

## Legislative Council,

Tuesday, 4th July, 1899.

Paper presented—Chairman of Committees, Election—  
Sessional Orders passed—Address-in-Reply; Third  
Day of Debate—Criminal Appeal Bill, first reading—Adjournment.

THE PRESIDENT took the Chair at  
at 4:30 o'clock p.m.

### PRAYERS.

### PAPER PRESENTED.

By the PRESIDENT: Auditor-General's  
Report—Supplement.

### CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES, ELECTION.

On the motion of the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Sir George Shenton was re-appointed to perform the duties of Chairman of Committees during the session.

SIR GEORGE SHENTON said he would have much pleasure in again performing the duties of Chairman of Committees, as requested by the House.

### SESSIONAL ORDERS.

#### STANDING COMMITTEES.

On motions by the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Committees for the session were appointed as follow:—

**HOUSE COMMITTEE.**—The President, Hon. F. T. Crowder, Hon. R. S. Haynes, and Hon. G. Randell; with power to act during the recess and confer with any similar committee of the Legislative Assembly.

**LIBRARY COMMITTEE.**—The President, Hon. J. W. Hackett, Hon. H. Briggs, Hon. W. T. Loton, and Hon. G. Randell; with leave to sit during any adjournment and during recess, and authority to act jointly with the Library Committee of the Legislative Assembly.

**STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.**—The President, Hon. J. W. Hackett, Hon. A. B. Kidson, and Hon. G. Randell; with leave to sit during any adjournment and authority to confer on matters of mutual concernment with any committee appointed for similar purposes by the Legislative Assembly.

**PRINTING COMMITTEE.**—The President, Hon. F. T. Crowder, and Hon. G. Randell.

### SITTING DAYS AND HOURS.

On the motion of the COLONIAL SECRETARY, resolved that, unless otherwise ordered, the House do meet for the despatch of business on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays at 4:30 p.m., and shall sit until 6:30 p.m. if necessary, and if requisite from 7:30 p.m. onwards.

### ADDRESS-IN-REPLY.

#### THIRD DAY OF DEBATE.

Debate resumed on motion made by Hon. H. J. Saunders and seconded by Hon. D. K. Congdon, for the adoption of the Address-in-Reply to the Governor's opening Speech.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE (Central): In speaking to the Address-in-Reply, I should like to commence by commending Mr. Stone for not having moved an amendment which it was commonly reported he intended to move, at the last sitting of the House, because the amendment would have been identical with one which was moved last session and had reference to the same subject. I do not think it is at all necessary that such amendment should be moved, seeing that nothing has happened since last session to justify a renewal of the proposals. Seeing the action which was taken last session by the Government in bringing forward the Bills against which we entered our protest, it is not at all likely that any similar action on our part would have the desired effect, and cause any proposed Bills to be withdrawn from the agenda of the Government. So far as the Address-in-Reply is concerned, I should like to have seen something more explicit than is contained in the first paragraph, that the financial position of the colony is sound. It is matter of common report throughout the colony, especially with those who have studied figures and know something about them, that the financial position of the colony is somewhere about £250,000 worse off now than it was this time last session.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: We are living within our means.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: I understand we are doing nothing of the sort. The estimated receipts have not been

reached, and the estimated expenditure has been very much exceeded, and, if that is so, I fail to see how the statement can come before us that the financial position of the colony is sound.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: The estimated expenditure has not been exceeded.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: In view of the position that we are living within our actual means, I do not understand how the Government can put into the mouth of His Excellency, that which is contained in paragraph two of the Speech, the suggestion that we should take up the question of federation this session. If, as seems to be allowed by the advocates of federation, this colony is to lose a very large percentage of its revenue, far more than it can afford to lose, it cannot be desirable for us on the eve of a general election to decide whether federation is or is not desirable. I think this matter should be left until the representatives of the people go to the hustings at the general election, and then we shall have some guidance in saying whether federation has the approval of the people or not. I may say at this stage that, if the Federal Enabling Bill is to be brought forward, I should like to see some provision inserted in it of the basis on which the votes of the people are to be taken, either that the votes of the whole adult population be taken, regardless of whether those who vote stand to lose or not, or whether the votes of those who do stand to lose, in the event of federation coming to pass, shall be taken only. If the revenue of the colony under federation will not realise sufficient to carry on the ordinary business of the colony, then those who own properties will have to suffer and not those who only have adult suffrage. The people who are bound to suffer in the event of loss should be able to say whether the scheme of federation should be adopted or not. I cannot see any reason why the Federal Enabling Bill should be put forward for adoption or rejection by those who are regardless of the loss to the colony. I think before the Federal Enabling Bill is sent to the people we should know on what basis the votes are to be taken. I do not propose to go into reasons either for or against federation, as I expressed myself once that I was decidedly adverse to the Bill, in its pre-

sent form, going to the people as is proposed now, and I am opposed to the Bill going to the people now until the suggestions which I have made, as to the basis of the suffrage on which the vote is to be taken, are included in the measure. Assuming the federal scheme to be adopted, we should have no right to extend our railway system, without the approval, in some way or other, of the federal body.

