. There could be no doubt that the district was entitled to additional representation; and, if that

was the case, why should they, in common fairness to the district, postpone the consideration of this motion, in order to give the hon. member for Perth an opportunity—provided the hon. member's resolution in favor of the adoption of Responsible Government be carried—of saying that, the introduction of Responsible Government having been decided upon, there would be no necessity now for dealing with the representation of Kimberley or any other district. He thought it was the duty of every hon. member, while there was a spark of life left in the existing Constitution, to get as much good out of it as they could, instead of waiting for the introduction of another Constitution. He thought if many hon. members had done their duty under the present form of Government instead of waiting for that other form of Government which they were hankering after, there would have been less dissatisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the colony than at present existed with the present Constitution. There had been too much of this sort of thing. There was no reason whatever, no valid reason, why they should not proceed with the consideration of this question that evening, and do their duty towards this important portion of our territory. He hoped hon. members would not be afraid to do an act of justice under the Constitution which we now enjoyed, although some hon. members might be of opinion that it was in a moribund state, and on its deathbed. Some hon. members might think it would be useless to agree to this address, in view of the approaching changes; but he could not see that at all. It was not yet by any means a settled question that they might not have another meeting under the existing Constitution, even although the resolution in favor of Responsible Government should be carried. It seemed to him absolutely necessary and desirable that they should have another meeting under the existing Constitution—he would not further labor that point at present—and, if so, why should not Kimberley have its due and proper share of representation. If it was considered by that Council that Kimberley, from its influence, its population, and the revenue we derived from it, was entitled to increased representation; why

should they not have that additional representative present in the House to vote upon the larger question of self-government. He asked hon. members to show that, while they continued to work under the present Constitution, they were not afraid to do their duty under it, and that they were not all of them, at all events, of opinion that the existing Constitution was in an effete condition. He asked hon. members to have the courage to say "Yea" or "Nay" to the motion put forward by the representative of the district, and not to postpone it.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. Sir M. Fraser) would like to remind the hon. member who had moved the adoption of this address, and also other hon. members, that, provided this matter of the representation of Kimberley was going to be considered this session, it would also be necessary to consider the adjustment of the representation of the colony generally. The population had increased, not only in the Kimberley District, but increased also very considerably in the Southern portions of the colony. Hon. members would also bear in mind that, when they considered the question of increased representation for the North a few years ago, the hon. baronet the member for Plantagenet urged with considerable force that that huge district was considerably under-represented in that House, by one member. He would advise hon. members to consider whether the time was opportune, seeing what had been hinted at by the hon. member for Perth, as to the House being pledged to consider a very noted and important constitutional question next week—whether the time was opportune at the present moment to consider the question of the readjustment of representation, throughout the whole of the colony.

MR. HENSMAN ventured to think that this was a question which it would be undesirable to divide upon that evening. He thought it would be much better to postpone it, for some time at all events. The position of affairs was this: for the first time, they had this session two members for the North; last session there was only one member for the whole of that large district. [MR. McRAE: Two members.] At all events,

they had an extra member for the first time this session, and he thought they would be going a little too fast if they were now, without due consideration, to give another member to that district. From the point of view of the hon. member for Fremantle, it did not appear to him that the party which that hon. member represented would suffer much from the delay, because the extra member whom they now had was strongly in favor of Responsible Government, and, if the present motion were carried, and they had another member, the probability was that there would be two members in favor of Responsible Government, in lieu of one. He quite agreed with what had been said by the Colonial Secretary, that if they were going into this question of representation they ought to consider the whole question, in reference to the representation of every other part of the colony. That appeared to him to be a question that required great consideration; and he could not see that any harm could possibly be done by adjourning the consideration of this motion for a short time,—not necessarily up to a time that had relation to the motion of the senior member for Perth, because he did not see that it necessarily had connection with that subject; but at all events adjourn it to a later stage of the session, when they might have more facts before them, and be able to come to a more full consideration. Therefore, he thought that on the whole, even the hon. member for Fremantle would, upon reconsideration, think it not advisable to press the matter that evening; for, it was possible, if the hon. member did so, he might find a majority against him; whereas, if the question were adjourned, until a later stage of the session, it was possible—he did not say that it would—but it was possible the hon. member might find a majority in his favor.

SIR T. COCKBURN-CAMPBELL would just like to make one remark in reply to the somewhat impassioned address of the hon. member for Fremantle, who urged upon them to do their duty under the present Constitution. He thought hon. members would agree with him that they had done their duty by Kimberley, and that they were prepared to do so in the future, as they had in the past.

The motion for the adjournment of the debate was then put and passed.

THE ADDRESS IN REPLY TO THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

MR. FORREST said that, in moving the adjournment of the debate the other day, he did so in order to give hon. members ample time to thoroughly digest the Governor's speech. He had gone carefully through it himself, and he should just like to say a few words with reference to some of the subjects contained in it. He would pass over the different clauses until he came to the 10th paragraph, relating to Sir John Coode's report; and he must say he was surprised that, after the long delay and the large amount of expenditure in getting Sir John Coode to come out to this colony, the Governor had only given them two little lines with reference to this important question of harbor works. In fact, anyone reading His Excellency's speech would think that the Government intended to shelve the whole question. Anyone who had any experience in shipping matters at Fremantle must know that the time had arrived when something must be done in this direction; and he for one would give his support to the carrying out of Sir John Coode's minor scheme. They all knew that to get ships to come to Fremantle now they had to pay very heavy freights and heavy insurance; and very often they had ships lost or damaged. The colony had been agitating for these harbor works for a great many years, and at last they determined upon sending for the great authority Sir John Coode himself. They paid him some £5,000 for coming, and, after inspecting the harbor, and sending in his plans, what did the Governor say? "These works cannot be undertaken without a loan." Two or three words, and the subject was dismissed; as much as to say, "You are not to have your harbor until you have a loan, and you cannot have a loan until you have Responsible Government." When that House put aside £105,000 out of the last loan, for harbor works at Fremantle, and the senior member for that town—in a very good spirit, he thought, when they had the important

object in view of opening up their gold-fields—allowed the Government to take £65,000 out of that sum to build a telegraph line, he considered they were morally bound to give back this money to Fremantle; and, so far as he was concerned, he should use all his endeavors to have the money refunded, and these harbor works proceeded with. He now passed to clause 14 of the Governor's speech, in which His Excellency congratulated the colony on its financial position, because it had a credit balance of £83,400. He failed to see himself that having £83,000 in the chest was a good sign. In a way, he considered it a disgrace to the colony to have all this money lying idle when they had hundreds of men out of employment. Men were leaving the colony by every opportunity because they were unable to get work, and yet the Governor told them he had over £83,000 lying idle in the Treasury chest. [THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: That was at the beginning of the year.] They all knew that at present there was the greatest depression prevailing, amongst mechanics, tradespeople, and the working classes generally, some of whom were almost starving. Every day, he might say, he had scores of men coming to him, begging him to give them work, and saying that the Government would do nothing for them. In clause 17 of his speech His Excellency said: "It is my opinion that, in the event of Your Honorable House passing during the present session an address in favor of the introduction of Responsible Government, it would, for many obvious reasons, be advisable that the discussion of a new Loan Bill—which, if only a portion of the useful undertakings now advocated are to be proceeded with, must add at least £500,000 to our present debt of £1,286,000—should be deferred until the session after the general election. This would cause a delay of some months; but it appears to me that it would be the constitutional course to take, and that it would be scarcely fair to the present, and still less to any future Government, and scarcely according to usage, to discuss proposals of magnitude, deeply affecting the finances and the future of this colony, until such discussion could take place at least in clear view of the exact

"position and conditions of the question"—now being agitated, but not as yet defined—of a change of the Constitution. "This, accordingly, is the policy I would advocate, and I trust it may meet with your approval." It certainly did not meet with his approval. He disagreed altogether from the course proposed by the Governor. He saw, himself, no reason why that House should not pass a resolution this session in favor of another loan of half a million. Our last loan was quoted at a good price in the London market, and we could not do better than enter the market at the present time. Unless this were done, one thing was certain—we might rest assured that the population of the colony instead of increasing will decrease. There were many people here who were only waiting to see what that House intended to do this session in this matter; and they might rest assured that the best class amongst them would leave, unless the House resolved upon going in for another loan, and proceeding with some public works. Under these circumstances, he trusted the Government would see its way at once to introduce a Loan Bill into that House, and to lose no time in commencing urgent public works, to provide employment for the immigrants they were introducing into the colony, in hundreds and thousands. They had heard that evening what Major Young, the managing director of the W. A. Land Company, had told the Government—that his company could not find any more employment for these men on their railway. What were we going to do with them? He need not at the present stage enumerate the public works which he considered the colony most required: we required breakwaters, we required railways, we required telegraph lines, and we required many other public works; and, if we could get our money at 4 per cent., he considered it would be a good investment for the colony. In clause 19 of his speech His Excellency said that a law providing for the compulsory assurance of the lives of civil servants would be introduced, and also regulations for the classification of the clerks in the civil service. He was glad that at last the Government intended to classify the civil servants of the colony, as the way in which such appointments had been made of late years was a disgrace.

The practice of pitchforking juniors who happened to belong to certain aristocratic families over the heads of well-tryed public servants, who had borne the heat and burden of the day, was enough to make a man curse the day he ever entered the public service. Interest and favoritism carried the day; merit and length of service went unrewarded. With regard to compulsory insurance, he would support it; but he considered that the Government should pay the premium, so long as the officer remained in the service. Premiums should not be deducted from the small salaries now received by the majority of our civil servants; it would be a great hardship, if it were. The Governor also referred to the contract with the Adelaide Steamship Company. Should the House renew the contract with that company he should like to see it so arranged that monthly communication may be established between Fremantle and Wyndham. Unless something was done to increase the present means of communication, we should find that we were losing the whole of the trade not only with Wyndham but also Derby. The company told him that it would be possible to have this monthly communication. They all knew that at present when one went to Wyndham, one might have to remain there for several months, and there was no knowing when one would get away. There was no telegraph communication, and the only way to get any news was *via* Port Darwin; and, judging from what he heard from Wyndham, Port Darwin would soon snap up Mr. Wyndham. In conclusion, he was pleased to offer his congratulations to his hon. friend the Colonial Secretary upon the great honor paid to him by Her Majesty. No one was more pleased than he was to find that the merits and ability of so good a public officer had been recognised and rewarded.

MR. SHENTON regarded His Excellency's speech as a very important one, delivered at the opening of a most important session. He thought it was the duty of members to express their views upon the subjects dealt with by His Excellency at the commencement of a session. In the first place, he joined with the Governor in congratulating Her Majesty on her jubilee. He thought the manner in which it had been cele-

brated in this portion of Her Majesty's dominions testified how loyally the people of this colony regarded Her Majesty. He also thought the prompt manner in which the congratulatory telegram sent by that House had been acknowledged was very gratifying. With regard to the proposed Victoria Public Library, he thought that was an institution that in years to come would prove of vast benefit to the inhabitants of the colony, and would mark the loyalty of the people of the present day towards Her Majesty. With regard to the Imperial Conference and its results, he for one was rather disappointed. He had fully expected that, at the very least, the Imperial Government would have undertaken their share of the cost of fortifying King George's Sound. He thought it was a matter for regret, not only to this colony, but to the whole of Australia, that the Imperial Government did not come forward more liberally in this matter, instead of throwing the whole cost upon this colony, and, on their part, simply undertaking to provide us with some obsolete guns. He thought it would be better to let the Sound remain in its present defenceless position. With regard to our Northern goldfields, although at one time it might have been considered that these goldfields had turned out a failure, more recent reports received by telegraph lately appeared to be most encouraging; and he, himself, felt confident that there was yet a glorious future for that district, and that the reefs there would turn out to be some of the richest in the world, and that in a very short time from now, instead of a population of 2,000, it would in all probability be nearer 20,000. The proposed expenditure upon road-making and other public works in the district would no doubt prove of great convenience; but, if we wished to retain hold of the district, we must do all within our power to develop its resources. With respect to the Albany-Beverley railway, several hon. members who had spoken had said that they considered this railway whilst being constructed did not contribute as much to the profit or advancement of this colony as they had anticipated, and they drew attention to the large quantity of cereals and other produce obliged to be imported

for the use of the contractors and their staff. He would ask those hon. members who were so ready to decry our own farmers, he would ask those who knew anything of the country districts, whether under the trying seasons our farmers had had during the last two or three years, our agriculturists could have done more than they had done. If our farmers were only favored with good seasons, there would be no necessity for these importations. Another disadvantage which the farmers of the Eastern Districts had had to contend with was the high rate of wages prevailing, owing to the railway works in progress. These railway contractors had raised the rates of wages so high that it was impossible for poor farmers to compete with them, and the result was there had been great dearth of labor to carry on the work of the farm. The hon. the senior member for Perth appeared to think that the only way out of the difficulty of the present agricultural depression was the imposition of a land tax, so that large tracts of private land now lying idle should be thrown open for cultivation. He was afraid the effect of such a tax would be rather the reverse. Our agriculturists were in a bad position enough now, without having to bear the additional burden of a land tax. If any land at all ought to be taxed it ought only to be such land as was allowed to lie idle,—certainly not land that was under cultivation. When the question of the extension of the railway to the Eastern Districts was before the House some years ago, he himself had advocated a scheme, that the Government should throw open these large tracts of uncultivated private lands, and resume a certain portion on each side of the railway, paying the owners the upset price of 10s. per acre for the land so resumed. That would have got over the difficulty much better than the imposition of a land tax. That agriculture was under a cloud at present no one could deny; and, before the session was at an end, it was his intention to ask the Government to appoint a Commission to sit during the recess to inquire into the matter, and see if any means could be brought forward to place our agriculturists upon a better footing than they were in at the present time. He might say that one advantage which they could confer upon the agri-

cultural class was to give them a cheaper tariff on our railways. The tariff was pretty fair for the larger farmer, but to the smaller agriculturist it was simply oppressive; and some relief ought certainly to be afforded in this direction. His Excellency, in his speech, referred to the question of immigration, and said he believed that the limit of the absorbing power of the colony appeared at present to have been reached. He (Mr. Shenton) thought one of the great mistakes that had been made in connection with this question had been the introduction of the wrong class of people. They knew that in the country districts both agriculturists and laborers were wanted; but a large number of the immigrants who had come out here lately were simply artisans—some of them skilled artisans, but people altogether unfit for country work. There were quite sufficient artisans about the towns of the colony already; and, if a greater number of farm laborers were introduced there would not be so much outcry. The great mistake had been the introduction of the wrong class of labor. It must be gratifying to them all to find that the public finances of the colony were in so sound a condition, as indicated in His Excellency's speech, and that at the commencement of the year there was a credit balance of £83,418. When the Estimates were under discussion last year the Government took a much more gloomy aspect of the finances than the cloaked members did, and estimated that the credit balance, after passing the Supplementary Estimates, would not be more than about £32,000; so that they now found themselves in a position of having £51,000 more than they had estimated, to commence the year with. The total revenue of the colony had increased from £284,363 in 1883, to £388,564 last year, showing an increase of over £100,000 in three years, in spite of depression, and the many adverse circumstances which the colony had had to contend against. He also noticed that the cultivation of land was also increasing largely. In 1883 the total acreage of land in crop was 58,000, whereas last year the total acreage was over 84,000; thus showing that the colony was progressing and expanding in every direction. His Excellency, in the 15th paragraph of his speech, had

referred to the question of a change in the Constitution. This was not the time to discuss that question, a motion having already been tabled which would bring the whole subject before them in the course of a few days. But there was one point he should like to refer to; whether we had a change in the Constitution or not, he thought the time had arrived when this colony should have its own representative in London, by which he meant an Agent General. He did not wish to say a word to the discredit of the Crown Agents; he believed they did all in their power, with the information at their command, for us. But he thought it was impossible for any agents, without possessing a personal knowledge of the requirements of the colony, to carry out the business of the colony in the same satisfactory manner as an agent acquainted with our requirements. Taking into consideration the large amount of commissions that we now paid the Crown Agents, he felt sure that, instead of an Agent General's office being an expense to the colony, it would be a saving to us. He was almost convinced that it would not cost so much to us as we were paying at the present time to the Crown Agents. In the 17th paragraph of his speech His Excellency referred to the subject of a further loan. His (Mr. Shenton's) own feeling was that we are in a position to raise another loan of at least half a million; and he would proceed to give his reason for saying so. Our public debt at the present moment was £1,286,000. Taking the basis of population from the returns published a short time since by the Registrar General, this would be equivalent to £32 9s. per head of the population,—which was not a large amount, taking into consideration that our population was increasing now at a much faster ratio than during preceding years. In return for that debt we could show 169 miles of railway open, and thirty more in course of construction. We had 2,405 miles of telegraph open, and 500 miles more under construction, which would give us a total of about 3,000 miles of telegraph. These were all very good assets against a liability of one million and a quarter. But in addition to these works, we had a large number of minor works carried out, such as jetties, public