HON. W. T. LORON: That is quite wrong.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: It should be so; that is all. That being one of the views which I hold on the subject, I cannot support any proposal that the present railway system of the colony be extended. The suggestions made in the Speech, to bring forward some railways which were proposed last session—

HON. C. A. PRESSE: Wisely so.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: That is a matter of opinion. If there is money enough to build railways and to carry out other public works at the present time, I think there are works of greater importance than those proposed which might well be taken in hand. Until some means are shown whereby they can be carried out without imposing a further impost on the people, it will not be necessary to execute works already refused by the House during the present Parliament. If there are works urgently required, a certain course can be adopted whereby they may be approved by the colony as a whole. If the colony as a whole approved of such works, we should be bound to carry them through, or to assist in doing so. A great deal in this Speech seems to be laudatory of the works of the Government in the past; but, so far as one can see by a careful perusal of it, the works most praised by the authors of it are those in and about the city of Perth and the harbour of Fremantle. No doubt certain works were necessary for the harbour of Fremantle, and authority was given for certain moneys to be expended, but no necessity for further expenditure there has been shown, and there is nothing to indicate at present that we are in a position to indulge in the luxury of a graving or dry dock. A lot of these proposals of the Government would be excellent if we had money to carry them

out, but, especially considering the present state of affairs, until they can show there is sufficient money to pay the interest on our indebtedness, to execute the works we have now in hand, and to carry on the financial affairs of the colony, we shall not, in my opinion, be justified in further borrowing or in undertaking further works. Further works at Bunbury are suggested on the ground that, if the accommodation be increased, there will also be an increase in the output of coal. An ordinary careful business man would, however, wait until the demand in the output of coal was in evidence before he provided means for carrying out the work. If there is to be any expenditure at all on public works in the next twelve months—and I shall not support such expenditure unless there are means to carry out the proposals—the works should be done in the outlying districts and provinces of the colony, and not in the immediate centres of population, where people already have the necessary conveniences. If there is to be a proper development of the colony, work should be carried out for the benefit of the outer districts and not merely for the development of the centre. People living in the outlying districts require means to enable them to come into touch with the coast and with the markets.

A MEMBER: The Leonora railway.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: Yes; to open up two or three miles and provide water for a train or two. In paragraph 13 of the Speech, the Government take great credit in respect of buildings, and I would like to call attention to two or three of them; particularly the public offices at Geraldton. No doubt very fine offices and courthouses, equal, if not superior, to anything else in the colony, have been erected; yet, although they have been finished for upwards of six months, or nearly that time, they are not furnished, but are in a state of semi-furnishing, and at present are not fit for the carrying on of public business. Any one would imagine that in the estimates for the erection of new courthouses and buildings the cost of furnishing would be included.

HON. A. P. MATHESON: The estimate is already exceeded.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: Then a certain amount of credit is taken for public buildings, etc., at Mount Magnet. That

shows want of foresight on the part of the authorities of the Public Works Department, seeing that the population of Mount Magnet has fallen to something like one-tenth of what it was last year, and that there is very little prospect of its rising again to such an extent as to render necessary this expenditure. If the works proposed to be carried out are to be executed in this way, and in the same proportion as those at Mount Magnet and other decadent towns, it will be better for us to decide not to have any public works for a number of years, but to let the Government carry on their business in makeshift tenements until such time as the population is found to be permanent, so that the Government shall not erect extravagant buildings to be deserted within 12 months of their completion.

HON. C. A. PRESSE: Where are they deserted?

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: I am speaking particularly of Mount Magnet, a place which I know something about. As far as the proposed legislation of the Government is concerned, I would like to refer to one or two of the Bills, one of them being the Electoral Bill, and we have had an informal statement from the right hon. the Premier that he proposes to extend the franchise to women.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: The amended address published in the *West Australian*.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: It is not before the House.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: That is not my fault.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: Of course any extension of the franchise on a liberal basis would be acceptable to the colony, or to a very large proportion of the colony; but whether it should come in now, or later on, is a matter which this body will have to consider, particularly with regard to the federal proposals. It is an open secret that the object of putting forward the Bill, or of extending the franchise in this way, is to counteract the effect of the vote in favour of the federal proposals, and I believe the proposal is also put forward with the intention of counteracting the goldfields vote on the question of the redistribution of seats. It is patent to everyone that if the Women's Franchise Bill be passed, the large electorates will be in and about