buildings, and other property. Seeing also that our revenue in three years had increased £100,000, and was still gradually increasing, he saw nothing whatever to prevent this colony from undertaking a further loan of £500,000. As to the way in which the money should be expended, that of course must be a matter for further consideration; but he thought the work of prior importance, as all must acknowledge, was the construction of harbor improvements at Fremantle. He quite agreed with the hon. member for Kimberley that unless a proper harbor be provided for this part of the colony, we should suffer serious loss. We should find that such facilities would be afforded to shipping at Albany, by the W.A. Land Company, in connection with their railway, that the result would be that we should find all our shipping going that way, and Fremantle and this part of the colony would be left out in the cold. Another work we should undertake—and he should like to see an amount set apart from it—was water-boring. There were large tracts of country to the eastward of the present settled districts which, if water were discovered there, as had recently been done in South Australia, would be converted from arid deserts into smiling plains. This would, in his opinion, be a reproductive work. Another useful work he should like to see undertaken was the conservation of water in the Avon, by the construction of weirs at different places between Beverley and Northam. He thought also the time had arrived when we should follow the example of some of the other colonies, and spend a small amount—he would not ask for a large amount; say £3,000 or £4,000—for the purpose of establishing a model farm—an institution which would be of the greatest benefit to our agriculturists. Experiments might then be made with the different soils, throughout the colony, to ascertain the best methods for their utilisation. He was sure that an experimental farm would prove a great boon to the farmers of the colony, and be a most useful establishment. In the 20th clause of his speech His Excellency told them he proposed consulting them on the subject of any desirable change in the Customs tariff. On this point he would only now say that he thought certain

concessions ought to be made to the agriculturist, and that a great many articles that were now subject to a duty might be placed on the free list. With regard to the contract with the Adelaide Steamship Company, he trusted the Government would take the new contract well in hand, and give due notice to outsiders to enable them to tender for these services. Last year the time was so short that it was simply impossible for any outside companies to compete, and the present contractors had it all their own way. As the railway will be opened, he presumed, next year or very shortly after, between Albany and Beverley, it would only be necessary to tender for a service to ports north of Fremantle; it would be unnecessary to offer any subsidy again for steam communication between Fremantle and Albany, or the other colonies. But he thought greater consideration might be given to the Northern ports of the colony, by placing all of them—even Wyndham—in at least monthly communication with this portion of the colony. He hoped this would be taken into consideration in any new contract entered into, and that the Government would consult somebody who knew something about steam contracts, and not allow all the power to remain on the side of the contractors, as he was afraid it was at present. In conclusion, he would merely state that he hoped the bad seasons the colony had experienced for the last two or three years were now passed over, and that the cloud of depression was lifting and would be speedily dissipated. He believed there were better times in store for the colony, for, in spite of every drawback, the country was still progressing; and he thought, looking at the way in which our loans were quoted on the London market, it was a good sign that the investing public had every faith in Western Australia. On referring to the stock market return by the last mail, he found that our 4 per cent. bonds were quoted at from 104½ to 105½; the only two colonies whose bonds were quoted higher than our own being Victoria and New South Wales. New Zealand four per cents. were as low as 98-99; South Australian fours were quoted at 102½-103½; and Tasmania at 103-104; so that with the exception of the two premier colonies Western

Australian stock was the highest in the market. That being the case he thought it afforded great inducement to the introduction of more capital. If local manufactories could be established here, so as to give fixed employment to people, no doubt the colony would advance still more; and he hoped the day was not far distant when we should see more local manufactures established. He also hoped that when the railway to Albany was completed, that isolation from which we now suffered by reason of the voyage between Albany and this part of the colony would be removed; and that when we had a larger number of visitors, we should have also a larger number of settlers. Before concluding, he should just like to refer to what fell from the hon. member for Kimberley, about the Government keeping such a large sum of money lying idle in the chest, while there were so many men out of employment. He was afraid, if our prosperity was to be maintained upon the expenditure of borrowed money, in providing work for those who came into the colony, our prosperity would be rather short-lived, and our progress would not be very substantial. One object should be to get these men to settle on our land. He would only add that he offered his congratulations to the hon. gentleman opposite for the honors which Her Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him, and he hoped the hon. gentleman might live long to enjoy them.

MR. HARPER said he was anxious to say a few words on the admirable speech with which His Excellency had opened the session. In the first place he wished to address himself to the third paragraph of the speech, in which His Excellency informed the Council that the committee appointed to consider the expenditure of the jubilee vote had advised him that a contribution of £2,000 should be set apart for the Imperial Institute in London. Those who had spoken on this subject in the course of the debate had probably taken it to mean that the committee had been unanimous in the appropriation of that vote. He wished to say that, so far as he was concerned, he thought the sum was in excess of the amount which this colony should contribute towards that institute. It was a source of gratification to find

that the golden anticipations which they at one time had as to the Kimberley District—anticipations which had subsequently been rather overthrown—were, according to more recent accounts, likely to be realised. He hoped that before the House separated provision would be made to afford every portion of that district the maximum means of communication with this part of the colony. Clause 8 of His Excellency's speech referred to the Albany-Beverley Railway, and to the many benefits which this colony was deriving from the expenditure incurred in connection with the construction of the line. He thought himself they must all regret that this colony reaped such a very small portion of the benefits of that expenditure; and he could not help thinking that the company who had undertaken the construction of this line had proved rather false to us, in the spirit in which we first understood that the work would be undertaken. The understanding—though not provided for in the contract—the understanding which at all events the general community labored under was that as soon as the line was proceeded with, endeavors would be made to settle people along the line. But it appeared that the company utterly repudiated the spirit of the understanding in that respect. They appeared to be only desirous to get the balance of the amount between that for which they could get immigrants into the colony and the amount which the Government had to pay. There appeared to be no attempt whatever to develop the resources of the colony along the line. While on that subject he could not help making a few remarks upon what had fallen from the senior member for Perth, the other evening. The hon. member—speaking more particularly of the Government railways—expressed his deep regret—a regret which everyone must feel—at the immense quantity of land at present lying idle along the Avon Valley, and the apparent want of enterprise on the part of the owners of that land in developing it; and, as a means of compelling them either to improve or part with it, the hon. member suggested a land tax. He (Mr. Harper) was amazed at an hon. gentleman leading a movement having for its object an alteration in the Constitution of the colony should have sug-

gested a measure which must decidedly cause a sharp line of division between the landlords of the colony and the town residents. The owners of land would at once say to this: "If that is to be the manner in which the leaders of this new movement are going to treat us, we shall decidedly use every endeavor we can to prevent it." He could have understood the hon. member's action if the owners of this land had become wealthy in possession of it. If Perth had become surrounded with the villas of retired land owners, wealthy men, like the capitals of many of the other colonies were, where people had grown rich in the possession of land, he could have better understood the hon. member's proposal. But he thought he might look in vain for any person in this colony who had been so fortunate as to secure even a competency from the possession of land, at any rate in these Eastern districts, to which the hon. member referred. Had it been otherwise, had we in this colony wealthy people, like they had about Melbourne and Adelaide, who had grown fat upon the possession of broad acres, he could have sympathised with the hon. member's proposal, and even supported it. But when they failed to see any person in these districts who had become wealthy, or anything like it, in the possession of these lands; and knowing further that the bulk of these proprietors had had as much as they could do for many long years to exist upon their lands, it was offering them a very poor prospect to propose that an additional burden be imposed upon them in the shape of a land tax. With regard to the question of immigration, many hon. members had made the remark that the wrong class of immigrants had come to the colony. It was very true that such was the case. But the class of men we most particularly wanted in this colony—small capitalists—was one that could not be compelled to come, and, apparently, they preferred going to other countries, so that our choice must lie between those who had come and no other. The only other point to which he would refer in His Excellency's speech was that relating to the expiry of the contract between the Government and the Adelaide Steamship Company. He hoped that in any new contract every endeavor would be made to secure the trade between our

most Northern ports and this end of the colony. He thought that when this subject came under the consideration of the House, it would be very desirable, if we could possibly do so, to dovetail our coastal service with the service between here and Singapore, so that the two services might be worked together, which would be an advantage over the present arrangement. He would conclude by offering his sincerest congratulations to the hon. the Colonial Secretary upon the mark of Royal favor which Her Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him.