the coastal districts of Western Australia instead of being on the Coolgardie goldfields, and the increase of members, if any, will then go to the coastal districts, and not to the goldfields, as at present claimed. It is a matter for grave consideration whether the game is worth the candle; whether, in order to save ourselves from a danger, we are not giving too much away. It would be a good thing if provision were made for the transfer of votes; that is to say, the granting of voters' rights to persons, so that if they left one district and settled in another they could take their rights with them and use them there.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: Doubtful.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: Well, I think it would be a very good thing. Another measure which is proposed is a dividend tax. As Mr. Stone stated, there is no indication as to what companies will be affected by this tax. My own idea is that it could not be imposed satisfactorily so as to affect companies whose head offices are outside the colony, because a dividend tax could only be fairly claimed upon dividends gained by persons and companies in the colony, and not upon dividends gained outside. Take, for instance, the Union Bank of Australia. From the records kept there, it is impossible to say what proportion of the dividends is earned within Western Australia and how much elsewhere; and, if that be so, it is impossible to levy a tax in the way contemplated.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: The tax is only to be imposed on gold-mining companies.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: The Speech does not state on what companies it is to be imposed. If it is to be imposed on gold-mining companies, I think the tax will be a mistake. I would suggest to the Government in this connection that, in lieu of the introduction of a dividend tax, they should introduce an export duty upon raw gold; that is to say, on gold that is uncoined. If the tax were on an extent commensurate with or greater than the Mint duties in the colony, the effect of it would be to draw the bulk of the raw gold, at any rate, into the Mint, so as to enable the Mint to be carried on otherwise than at a loss. As far as the small gold-finder is concerned, the dry-blower, the man with the small reef, or with stone which is not carrying a great

deal of gold, he would be no loser by the tax, because at the present time, in the price he obtains for the gold from the local buyer or the financial institutions, there is a large allowance for shipment and for minting. If, instead of the money being levied through a dividend tax, there were an export duty on raw gold, this gold would practically be forced into the local Mint. The finder of the gold would be no worse off, whilst the colony would be much better off, and the tax would be one that could be levied and collected with very much less expense than the dividend tax proposed. I cannot see what possible objection there can be to a tax imposed with the object I have suggested, and taking the form indicated. The surplus of profit derived over and above the expense of the Mint could be applied as the Government thought fit. My idea is that it should be applied in the way of a return to the goldfields districts, and, if possible, in the districts from which it came, in the alleviation of the financial conditions under which they labour. There might be a difference in the charge for miners' rights and so on, so that less money might be collected from the fields themselves.

HON. F. T. CROWDER: We want extra revenue.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: In that case the money need not be applied in the way I suggest. If we take the anticipated output of gold for the next 12 months, and impose a tax of 2s. 6d. per ounce on raw gold, it will bring in either £200,000 or throw three-fifths of that amount into the Mint. In other words it will give us £120,000. The other measures mentioned in the Speech can better be dealt with in detail when the Bills come forward, for we shall see exactly what the Government propose to do. I would like to call your attention to paragraph 21, which says the Northam-Goomalling Railway should be constructed without further delay. I see no good reason why the line should be constructed at all, to say nothing about its being constructed without further delay. The paragraph continues, "and that the Lands Department be further authorised to clear and prepare for cultivation land in localities specially suitable." I think that when the Government take upon themselves to

clear land, they are going a little outside the duties which fall upon them. Land can be obtained now on most reasonable terms by those who want it, or by those who have the means and the time to cultivate it, and if the Government are going to clear it first, I fail to see how they can dispose of it or have it settled except at a very great cost to the country. If a man can afford to take the land at all, he can afford to take it as it is; but if the Government clear it, he might not be able to pay the increased price. The project would be made use of by people speculating in land, who would start a little boom, and do so at the expense of the Government. I think that is a thing which should not receive much consideration, but should meet with scant courtesy from either this House or another place.

HON. F. T. CROWDER: Especially in the face of federation.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: My friend refers again to federation; but I do not intend that we shall face federation, although some members are anxious that we should.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: They are doubtful now.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: I hope you will succeed in converting all of them.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: We shall convert all of them in time.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: I do not know that there is anything else in the Address to which I wish to refer. I think this House should repeat its protest of last year, and absolutely prohibit, for one more year at any rate, expenditure by the Government in the construction of railways which have already been condemned by us, unless the Government show that they have sufficient means at hand, and that there has been a sufficient advance in the productive qualities of the districts to which the railways run, to enable the country to support the railways. I think convincing grounds should be brought forward that the Leonora country has progressed out of all expectation; that the Government have sufficient money; that the proposed Leonora line will be self-supporting, and that the interest on construction and cost of maintenance will be guaranteed by the district through which the line runs. We ought to have something of that sort before stultifying ourselves and going back on

the resolution which we passed last year, when we refused to give our acceptance to Bills for these railways being brought forward. I do not know that there is any other subject on which I wish to touch except one matter which has become a question of great reproach in the country. I refer to the great robberies and other offences which have taken place in the Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie districts, and to a smaller extent throughout the whole country. Crimes of a serious nature have gone on without discovery, and apparently without any attempt at discovery. The administration of the Police Department appears to be wanting.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: It is not the fault of the police at all.