Mr. SCOTT said he knew there had been a great deal said with reference to the appropriation of £2,000 out of the Jubilee vote towards the Imperial Institute. For his own part he did not think we could have done less. We had by this contribution taken a very good position amongst the other colonies in this respect, and we had shown our regard for His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in his endeavor to celebrate the Jubilee of his gracious mother in the manner which Her Majesty herself wished it to be celebrated. This Imperial Institute would be a work that must remain to all ages, commemorating as it would the loyalty of her colonies towards their Sovereign; and he thought Western Australia came very well out of this matter, for a comparatively small cost; for, after all, £2,000 would not ruin us, while at the same time it gave us a very good standing among the other colonies of the group. With regard to the £3,000 towards the Victoria Library in Perth, he also thought that was a matter upon which the colony had to congratulate itself. He did not think we could possibly have spent the money in a better way. It only remained for that House always to bear in mind that they had the work still to carry out, and to put by such money towards building and furnishing this library—and put it in the hands of trustees—year by year, so that they might feel sure that the good work would be carried on. With regard to the fourth paragraph of the speech, he could but express his regret, in the same spirit as the hon. member for Toodyay, that the Home Government had not deemed it requisite to take some definite step with regard to the fortification of King George's Sound. With regard to the Albany-Beverley

railway, he understood that the arrangement with the company involved the principle of compelling them to place people upon the land alongside the line, with the view of developing the country. That, he thought, was the late Mr. Hordern's great idea, and it was what that House understood, and gave its adherence to. But now it appeared there was really no clause in the contract that was binding upon the contractors to develop the country. Unless they did that, he considered that the gist of the whole agreement fell through. If the land along the line were to be developed and the country settled, he did not think it very materially mattered whether the money spent in the construction of the line benefited us or not. But, if the country was not to be developed, the whole matter was a fraud. As to a land tax, he thought his hon. friend on the right had been misunderstood. What he said was that he would be rather in favor, he thought, of placing a tax upon all land which could be described as agricultural land, but which was allowed to lie idle. He thought that what his hon. friend meant was that by means of such a tax he would not so much hurt those who had already cultivated their lands, as force those who had not done so to do it. A penny an acre would make a great difference to the owners of large tracts of land lying idle, whereas it would not hurt the man who cultivated a small portion of land. He did not mean to say that he was altogether in favor of a land tax, but he did think we ought to make the owners of the land pay something for the enhanced value given to it by the construction of roads and railways through it at the public expense. With regard to immigration, he agreed with what had fallen from several hon. members. It seemed to him that this question involved the necessity of our having some really capable and competent man at Home as our representative, who should make it his duty to see that the immigrants sent out were of the right class, of the right character, and right physically. He had known men sent out, said to be farm laborers, who in reality were artisans; and, when they were asked how it was they had been sent out here, they said they told the agents at home that they were farm laborers. Such

a thing as that ought not to be possible; nor for men to have their passages paid out who were suffering from consumption, or who had a strong tendency to rheumatism, and such complaints helping to fill our hospitals and poor houses. With regard to the paragraphs in His Excellency's speech relating to Responsible Government, he thought it was almost to be regretted that His Excellency had thought fit to bring up this question of Separation. That was a matter which might have been touched on afterwards. We did not know enough of the views of the Home Government, with respect to the terms upon which they will grant us a new Constitution, to say whether they intended to insist upon Separation; and he thought it bore the aspect rather of a threat than anything else; and he, for one, would take no notice of it. He thought it was rather a matter for the North itself. He did not think the Home Government would care to take it over as an unwilling child. Clause 22 of the speech referred to the administration of the Public Health Act of last session. He thought that in the introduction of that Act last session the Government were somewhat handicapped. The hon. and learned member who brought it in devoted a great deal of time and hard work to it; but it was a bill that required a great deal of consideration, and he hoped, if the Government were going to amend it, they would do so in such a way that the funds necessary for carrying it out should not come out of the municipal rates. He agreed with the principle of having an independent body to carry out the Act, but he thought that it would not be fair to compel the municipal councils to provide the funds and give them no control over the expenditure of those funds. Without independent boards to enforce the provisions of the Act, he did not think it ever could be a success; and he hoped the Government would be able to find the funds necessary for its administration. Unless they could do so, he was afraid he should have to vote as the hon. member Mr. Randell did last year,—that the people who were intrusted with the administration of the Act should be the people to find the funds. In conclusion, he hoped he might be allowed to join with all those other hon. members who

had offered their congratulations to the hon. gentleman opposite for the distinguished honor which Her Majesty had conferred upon him.

Mr. MARMION said that were it only for the purpose of having some little variety upon the speeches which they had been listening to, he would commence instead of concluding his remarks by congratulating the hon. gentleman at the head of the Government in that House upon the honor which Her Gracious Majesty the Queen had been pleased to confer on him. From his long acquaintance with the hon. gentleman, dating from the time the present Constitution was initiated, he might say he never had a cause that he knew of to find fault with the hon. gentleman in his public capacity; and he could only say that the fact of his services having been recognised by Her Majesty, in the gracious manner in which they had, afforded a distinct contradiction to what had appeared in some of our public papers, that Western Australia, because she did not exist under a different Constitution, would not, through her public servants, receive any mark of honor at the hands of the British Government. To come to the speech itself, and dealing first with that portion of it relating to the Jubilee vote, he might say that as a member of the Commission he had been strongly in favor of some of the money voted being allotted to the municipalities of the colony for the purposes of local celebrations, so as to enable the people of the colony to celebrate the auspicious occasion in a fitting manner. And here he might say, that the manner in which the occasion *was* celebrated had proved at all events that the loyalty of Western Australians was spontaneous, and that the people were prepared to pay for their celebrations out of their own pockets, without any assistance from the State. With reference to the paragraph relating to the Kimberley district, he might say that he still had faith in Kimberley. He had never lost faith in it. He felt sure that Kimberley yet would be the proudest jewel in the crown of Western Australia, and he hoped it would long remain a jewel in her crown, and that every care would be taken that the jewel was not lost to us. He thought it would be a very great pity indeed if any delay were

to take place in the construction of the proposed telegraph line to the district. Nothing would tend more to the rapid development of the district than providing it with facilities of communication. It was not only necessary in the interests of Kimberley itself; it was necessary in the interests of the whole colony,—necessary in order that we should secure the trade of that portion of the colony, and also desirable in order that we may secure the sympathies of that portion of the colony. From whatever point of view they looked at it, it was desirable that no time should be lost in building this line of telegraph, and he hoped that the Government and the Executive would not wait too long, or be too solicitous about the news they received from the district, but that they would adopt a bold and courageous policy, and carry out the work without further delay. He felt sure that the future would prove that they had acted wisely. There was no doubt in his mind that, should they meet there again that time twelvemonths, and should they be in communication with the goldfields, the hon. gentleman now at the head of the Government would be able to congratulate himself upon having adopted and carried out a bold policy in the execution of this work. A great deal had been said in the course of the debate about the Albany-Beverley railway, and hon. members appeared somewhat disappointed, because greater results had not accrued to the colony at this early stage of that undertaking. He thought it must be borne in mind that the line had hardly been commenced—only a few miles at either end had been constructed—and it could not be expected that settlement would go in advance of the construction of the line. He had heard that the course which the contractors proposed to pursue was to as quickly as possible construct the line right through, and then place their lands in the markets of the world. He thought it was a wise course, and that the result would be advantageous to the contractors, and, being advantageous to the contractors, it must necessarily be good for the colony. With reference to the land grant railway between Guildford and Geraldton, he was sure everyone would echo his wish that before long they would see these works re-started; and that, between

these two railways, they would, within a few years, be able to congratulate themselves upon through communication between Albany and Geraldton. The Governor, in his speech, congratulated them upon the fact that the railways and other public works provided for in the schedule to the Loan Act of 1884 were now in an advanced state. He was sure that everyone would congratulate himself upon the extent of railway communication which we already had in this colony. He felt sure that not one of them sitting around that table, or anyone outside that House, a few years ago could have assumed for one moment that within four or five years Western Australia could have been able to boast of the number of miles of railway which she now possessed. If he had spoken of a railway being opened from Fremantle all the way to Beverley, with a prospect next year of its being carried through to Albany, and another line to Geraldton, he would have been regarded as a lunatic. Speaking of the progress of the public works in the colony, His Excellency said it was "remarkable." A few figures would show this very clearly. He found that the money expended during the last few years upon public works and buildings, roads and bridges,—works upon which the bone and sinew of the country had been employed—had increased at what His Excellency might well call a remarkable rate. In 1885 we spent on works and buildings a sum of £15,000, and last year we spent no less than £40,000—or £55,000 in two years. Our expenditure on roads and bridges in 1885 was £16,000, and £15,000 again last year; or a total of £31,000 in two years. So that we spent upon public works, independent of loan money, within the last couple of years no less a sum than £86,000—a very large sum indeed for so small a community. That was from general revenue alone. With regard to immigration, one would imagine from the remarks of some hon. members that those remarks were a reflection upon the action of the Board of Immigration. As a member of that Board, he thought he might say that the Board had fully realised the necessity of introducing a proper class of immigrants into the colony; and no effort had been wanting on their part to obtain that class which they knew the

country required. But the difficulties that were in their way were almost insurmountable, and they were obliged to take what they could get. After all, he did not think they had so much right to complain as to the class of immigrants who had been brought out from the mother country. Were the question to be gone into, and the numbers introduced taken into consideration, it would be found that the number of persons with delicate constitutions, the number of imbeciles, who filled our hospitals and our poor houses, were very few indeed. It was true that a large ratio of those introduced had been of the artisan class; and he presumed they might ascribe this to the fact that in the mother country very hard times prevailed of late for that class, and our agents at home probably had a greater number of persons of that class applying for passages than any other class. But it was a well known fact that not only in this but in all the Australian colonies, great difficulty was experienced in inducing the British laborer to leave his home to come to any portion of Australia; and he did not know that this colony was feeling this difficulty any more than the other colonies. Something had been said about the employment of an Agent in London. He had not the slightest doubt, if we could lay our hands upon the right man—a man with all the qualities and capabilities desirable in such an agent—it would be a wise policy on our part to appoint one. But, he might say, there were other grave difficulties surrounding such an appointment,—and it was not an easy matter to find a man who would fill the position as we would wish to see it filled. But he hoped that, before long, Western Australia would feel that she was able to appoint someone to represent her; and, he thought, in all probability, should we be so fortunate as to hit upon the proper person, we should have cause to congratulate ourselves upon having made such an appointment. Allusion had been made to the state of the public finances; and here he might say he was one of those who had always thought, like one or two other hon. members, that there was really no reason why in this colony we should keep up a large credit balance, always in the chest. He would draw attention to the fact that on each occasion the Governor