HON. F. WHITCOMBE: The administration of the department is at fault. I think it would be a grave mistake to allow another session of Parliament to go over without some steps being taken to remedy the mistakes of the managers of the police force.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: I desire to say a few words with reference to the Speech of His Excellency the Governor, and I desire also to support the Address-in-Reply moved by Mr. Saunders. Touching on the first part, which is the most important paragraph in the Speech, I would like to say, in keeping with the opinions expressed by other members who have spoken, that I advise delay in dealing with the question of federation. Those who have advised delay in the past have been twitted with the desire to throw over federation altogether, but that is an unfair accusation. If persons give good reasons for delay, those persons ought to have the best of motives attributed to their actions. There is one reason why I ask for delay. The voters in the other colonies are thoroughly conversant with their own requirements; they know exactly what wealth they are possessed of, and how far their industries have progressed. In our case, we are asked to pass over the Federal Bill for the approval of people who, to put it in plain words, are not representative of the colony. We have heard it said that members of Parliament do not represent the people, but I say some people of Western Australia are not representative of Western Australia. I do not wish that those who have come here

should go away again; I am pleased they are here, and as a private individual I would help these people in their efforts to develop the goldfields. I have always done my best to help them, and have never opposed their efforts. I do not want it to be thought, in speaking of this matter, that I have a parochial spirit; but we find many voters in this country are people who have no local knowledge. Fully 50 per cent. of the people of the country have no local knowledge of Western Australia. Numbers have come here—possibly they have landed at Albany in the evening and have taken the train straight to Coolgardie. These people, who know nothing of the rest of the colony, will be asked to vote with those men who have resided for long years in the colony, and have made this colony what it is. Although the mining people take a lot of credit to themselves, the people on the goldfields would never have had the facilities they have to-day had it not been for the old community which had settled here.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Sandalwood.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Very few of the people living on the coast, who have been settled in this colony for years, want federation. If it had not been for the old settlers, the people on the goldfields would never have obtained the facilities they have received, and the Government would never have been able to borrow the money as easily as they did. We might just as well talk of building railways in New Guinea; I believe there are some goldfields there. But the British people would think people in New Guinea were mad, if British people were asked to lend money to build railways to the goldfields there. And if the money was lent, the people would have to pay "through the nose" for it. There would be no 3 per cent. or 4 per cent. The people of this colony have a right to ask for delay in regard to the federation question. The time may come when we may join the other colonies in federation, but we want to be able to point to our industries and say they are fully developed, and strong enough to stand alone before that time comes. Until we have some guarantee that our industries will not be injured, we have a perfect right to ask for delay in submitting the Federal Enabling Bill

to the people. There is no doubt about it that many people will vote on sentimental lines. The leaders of the federal movement advocate federation at any price.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: What is sentimental?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Read some of the speeches of the leaders of the federal movement and you will know. It appears that sentiment is the opinion of men whose knowledge of this country is bounded on one side by Melville Water and, possibly, the gas-works on the other side, and the clouds upwards.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: That is not sentiment.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: As the matter now stands these little tin-gods of leaders—as I might call the leaders of federation—have professed to be able to tell the old people of the colony what is good for them, when federal leaders know nothing about the industries of this colony—the infant industries. There is the agricultural industry, for instance, which is going ahead and which will soon supply the requirements of the colony. There is not the least doubt about that. Many people on the fields will vote for federation to get cheap food.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Fruit.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Many people on the fields will vote for federation to get a cheap loaf, but I know that two months ago the 2lb. loaf of bread was sold at Kalgoorlie for 3d. Can there be anything cheaper than that? I know that chaff, of first class quality, has gone into the goldfields district and has realised to the grower only £1 10s. to £2 10s. per ton. If the chaff does not reach the consumer at a low rate that is not the fault of the grower. I have only to point to one thing: that when I went to the goldfields six and a half years ago I paid £60 a ton to cart my stuff there. Then it was shilling drinks. Now there are thousands of people there and still it is shilling drinks, but the rate of cartage is £2 10s. a ton as compared with £60 a ton when I first took goods there. People will submit to shilling drinks, but they grumble because they cannot get a loaf of bread or flour at a very low rate.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: There are only two or three agitators who growl.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: There is no doubt about it that the people on the goldfields are as honest as any people in the world. Taking them right through, we have a better standard of people there than in any part of Australia. The goldfields have attracted good men, some of them thorough scholars.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: And some scamps too.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: No doubt there are some scamps as well, but the majority are honest, good people.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Yet you would not trust them with a vote.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: I maintain that the people on the goldfields have not the necessary local knowledge to vote on the federal question. When the people of Coolgardie went to see the Agricultural Court at the Exhibition they could scarcely believe that the produce they saw there had been grown in this colony. They really thought that some of the goods had been imported, and this is easily understood, for those who went to the goldfields only recently will remember the difference in climate there as compared with other parts of the colony. There were no gloomy days; the weather was bright, but when we came back to Perth it was cloudy. How could the people on the goldfields, who have not been to the agricultural districts, understand how the produce was grown in a climate such as they have in Coolgardie. As old Australians, and sons of the soil, we have a perfect right to keep the Bill from the people until the people understand this colony. I am prepared to help the Federal Enabling Bill along when I see that the people on the goldfields have made up their minds to stay where they are.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: How are you to find out whether the people have made up their minds to stay?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: That is just it. Fifty per cent. of the people on the goldfields could take railway tickets and be away to-morrow.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: But you said they were honest men.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: I maintain that a large proportion of the people are honest men—as honest and as well educated as the people in any part of the world.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: You could not have met many of them.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: When I went to the goldfields, after a long absence, I found men holding responsible positions, and men against whose honesty of purpose nothing could be said. It is not often that I suggest delay. I do not think that hon. members can remember me proposing delay on a previous occasion; but I hope hon. members will agree with me on this matter, and not allow the Federal Enabling Bill to go to the country before the people have been instructed as to the wants of this country. Do hon. members realise what we are asked to do? We are asked to give over the control of a country eight times as large as the whole British possessions in Europe.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: We do not give over the control.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: We do to a very great extent.

HON. F. T. CROWDER: We have to make a present of it.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: In the south-west division alone we have millions of acres, and its resources are coal, tin, timber, and agriculture, and goodness knows what. In the eastern division there are 314 million acres. We find there lead and copper, and that great pastoral industry which is growing up and which no doubt will be great in the future, equal to what it was in the past.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: You are speaking of the south-west division.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: No: the south-western division has 50 million acres of land. I was speaking just now of the eastern division of the colony, which has 314 million acres. Look at the wealth of Kalgoorlie. I may tell hon. members that I had the misfortune—I can call it nothing else—to be with the man who pegged out the Lake View Lease. In the morning I had shot an emu on the lake, and I met the man who had just put his notice up.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Why did you not tear it down?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Last month Kalgoorlie produced half as much gold, within a fraction, as the whole of Victoria produced. Therefore we are right in assuming that there may be other Lake Views in these enormous goldfields. And why should we trust the handling of this wealth to other people? It would mean the handing over to other countries the

control of our future. As we have pulled along, through all sorts of trials in the past, the other colonies should give us the privilege of managing our own country, now our prospects are so much brighter. Out of the 50 million acres in the south-western division only two million acres have been alienated. We hear of the large estates, but what are they, after all, when only two million acres have been alienated out of 50 million acres? Hon. members all know that we have something like 624 million acres of land in Western Australia. A portion of that land is supposed to be no good, and when we think that the whole of the British possessions in Europe only total 120,000 square miles, or, roughly, 78 millions of acres, which is only 28 million of acres more than there are in the south-western division of the colony, when we think that such is the case, there can be no doubt that our possibilities in the future will be great. Supposing that only one-third of the land is good land, still what a most promising future there is before us! In the event of the other colonies not allowing us to federate subsequently, surely we are big enough, with our land in the Kimberley district, which is fit for sugar-growing, with our gold, our lead, our copper, and timber resources, with our agricultural and pastoral industries: have we not all that is necessary to form a nation by ourselves? Therefore there is no need for us to worry whether the other colonies will subsequently admit us or not. If they do admit us, all right, and we shall be glad to join, but, if not, we can afford to stand out. I do not wish to weary the House, and I have nothing further to say on the question of federation, but I should like to make a remark or two on other paragraphs in His Excellency's Speech. With reference to paragraph 3, I must congratulate the colony on the extraordinary and wonderful output of gold last month. It shows that our great gold-mining industry is going ahead by leaps and bounds, and I feel sure everyone must be glad for the sake of the colony and those who are engaged in the industry. As to the Coolgardie Exhibition, I may say that I had the pleasure of visiting that Exhibition, and I only hope that the Government will see their way clear to remove the mineral court—which, I be-