had favored them with a speech at the opening of Council, His Excellency had drawn attention to this large credit balance, and assured them that by the end of the year we should have a very small surplus; but on each of these occasions the amount which the Government found they had on hand exceeded by a considerable sum that which they had anticipated. The surplus at the end of last year was no exception to this rule, it being more than double what His Excellency in his opening speech had anticipated. All this went to show that our finances were in a most sound condition, and that there was no reason why we should fear for the immediate future, or why we should dread to take that step further in increasing the liabilities of the colony by means of a loan. If such a state of things existed in any of the other colonies—if their finances were in this flourishing condition—if they had large surplus balances every year—as we had had in this colony for some years past, what would have been the result? Instead of the Premier or Treasurer warning the members of the Legislature to be careful and cautious, he would have been only too eager to congratulate them upon the position of affairs, and to encourage them to incur additional liabilities in the way of borrowing more money to carry on public works. He saw no reason why, in the present position of this colony, the leader of the Government in that House should not be prepared—or, at any rate, why he should not be justified—before many days were over in announcing that the Government, having considered the position of the colony and the satisfactory state of the finances, had come to the determination to ask the House to consider the question of a further loan, and a loan of not less than half a million at least. He would here just like to say a few words with reference to what was deemed by some hon. members the most important question that would come under their consideration during the session—the question of a change in the form of Government. He was very glad indeed to hear from the hon. gentleman who filled the position of leader of the elected side of the House, and more especially of the Responsible Government party, that he and those who were associated with him had

no wish to rush this question through the House. He had been very pleased indeed to hear that; because from what he had previously heard and seen, he thought there was a desire on the part of the advocates of the proposed change to rush the matter through, without regard for the consequences to the colony. It was therefore a source of gratification to himself to find now that such was not the intention. Hon. members had alluded to His Excellency's remarks on this subject as being a threat,—he referred to that portion of his speech in which His Excellency expressed his views, based upon those transmitted to him by the Secretary of State, upon the question of Separation. For his own part, he could not see where the threat came in. It seemed to him that if His Excellency had not adopted the course which he did, he would have been wanting in his duty not only to the colony, to the representatives of the people of the colony, and to the Secretary of State, but totally and utterly wanting in his duty as a Governor, had he not plainly and unmistakably, and in language which could not be misinterpreted, said to the members of that House—"There, gentlemen, on one side you have what you ask for, Responsible Government, and, on the other side, I present you with the views of Her Majesty's Secretary of State. If you think proper to assume on yourselves the charge of your own affairs, it will be my duty towards the Imperial Government, in the face of that despatch, to recommend Her Majesty's Government not to hand over to your charge the whole of that vast territory which has hitherto been entrusted to you." He could not see for a moment that His Excellency had done anything improper, or anything but that which he should do; and he thought that those hon. members, and that section of the press of the colony, who were inclined to blame His Excellency should rather have praised him for his frankness and straightforwardness in alluding to this subject as he did. At the conclusion of this paragraph in His Excellency's speech he said clearly: "Perhaps the intentions of Her Majesty's Government are not yet sufficiently known to allow of a complete discussion of the matter, but I think it right towards the colony I have had charge of for four

years to express plainly the view which presents itself to my own mind." His Excellency, apparently, agreed to a very great extent with what had been stated by the Secretary of State, and considered it his duty to place his own views before that House; and he (Mr. Marmion) thought His Excellency was quite right in doing so. With reference to the 16th paragraph, in which His Excellency sketched forth the steps he will probably take in the event of a resolution in favor of Responsible Government being passed, he might say upon consideration of this paragraph it appeared to him that the course which His Excellency proposed to adopt would not be a wise one. He would explain his reason for saying so. It seemed to him it would be useless to send Home a resolution to the Secretary of State, and to get the views of Her Majesty's Government out again—which, in all probability, would be at variance with the views of those hon. members who were most inclined to advocate the change—it seemed to him it would be undesirable to place the Secretary of State's views before the country until the members of that House had again an opportunity of reviewing them, and of considering them in all their bearings. Then, it seemed to him, would be the time to submit the question to the country. Then would be the time to lay the whole matter before the constituencies. Some hon. members might disagree with him on this point, but he was expressing his own views. They might, in all probability, have a necessity for another general election, when they came to consider the question again in the light of the ultimatum of Her Majesty's Government; and he thought it would be much better to allow that House an opportunity of re-discussing the whole question, when placed in possession of the Home Government's terms, than to appeal to the country (so to speak) in the dark. He had already said he thought that the present position of affairs, as regards the financial and material condition of the colony, was such that we need not dread to enter the money market to negotiate a further loan. He proposed to deal with a few figures in support of his views on this subject. He knew that figures were distasteful to the majority of hon. members, but they were very necessary to show the position of affairs in their proper light,

and he hoped he would not weary the House in dealing with this question. In order to show the leaps and bounds which the colony had made in the path of advancement within the last few years, he would take the figures relating to the three years, 1880, 1883, and 1886; and first of all he would take the revenue. In 1880 the total revenue amounted in round numbers to £180,000, but, deducting the Imperial grant of £11,000, they had a net revenue of about £168,000. The expenditure for the same year was £204,000. In 1883, three years afterwards, the total revenue amounted to £284,000, including the Imperial grant (£8,000), or a net colonial revenue of £276,000,—more than £100,000 in excess of the revenue for 1880. The expenditure for 1883 was £240,000, or about £40,000 more than it was in 1880; and at the end of 1883 there was a balance remaining in the Treasury chest of £76,000. In 1886 our revenue had reached to £388,000—or, deducting the Imperial Grant (£5,000), £383,000—showing an increase of about £108,000 over 1883, and more than double the revenue of 1880, only six years previously. With regard to the expenditure, last year, it amounted to £394,000, or nearly double that of 1880; £150,000 more than the expenditure in 1883; and £86,000 more than the next preceding year, 1885. Yet, after all this increase of expenditure, they had at the end of last year a balance of £83,000 to the credit of the colony.

Mr. RANDELL: Will the hon. member tell us the difference between the land revenue of 1885 and 1886?

Mr. MARMION said, if the hon. member would give him a little time he would do so. At present he was dealing with the public expenditure. In addition to this surplus balance of £83,000, there was a sum of £24,000 standing to the credit of Suspense Account,—or a total balance to the credit of the Treasury chest at the end of the year of no less a sum than £107,000. He next came to the items of imports and exports. In 1880 the total imports of the colony amounted to £353,669, and the exports for the same year amounted to £499,183,—showing a total trade of £852,952. In 1883 the imports had swollen to £516,846, the exports for the same period being £447,000,—or a total of £963,846.

Last year the imports of the colony were valued at £758,000, and the exports at £630,000, showing a gross interchange amounting to £1,388,000, being over half-a-million in excess of our trade in 1880, six years previously. As to the increase of population, he thought the colony had every reason to congratulate itself upon the acquisition it had made to its population within the last few years. At the end of 1880, the total population of the colony was estimated at 29,000 (in round numbers); whereas at the end of last year the estimated population amounted to 40,000,—an increase of $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in six years. Going back to 1872, he found that the population numbered 25,000, so that in the eight years intervening between 1872 and 1880, the increase in the population was only 3,300, as against 11,000 during the last six years. But for a stronger and more startling comparison as regards the financial and commercial advancement of the colony let them go back to the year 1872,—two years after the present Constitution was inaugurated. In that year the total revenue of the colony amounted to £105,000, or, deducting the Imperial Grant (£16,000), a net revenue of £89,000, as compared with £383,000 last year. The expenditure during the year 1872 amounted to £98,000, as compared with £394,000 last year. In 1872 the Imperial expenditure was in full swing, and was nearly equal to the whole expenditure of the colony. The imports in 1872 were valued at £226,000, and the exports at £209,000, showing an annual trade of £435,000, as compared with £1,388,000 last year. The public debt of the colony in those days was correspondingly small. It had its first poor little Loan Bill of £35,000; and proud they felt in those days to be able to borrow such a sum, although they paid six per cent. for it. At present we had a public debt of a million and a quarter, expended upon useful and, some of them, reproductive public works; and the credit of the colony stood as well to the fore as that of any other of the Australian group. In the face of these figures, he thought they had every cause to congratulate themselves upon the progress which the colony had made under the present Constitution—progress that would bear favorable com-