lieve, is going to the Paris Exhibition—and the agricultural court to Perth with the object of allowing the thousands of people in the city to see them, because they are really wonderful displays, and will show to the people the great advantages of this country. If I may be pardoned, I would like to point out that there was one thing in the Exhibition in connection with the timber industry which struck me very forcibly. It was a large log of timber which had been sawn off and was six feet long. On the top of that log was a cork stuck on a needle. The log was supposed to represent the timber on the timber leaseholds of the colony, and the little piece of cork, no larger than my thumb, on the top represented the quantity of timber exported from the leaseholds up to the present time. It is a splendid illustration of our wealth of timber. I would like to see the mineral and agricultural courts brought to Perth for more reasons than one. It would show the agricultural people what is going on upon the goldfields, because the agricultural people have not that knowledge of the goldfields they should have, and I could go further and say that there are a lot of us in this House who are not as thoroughly conversant with things in general as we ought to be.

HON. A. P. MATHESON: But you vote all the same.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: With regard to railways, I see that the old proposals are brought up in a new form. I hope the House will allow these railways to pass this year, as these lines are as necessary to-day as the Coolgardie line was in the past.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: How can the House stultify itself?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Stultify itself?

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Yes; what is the meaning of "stultify"?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: As I understand it, it has a childish meaning. These railways should be constructed, as they are due to the people who reside in the districts to which it is proposed to run them. Some hon. member has asked where is the money coming from? We should have had much more money to-day had it not been for members crying "stinking fish"; some members have always been running the colony down.



Who ever built a store out of the proceeds of his first year's business.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: What?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Cannot the hon. member grasp the simile.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I never heard of such a thing before.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Our credit is good if people will not run the country down. Our present condition has been brought about by those who have run our country down. How was the deficit occasioned? From what I can gather, the Government in a weak moment submitted to the wishes of the House, and constructed certain works out of revenue, whereas these works should have been constructed out of loan. That took £150,000. I say there never was a deficit. If the Government had gone on carrying out works, as the Governments in the other colonies do, from loan moneys, there would never have been that deficit.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Where was the money to come from?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: From the lending public. If people will leave off croaking—and we have heard a lot of that word, and we shall hear still more—then our country will go ahead.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: It is croaking and carelessness.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: Leaving out the Greenhills line, there is not a railway in this colony that anyone can find fault with, but members mention the Greenhills railway as one of those lines which have helped to ruin the colony. If the construction of the Greenhills line is to ruin the colony, then we need not bother about federation, as our country would not be worth bothering about. With reference to paragraph 19, giving an idea of what the Government intend to bring forward this session, I should like to suggest that the Government bring in a Statistical Area Bill. In the other colonies the boundaries are defined for all time. Here, the Government are continually making changes. First it is the electoral district, then the magisterial district, and so on. It would be a very simple matter to have a statistical area fixed. For some years there has been a great deal of trouble over these boundaries, and I contend the matter could be got over by making a fixed boundary

of the statistical districts. With regard to the agricultural railways, which have been so much abused, there is a large area of land which will have to be developed before long. \*We have in one portion of the colony, as I just now pointed out, 50 million acres and only two million acres of that area have been alienated. When the unalienated land is taken up, the Government will have to construct railways to bring the products to the consumer. We shall have to face the trouble of constructing railways into agricultural districts in the future. It will not be long before the population of the Collie will insist on the railway going further into the agricultural district, and from Northam the railway will have to go into other districts. Then there are the Williams-Marradong railway and the Bridgetown-Albany line, which will have to be constructed to open up country.

A MEMBER: Are they going to pay?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: I think I may say that these railways will pay, and I take it the House will support the Government in every instance when it is shown that the railways will pay. We have a good asset in the goldfields railway, which is paying. We must have the proposed railways, and I ask the House not to oppose them blindly because they opposed them last year, for to do that would be acting in a childish kind of way.

HON. F. M. STONE: Where are you going to get the money from?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: We will borrow it.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: You cannot borrow it.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: The Agent General said we could borrow.

HON. R. S. HAYNES (Central Province): I thought some other member would speak before me, but no one seems inclined to do so; and it would be only right for me, having heard and read the voluminous Speech which was delivered by His Excellency, to place on record my views with reference to the proposals set forth in that Speech. His Excellency informs us he is glad to have the pleasure of meeting us, and telling us that the financial position of the colony is sound and its material interests are progressing satisfactorily. Wherever the Premier or any other member of the

Government has gone, he seems to have always sounded the praises of the colony, and said there is no stagnation in business; but I challenge that altogether. I say there has been very great stagnation in business and a great deal of depression, and it is no use shutting our eyes to the fact; nor is it any use to shut our eyes to the masterly inactivity of the Government in some respects, and their hot-headedness in others. That is my opinion, and not only mine, but the opinion of four-fifths of the people. Half of the people will speak out, but the other half are afraid to express their opinions. I do not care where you go, whether north or south, or in the city, you will find the cry that confidence in the Government has been lost.