parison with that made by any of the sister colonies. Looking at the population we had and the means at our command, he maintained that under this much-abused and much-despised Constitution, they had done a great deal for the colony; and Western Australia had advanced with rapid strides. The first quarter of this year had been an excellent one, yielding the largest amount of revenue which the colony had received since its foundation, the amount being no less than £136,000, as against £122,000 during the corresponding period last year; while the actual revenue had exceeded the expenditure by some £41,000. His object in bringing forward these figures was to show those who entertained any fear as to our ability to undertake the burden of a further loan, that there was no ground for such fears; and that so long as the money was expended judiciously and not thrown broadcast about, for the mere purpose of creating a little fictitious prosperity, they would be perfectly justified in entering the money market. He himself was not one of those who had any fears as to the future of the colony. He never had. He had always advocated a bold and self-reliant policy, and he should not be deterred from continuing to do so. He thought it would be in the best interests of the colony that a Loan Bill should be brought in during the present session, so that we might go into the market when money was cheap and plentiful, and borrow a large sum, that would tend to tide us over the next five or six years. If we did so with the same satisfactory results as had been shown during the last five or six years, we should have no reason to complain. He must, before he concluded, allude to Sir John Coode's report. He was sure that the good sense of the members of the House rendered it unnecessary that he should speak at length upon the subject at the present time. But this he would say: every hon. member would, he was sure, agree with him that in the steps which they took two years ago, in placing £105,000 on the Loan Schedule for harbor works, it was thoroughly and distinctly, and most unmistakably, understood, by every member of the House, that that money was to be expended upon a scheme of harbor works, to be deter-

mined upon the final report of Sir John Coode. He should be sorry indeed if any hon. member should attempt to deny that statement, because he thought he could show clearly that the feeling of that House was in that direction; and that, although some hon. member or other might not have so distinctly expressed himself, it was distinctly understood that Sir John Coode's report was to settle this question. The question was not a new one; it was as old as the hills, and had been debated upon during the last twenty years. It had been submitted to all the authorities within reach, including our own local celebrities and amateur engineers, and, at last, after many years' controversy, it was resolved to submit it, finally, to the greatest marine engineer of the day, all being content to abide by his decision. When that eminent man's first report reached them, a few years ago, he (Mr. Marmion) endeavored to induce the House and the Government to act upon it; but it was considered that, before definitely settling so important a question, it would be desirable that Sir John Coode should pay a personal visit to the colony, and himself inspect the locality of the proposed works, and that if he did so they should abide by his decision in the matter. Sir John Coode did come, and Sir John Coode had now sent in his report, and the House was pledged to abide by it. He need not labor this point. He felt sure that when the question came to be considered, he should find not only a majority, but an almost unanimous vote, in favor of the acceptance of that very able, clear, and concise report, submitted to them by so eminent an authority. He felt sure that in starting that work, they would be starting a work, not for the benefit of one portion of the community, not a work merely of local advantage, but a national undertaking, which, when completed, would not only reflect credit upon the great man who designed it, but also conduce to the commercial prosperity and progress of this great colony, for whose progress and prosperity every vein in his body thrilled. It would be one of the gravest disappointments to him to find, after so many years' discussion, after so many years' advocacy, after so many years of labor—it would be a source of gravest disappointment to him if they were to

close the present session without coming to a unanimous verdict that harbor works at Fremantle must be commenced at once, and carried on in accordance with the plans and recommendations of the eminent authority to whom the whole question had been remitted for his advice and final decision.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. Sir M. Fraser), in moving the formal appointment of a select committee to prepare the Address-in-Reply, said he had been rather pleased to find the temperate manner in which the debate had been conducted and carried on. He thought it augured well for the work of the session. He could only express the hope that the session they had entered upon would be characterised by the same good feeling on all sides of the House as had marked their proceedings in past sessions, and had tended so much to facilitate the work of legislation. He trusted it would not be considered that there existed any Opposition in that House. The word seemed to have got into the air, and it had reached his ears, that there was to be an Opposition, adverse to the Government, this session. But he failed to see what good could come out of such tactics under the present Constitution. It must be remembered that the Legislature as at present constituted was what he might call a consultative body, and that every measure brought before it had to stand or fall upon its merits, according to the judgment of the House. Although these measures were necessarily introduced for the most part by the Government, and had to be expounded by the four gentlemen who occupied seats on that bench, at the same time it must be remembered that none of these measures could become law before they had been sat in judgment upon by twenty-two other gentlemen occupying seats in other parts of the House. Under the circumstances, he could only hope that the same good feeling and unanimity as had characterised their proceedings in the past would continue during the course of the session now entered upon, and that the same beneficial results would accrue to the country from this united action. The hon. gentleman moved that the following committee be appointed to prepare the address: Messrs. Keane, Congdon, Parker, Marmion, and the mover.

MR. HENSMAN said he desired to say a few words on the question before the House. With regard to the paragraph in the speech in which the Governor said that Her Majesty's Jubilee was about to be celebrated here, as elsewhere throughout the Empire, with "universal feelings of loyalty and rejoicing," he might say that he thought every member of the House would agree with that sentiment. The great claim which the Queen had upon the regard of her subjects throughout the Empire seemed, to his mind, to be this: that throughout her long reign she had always reigned as a constitutional Sovereign, and throughout the whole of her reign she had always sunk her own feelings—which she must have had, being a woman of character—and given due consideration to the views of her Ministers, for the time being enjoying the confidence of the country. During her reign, therefore, the country had had free scope for improvement, in science, in art, for the development of commerce, and all those things which went to make a country great, and he for one most cordially agreed with the sentiment that was conveyed when it was stated that we had the greatest grounds for being thankful that we had had during a period of fifty years a Sovereign who had been truly, as he had said before, a constitutional governor. The Jubilee of the Queen had been celebrated by her subjects in various manners. In this colony a sum of £5,000 was set apart last year for the celebration; and, having read the debates which then occurred, he observed that that sum was set apart as a sum, as he understood it, to be spent in this colony. At all events, during that debate no member of that House suggested that any portion of the sum should be spent out of the colony. But since the last meeting of the Council, by the permission of the Legislature, who voted that money, a Commission was appointed by the Governor to consider in what way that sum should be spent; and it was decided by that Commission to send £2,000 towards the building of the Imperial Institute, in London, and to spend the remaining £3,000 on a Public Library in this colony. Now with regard to that sum of £2,000 it appeared to him—and therefore he felt bound to say what he thought—that £2,000 was much too

large a sum to send out of the colony. This proposal to establish an Imperial Institute, and the question of the good that it would eventually be to the Empire had been largely debated in England and elsewhere, and, as they were all aware, much opposition had been given to the scheme. He was not now going to express any particular opinion upon what might turn out eventually to be the value of the scheme; but he observed that it had been stated in public that this scheme, like many others which had been opposed at the beginning, might turn out to be of great value eventually; and he had heard it had been said that, originally, in England, railways were much opposed by some persons, although they eventually turned out to be a great benefit to the community. For his own part he could not see that there was the slightest parallel between a building in London, or a scheme which may turn out eventually as the Imperial Institute may turn out, and the introduction of railways. Railways were opposed, no doubt, by some people, who had no faith in the progress of science, and by others who were interested in keeping up the old means of locomotion by stage coaches; and he supposed no one now was to be found who would say that railways were not of the utmost advantage. Again it had been said that the Exhibition of 1851 was opposed at first, but that eventually it turned out to be a great success. He was old enough to remember that Exhibition; and he remembered that, when it was first proposed, it was said that this grand collection of works of art and of the products of all countries in the world would turn out eventually to be a grand motor in the creation of peace between the nations of the world, and bring people from all parts of the earth to England, and, probably, put an end, practically, to war. The result of that was this: that, in three years afterwards, the Crimean War broke out—a most disastrous war, with very little real result in the end. Since then there had been a considerable number of wars, which had turned out most disastrous to the nations of the world. Therefore, if this Imperial Institute was to be put in the same category as the Exhibition of 1851, it appeared to him very doubtful whether it would have the good result which its promoters

desired. Whether that be so or not, he thought that in sending £2,000 towards this scheme, this colony had sent a very much larger sum than its position, its population, and its revenue required it to have sent. The population of this colony, taken at its highest reckoning, amounted to about 40,000, all told; and, taking that 40,000 and comparing it with the population of any of the Australian colonies—and we could not be said to be richer than those colonies—it would be found, he thought, that the contribution of this colony was largely in excess of what our neighbors were likely to contribute. Taking the whole population of Australasia, including New Zealand, if those colonies were to contribute in proportion to what had been given by this colony, they would have to give something between £150,000 and £200,000 towards this Institute. If New South Wales or Victoria were to give, according to the same standard, they would each give about £50,000. He very much doubted whether it would turn out—he was not in a position to say what they would give—but he very much doubted whether either of those wealthy colonies would give anything like that amount. And, considering that this colony at the present time was laboring under a certain amount of depression—which they all hoped would pass away—it did appear to him that we had sent to this Imperial Institute a great deal more than was necessary. He did not believe that by building grand institutions they, necessarily, in any way advanced the cause they had at heart, namely, the union of the British people all over the world. It appeared to him that the claim which Her Majesty had upon the affections and respect of her people was based upon very different considerations. The Queen might truly say, with the Latin poet,—

“Exegi monumentum ære perennius.”

The name of Her Majesty would be handed down to posterity not on account of any great building erected during her reign; it would be handed down because she had always respected the principles of the English Constitution, and always carefully given way to her Ministers for the time being; and, on this account, the country and the Empire had always had free scope to be fully developed, in

every respect. Passing away from that subject, he came to the £3,000 devoted to the foundation of a Public Library in this colony; and, here again he was sorry to say he could not agree with the way that the money was about to be expended. The foundation stone of the proposed building had been laid, and it seemed to him, as far as one could ascertain, that before that building is finished, a very large sum must be expended upon it. He thought he should probably be very much within the mark, if before it was finished a sum of at least £10,000 or £15,000 would be required. [An hon. member: £30,000.] He was told £30,000. Now what was the object of that building? It was to have books there—books that may be read, and which may improve those who read them; and it appeared to him that the first thing to have done with this money was to have bought a certain number of books, forming the nucleus of a public library, and have deposited them in some building—not necessarily a grand building, but any building that was suitable for their reception, and where people might have access at once, to read them. It seemed to him that in starting the foundation of this Library they had been putting the cart before the horse. It appeared to him very much like the act of a person who, wanting to have a magnificent picture, had commenced by ordering the frame, and spent a considerable amount for the surroundings of the picture before the artist ever commenced the picture itself. He regretted the way in which it was proposed to expend this £3,000. With reference to the recent Imperial Conference, the Governor said: “It is admitted and felt that the Conference is an event of the “first importance in Imperial politics.” With regard to that, his own opinion was that at present we did not know sufficient of what had taken place to be able to say that that would turn out to be the fact. As far as one had been able to gather, there had been a great deal of discussion, and there had been a great deal of disagreement. He, for one, hoped it might turn out that the Conference had done good. It had certainly brought together a great many Australian statesmen—which was a good thing in itself. But whether any permanent good may accrue

from the deliberations of the Conference, at present they could not say. With regard to the honors which had been conferred upon the Colonial Secretary, he could only say, "Honor to whom honor is due;" and he was not in any way disposed to do other than say that it was a matter upon which we might congratulate the colony that Her Majesty, or her advisers, had thought fit to do honor to this colony. But he regretted to find that the name of the Assistant Commissioner had not been mentioned in the Governor's speech. He was aware that Mr. Thomson was appointed not so much by the Governor as on the recommendation of the Commission which was appointed for the purposes of the Exhibition; but he thought—even the Colonial Secretary he was sure would be free to admit—that, although Mr. Thomson's position was not so high as that of the Executive Commissioner, yet still they knew he did a great deal of real work. Of course in this case it was something like a carriage and pair; they might have a couple of horses who did not look very well perhaps when running together,—one might be a showy, high-stepping horse, and the other an animal not so good to look at, but who may do a great deal of collar work. And he ventured to think that the Assistant Commissioner did a great deal of work at that Exhibition; and he for one, as a member of the Commission who recommended Mr. Thomson for that position, regretted that it was not thought worth while to mention his name on this occasion. Passing now to paragraph 12, he observed that the question of Immigration was referred to. He agreed with those who had spoken on this subject, that it was not a very pleasant one to discuss, because it seemed that, although for years this colony had been crying out for population, yet when that population came we had not been able to find means to properly support that population, or to induce these immigrants to remain in the colony. It appeared to him that this was a matter upon which the Government was not at all to be congratulated, and that we ought to have been able—that the Government of this colony ought to have been able—to have made such arrangements that when immigrants did arrive they should have had sufficient

substantial attractions before them to induce them to remain. Therefore, as to that part of the speech he was bound to say it appeared to him we had not very much to be satisfied with. Paragraph 14 of the speech stated that "the public finances of the colony continue in a sound condition," and that "the present year commenced with a credit balance amounting to £83,418." With regard to this, he certainly did agree with an hon. member near him when he said that all this money ought not to be kept locked up, but turned to some useful purpose. He now came to a question which was certainly the most important question referred to in the speech, and that was the question of Responsible Government. First he observed an expression used which he could not agree with,—Responsible Government was spoken of as a "boon," naturally desired by Englishmen. He could not regard that as an appropriate expression. He did not regard Responsible Government as a "boon;" he regarded it as the right of all English people, wherever they were, whenever they reached those numbers at which they were capable of governing themselves. It appeared from this paragraph in the Governor's speech that the suggestion was thrown out that Separation was too dear a price for the colony to pay for Responsible Government. At the present time he did not think they had before them sufficient material to know exactly what was the opinion of Her Majesty's advisers upon this question; but of this he felt confident—that, if the South did not desire that the North should be separated from it, and if the North did not desire to be separated from the South, no Government would ever think of separating one from the other; and it appeared to him, as they knew now that neither the South nor the North desired separation, that this suggestion was thrown out as a sort of hint, or a sort of threat, of what may happen in case Responsible Government should become the law of the colony. It seemed to have been suggested in order to create fear and doubt; and he, for one, did not think there was anything whatever that should induce this colony, or that House, to hesitate one moment in adopting the proposed change, for fear or dread of separation between the

North and the South. They knew that when first New South Wales had a Constitution granted, there was a provision made in the Imperial Act that separation might take place if the people desired it. That was afterwards amended, and Queensland subsequently became a separate colony in consequence of a further provision that all the colonies North of 30 deg. South latitude might have separation if desirable. But here no such state of things existed, and it would be madness, it would be folly, on the part of the Imperial Government to attempt to separate this colony, unless it was strongly desired by the people of the colony themselves. It was further said—and he believed a despatch from the Secretary of State had been laid on the table—that it might be dangerous, or that it is doubtful whether the whole of this colony should be handed over to the government of a certain number of people in the South. At the present time the Government of the colony was in the South. The difficulty which had been suggested had been met long ago. It was perfectly true that it was difficult to govern a large territory from any particular part of that territory; the fact remained that this large colony had been so governed,—governed from Perth: that was to say, the seat of Government was at Perth, and had been ever since the colony had existed; and every year would lessen the difficulty, because railways and telegraphs would destroy space (so to speak), and would every year render it more easy to govern the whole colony from Perth. The only difference that would really take place if the form of Government were changed into that of Ministerial Government would be that instead of the Executive being appointed by the Crown and being responsible only to the Crown, they would in fact be appointed by the people. They would be ministers trusted by the people, and they would be directly responsible to the people. Therefore it appeared to him that this question of Separation was only raised in order to frighten those who felt nervous on this question. Again, it was said that it was desirable that delay should take place in this matter for very serious financial reasons. But he would ask, where were these serious financial reasons pointed out in this speech? On the contrary—

to return to what had been said—it was stated that the present year commenced with a surplus balance of £83,000. Therefore, it appeared to him that the answer to this argument in favor of delay was given by the Governor himself, when he said that this year commenced with that satisfactory credit balance. In paragraph 16, the Governor said that when he received the views of that House on this subject, he proposed to make them public, and to dissolve the Legislature in order that the constituencies might pronounce their judgment. For his own part he did not in any way quarrel with that suggestion. It appeared to him that the present House, although fully, no doubt, representing the opinions of the colony, was not elected specially upon that question. It was a sufficiently important question, it appeared to him, to take the opinion of the colony upon, before the matter was finally decided; and, for his own part, he had no fear whatever that, should that appeal be made, either this year or next year, the result would be that they should have a Council more unanimous, and more strongly in favor of the change, than the present Council probably was. No doubt there were members of that House who would feel some difficulty in meeting their constituents; no doubt there were members who had thought fit, very recently, to modify their views upon this question, and who possibly might not be in a very happy frame of mind when they came to meet the electors. But the House must not consider that. It appeared to him that when the appeal came to be made to the country—judging from recent events, and from all one heard and read—the country would pronounce, he ventured to think, unanimously, as far as the electors were concerned, in favor of Responsible Government. Therefore he, for one, should be glad to see the appeal made to the colony, because he felt sure that those members who now were wavering—if they were any such—would take courage, and would completely—that was to say, if they wished to retain their seats—would completely pronounce in favor of Responsible Government. Coming to the question of a loan, he should wish entirely to reserve his opinion as to the desirability of a loan until he had heard the arguments