HON. E. McLARTY: Question?

HON. R. S. HAYNES: The hon. member is scarcely likely to say anything which would interfere with the construction and lengthening of his jetty: there is no doubt about that. I admire the patriotism of the hon. gentleman in standing up for his district. You can easily find out the member for Bunbury by saying something about Bunbury, for when you do that he will answer you. We come to the subject of federation, and I do not know of a more vexed question. I have the same views of federation as I have always held. I have never changed my views with reference to this colony joining federation. I said at the outset, and I say again, that it would be ill for this colony, though not seriously wrong, to join in federation. This has been my view all along, but the House in their wisdom, notwithstanding what I then prophesied would take place, proceeded to elect hon. members to represent this colony at the Federal Convention.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: Not only this House.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I only speak of this House, because I am in this House, and I cannot castigate any other. I warned the House then what the result of that election would be. I pointed out that Queensland was standing out, and that if Queensland and this colony stood out, federation could never become an accomplished fact, but that if we sent members to the Convention we would be drawn into the scheme. Hon. members said "We

are not going to join the federation, but are only going over to see what it is like." It is very much like a person going to a prize-fight; he is not going to it in order to fight, but when he gets there he is "in it," and so it was with hon. members at the Federal Convention. They went to see what was going on, and became enamoured of the scheme. So far as this House is concerned, I think the members of it had the courage to air their convictions, but I do not know that any others did so, and the consequence is that they have made it now a concrete mass, and the other colonies use the fact of Western Australia coming in as a lever to induce Queensland to come in. If Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania come in, they will have a complete block on this colony. The Premier of New South Wales is not anxious that Western Australia shall join, and the reason is apparent, for the more the colonies to the westward join, the less power he will have of keeping the State's guidance and the trade in the Eastern colonies; whereas with Western Australia out, and Queensland with him, New South Wales will have a decided advantage over the other colonies. I pointed that out, and said that if we sent members over, we would be getting entangled in the net, and would be forced to come into federation. The question that presents itself to my mind is, whether we shall go into federation at all, or whether we shall go in at the present time. I am satisfied that unless this colony joins federation at the outset, it will never again have the opportunity of entering on the terms now offered.

SEVERAL MEMBERS: Hear, hear. Better terms.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Hon. members are quite right in having their opinion. I am only giving you mine, and I have as much right to tell you my opinion as hon. members have to state theirs; and after all it is only a question of opinion, for members have no facts to guide them, and neither have I. There is, however, one fact which I can mention, and it is this, that the chief objection in New South Wales against federation is that the smaller states have equal voting power with the larger states in the Senate, and it was pointed out that the smaller states could combine and outweigh the

larger states. This has been the sole cry, and the sole objection, or the chief objection to federation in New South Wales. Victoria has not yet spoken on it, but the Premier of that colony, when speaking in one of the suburbs of Melbourne, pointed out that when there was a vote of both Houses, the larger states would carry the day. He admitted that the smaller states would in general matters be able to outweigh the larger states, as they would out-vote them in the Senate. You will understand that before we can be admitted, it will be necessary for the Bill admitting us to pass the Lower House. In the Lower House the larger states would out-vote the smaller states. The smaller states would be in favour of admitting us in order to strengthen them in the other House, and the larger states would be aware of that and would block us. Some members say we can do without federation, whilst others assert that if we do not join, our colony will be ruined. My opinion is that it will not matter a whip whether we join or not. It will neither ruin us to join nor ruin us to hold aloof. I am not giving you any argument for it, but these are the opinions I have arrived at after a great deal of consideration. The only difference to us will be the trifling cost towards federation, which will not be much compared to the amount wasted by the present Government. It is a very small amount that we would have to pay to the Federal Government. I do not think it would be a blessing to us to federate, nor am I of opinion that it would be an evil. I again say that I shall vote against federation, but at the same time I do not feel that we should be justified in keeping the question from the people. This House has not been elected, nor has any House been elected, upon that question, and it would be improper on the part of this House to keep the question entirely away from the people.

HON. C. A. PRESSE: You have no right to submit it to them.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: We cannot, as a matter of fact, hold it from the people. When any great constitutional change is proposed (and this is a very serious constitutional change), it is usual to submit the question to the electors of the colony. The proposal in the Speech

is to submit it, not to the electors of the colony, as I understand it, but to submit it in a novel way to the people. That is a radical and decided change. I cannot for the life of me see why this question cannot be submitted to the people, and the opinion of the electors be obtained upon it in the ordinary and constitutional way.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: Hear, hear.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: The ordinary and constitutional way of obtaining the opinion of the country upon any question is to dissolve the Assembly, and to allow the electors to return their members to the Assembly, and take the vote of the Lower House.