that might be used in favor of it and against it. But he desired to view that subject entirely as a distinct one from the question of Responsible Government. It appeared to him to be a mistake to mix them up, or to hold up the idea that if we had Responsible Government we might not get a loan,—should it turn out that a loan is desirable. It appeared to him that the two questions had no practical connection whatever. No doubt a change from this form of Government to that of Responsible Government was an important one, but it was not in the nature of a resolution. As a matter of fact, if that Council liked to bring in a bill changing the present form of Government to one of ministerial responsibility, they could do so; and, if that bill were laid on the table of the House of Commons for thirty days, and then received the Royal sanction, the change would have been made. But it had been thought—and he ventured to think wisely thought—it would be better not to take that line, but rather to pass a resolution—which he had very little doubt would be passed by the House—and thus allow the colony at large an opportunity of deliberately expressing its opinion upon this question. It was by no means a change which would shake the confidence of the money-lending public in this colony; on the contrary, he ventured to think it would strengthen that confidence. If it was felt by those who had money to lend, in England, that there was a change which would distract the community and create much popular excitement or commotion, then it might be that some difficulty might be experienced. But why should we anticipate anything of that kind? Why should we imagine it would be so here? It appeared to him that those to whom we looked more particularly for our loans were the people of Great Britain, who, being unable to comprehend anything else than that free form of Government under which they are themselves living, would feel that the colony in adopting similar institutions was only asserting itself as a colony of British subjects—he meant as a colony capable of governing itself. Therefore it seemed to him that this idea of mixing up a loan with the question of Separation, and the question of Responsible Government, was a mistake, and that it had been done in order as

it were to frighten them. But he trusted they had in that Council, and in this colony, people of sufficient common sense not to be alarmed by any such ideas as those. Passing on to paragraph 19, he saw it mentioned that a law providing for the compulsory assurance of the lives of civil servants would be laid before the House. With regard to this question of compulsory assurance he should reserve, so far as he was personally concerned, his own opinion on the subject until he saw the promised measure. It would make a great difference, to his mind, whether it was made compulsory upon those who were already in the service, or whether it was only to be prospective in its operation; for he, for one, should require very strong arguments to induce him to vote for any measure which would alter the status, or put any fresh burdens upon those who were at present in the service. Their salaries were already sufficiently cut down, without taking away any more from them. But if any well-considered scheme could be put forward whereby Government officials in the future shall be able to enter the service knowing that they were making some provision for the future, he should himself, and he believed that House would, give it most careful consideration. But he very much doubted whether the House would consent to any scheme, making it compulsory upon any public servants who were now in the employ of the Government to put away a portion of their salary for an object which they did not agree to do when they entered the service. He had now, he thought, touched upon the principal subjects mentioned in the speech; but he observed in the last paragraph of the speech that it was suggested there had been a “recent discovery of Western Australia by the outside world.” This appeared to him to be rather a figure of speech. Western Australia had been in existence now a good long time, and he believed it had been pretty well known to the outside world. They were all aware that the colony had progressed,—perhaps, in some respects, rather over-progressed,—pushed a little beyond what was desirable. But they all hoped that the colony was now fairly on its way to substantial advancement and prosperity. The present session was no doubt a very

important one, because in the course of it that Council would have to decide whether it would continue longer under that sort of rule which was well-described by a constitutional writer whose work he happened to be reading a few days ago—that was, the rule of a Governor—as a method of administration which had not existed in England since the time of the Stuarts. It was a form of Government which could only be tolerated where it was absolutely necessary, because personal rule was contrary to those first principles which all Englishmen were brought up to believe in. The session would no doubt be an important one; and he hoped this session would see, at all events, one thing, and that was a real Opposition on that side of the House. He was quite aware there were those who liked to see everything working smoothly—he supposed everyone did, when it was right to leave them alone and let them work smoothly; but he was one of those who believed that the only chance of getting a good Government was in having a strong and determined Opposition, who would watch the Government, who would see that they were doing what was right, and who the moment they saw the Government doing that which was not right would challenge it, and bring the Government to book. He therefore hoped that this session would see a good strong Opposition,—and they had in that House certain new members this session who, he hoped, would not lessen the chance of having a real and substantial Opposition—not a captious Opposition, or an Opposition that would do anything to check good legislation and wise measures, but an Opposition which would not be afraid to speak out its mind, and which when it thought the Government was doing that which was not right, attempting any “jobs,” or anything of that kind, would have the courage to say so. He was aware that in the past the idea of an Opposition in that House had been very unpopular on the other side of the House, and that it had been thought very desirable that the House should be a sort of happy family, managing the affairs of the colony. But elected as he had been by his constituents to look after their interests in that House, and not only to look after their interests, but feeling as he did that every member of a legislative

body should not only be the representative of his constituents but to a certain extent the representative of the colony,—feeling this, he should endeavor, for his own part—and he believed his friends around him would join him—to make the Opposition during the present session a real, *bonâ fide*, English Opposition. With these few remarks he would leave the speech. He had risen rather late, but he had not been aware that the debate would close so soon. He would only add that he trusted, before the session closed, they should find that they had taken a step which would remove what he thought was a reproach to the colony, namely, that they had been the last of the Australian colonies to get Parliamentary Government—by which he meant Government by a Ministry responsible to the people—which he ventured to think was the only form of Government under which reasonable Englishmen would consent to live.

The committee then withdrew to prepare the Address in Reply, and shortly afterwards,

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. Sir M. Fraser) brought up the Address, which was received, and read by the Clerk as follows:

“To His Excellency Sir Frederick Napier Broome, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Territory of Western Australia and its Dependencies, &c., &c., &c.”

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

“We, the members of the Legislative Council of Western Australia, desire to express our thanks for the speech with which Your Excellency has been pleased to open this session, and to assure you of our earnest desire to co-operate with you and to render our assistance in advancing the interests of the Colony in every way in our power.

“With respect to the celebration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty’s reign; in the address which was adopted unanimously on the opening day of this session, we have endeavored to express our love and devotion to our sovereign Queen, and our loyalty to her throne and family. We believe that in no part of the British Empire is Her Majesty’s

"person more respected than in this Colony. We have gladly accepted Your Excellency's offer to send a congratulatory telegram on the part of the whole Colony, to be communicated to Her Majesty through the Secretary of State.

"We concur with Your Excellency in the belief that the recent Colonial Conference held in London is an event of the first importance in Imperial politics, and we trust that the effect of the efficient representation of this Colony at it will be productive hereafter of much good.

"We think that the Colony has every reason to be satisfied with the success of the Western Australian Court at the late Colonial and Indian Exhibition, a success which was largely due to the exertions of Sir Malcolm Fraser, K.C.M.G., the Executive Commissioner from this Colony, and we are pleased to find that his services have been duly appreciated both by this and Her Majesty's Government.

"It is a great satisfaction to us to learn that the gold-bearing reefs in the Kimberley district have been most favorably reported on. We believe that the ultimate success of these goldfields is now assured, needing only capital to work the discovered mines, and to improve the communication with known auriferous areas, now untouched, by telegraphs, roads, and railways.

"That the construction of the Albany-Beverley Railway is being proceeded with in a very satisfactory manner, and that the line probably will be opened by the end of next year, is very gratifying, as is also the prospect that the difficulties which have arrested the progress of the works on the Land Grant Railway to connect the Geraldton District with Guildford and Perth may shortly be overcome, and we sincerely trust that both these great public works may be, in due time, brought to a successful completion.

"We are much pleased to have the plans and report for the proposed Fremantle Harbor Works from Sir John Coode before us; doubtlessly, this very important question will command our closest attention.

"We are glad to hear that Railways and other public works, provided for in the Schedule to the Loan Act, 1884,

"are now in an advanced state, and we agree with Your Excellency that the progress in public works is remarkable. We shall, of course, give our thoughtful consideration to any papers to be presented to us dealing with projects for further undertakings.

"We learn with great pleasure that the financial position of the Revenues of the Colony, as shown by the statements placed before us, continues in a sound condition.

"The question of a change in the constitution of this Colony to that form known as Responsible Government, and also of any proposal for increasing the present Loan for the purpose of further constructing reproductive works, are both matters which, we feel assured, every Honorable Member of this Council will give the most earnest consideration to.

"The desirability of establishing a Federal Quarantine Station at Albany is an important question, and will have, when before us, that consideration its importance demands.

"The various other questions and bills to be brought before us will receive our careful attention, and we will give our best consideration to the various bills proposed. Your Excellency may rely on our most carefully digesting all matters placed before us.

"In again thanking Your Excellency for the address with which you have been pleased to open this session of the Legislative Council, it only remains to us to join with you in prayers that in our labors we may be always guided to impartial and wise conclusions, and that, under God's blessing, the general interests of the Colony may be advanced by our actions."

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. Sir M. Fraser) moved the adoption of the Address.

Agreed to.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. Sir M. Fraser) moved that the Address be presented to His Excellency by Mr. Speaker and other hon. members on Thursday, 30th June.

This was agreed to.

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