HON. A. P. MATHESON: Other questions crop up.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Then the same objection would apply every time the Lower House is sent to the people. I do not care what the question is—it always goes to the people, if we alter the constitution in any way. We are here altering the constitution in a serious way, and the question should, as I say, go to the people. But should it go to the people in the way suggested, every person having one vote, and one vote only? That system is opposed to the present constitution of our country, and it is not the way in which we are elected. Plural voting is necessary in this colony, and it is the law of the land. By submitting the question to referendum, to be accepted or rejected upon the principle of one man one vote, you would be altering our present constitution in the most radical manner. We do not want to alter it, therefore the simplest way is to send the Bill to the country, in the ordinary and constitutional manner, by dissolving the Lower House and allowing it to go to the country. Allow the Lower House to be returned upon the existing franchise, because the persons who have that franchise are those who make our laws. Our constitution was moulded by persons returned upon that franchise, and it should be amended only by persons returned upon that franchise. Therefore, I repeat that the proper way is to dissolve the Lower House and allow the people to return their members, a vote of the people being thus taken, and then, I take it, this House would willingly and I think in a measure be bound

to accept the Bill, if it were passed by the Lower House. That seems to me to be the ordinary way. The question would then be, would that so delay matters as to prevent us from joining the federal union? I noticed a statement by one of the Premiers in the other colonies that it would be at least 12 months before there would be any sitting of the Federal Parliament. I suppose it will be 12 or perhaps 18 months; so there is ample time for us to have a general election and pass the Bill to accept federation.

A MEMBER: You mean reject it.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: My own impression is that federation will not in any way affect us materially, or indeed in any manner at all. It was thought that responsible government would ruin the country; and those persons in favour of it—myself amongst them—no doubt were of opinion that when we got responsible government everything would be altered, but it was not altered.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: It was.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I do not know in what way. I am not aware that it ever brought a shilling to my pocket or to the pocket of anybody else. I never heard of its doing any good to the community. I think that if the gold had been found in the eastern districts, we would have seen exactly the same development then as is now witnessed with the present form of government. You may depend upon it that forms of government do not interfere with that sort of thing in any way. Take the case of France, which was prosperous when a kingdom, also when a republic, then under imperial rule, and again under a republic; those forms of government being absolutely opposed to one another. There is a certain amount of plunder, and it is a question whether it will go amongst a certain lot of people or certain other people. One cannot look at this Speech without being reminded of the report by a board of directors stating that all locks are in repair, telling the shareholders the number of servants in their employ, or the number dismissed by the company, and giving information of contracts and engagements entered into and the probable future gains and losses. This Speech is more artistic, and I trace in some of it the finger of an editor. A good deal of it deals with the past. I am reminded of a

certain gentleman who gained considerable notoriety as a public speaker, and up to a certain point was listened to; but then the people became tired of him, and ever afterwards he seized everybody he could in order to relate the speeches he made. So it is with regard to this Speech. You see the establishment of public batteries referred to, and we had that in the last Speech. We know all about it, and do not need to be reminded of it. The Coolgardie Exhibition is referred to, and I am very sorry to say I was at the dinner and said then that, in my opinion, there would be no difficulty whatever in obtaining the necessary money for the Exhibition; but on consideration I cannot help thinking that the whole thing was a gigantic failure. Had the Exhibition been held in Perth or Fremantle, I do not care which, it would have been a gigantic success. All the necessary elements were there for success; but when we remember what a small place Coolgardie is, and the limited number of people who could visit the Exhibition, we can easily understand why the thing has been a failure. It has not been a failure so far as the exhibits are concerned, for it was very instructive, but a failure financially. Now the necessary *entrée* is served up in the shape of the Fremantle harbour works, and although one cannot help objecting to the expenditure of such large sums of money, I think that on the whole the Engineer-in-Chief is to be congratulated on the success which he has made of that undertaking. I think he has performed his work at a cost under the estimate, and no doubt he has surprised everybody living in the colony. The greatest credit is due to him for the gigantic success he has achieved, and, therefore, if a little more money is wanted for the purpose of carrying out the scheme, I shall not raise any objection. The work will have to be completed now we have started it, and it is very necessary for the colony. In paragraph 10 we come to the only piece of policy, if I may say so, foreshadowed by the Government. All along the policy of the Government has been to spend the money, and it does not matter, as Mr. Piesse says, where the money comes from. It is said we can get that from the lending public, but the generous and confiding public have just closed their pockets

against further borrowing. I consider it without parallel in the annals of responsible government for any Ministry to put before the House a programme suggesting the construction of railways which the House told them in very plain terms on two occasions they would not consent to.

HON. C. A. PIESSE : Is this House the Government ?

HON. R. S. HAYNES : I say it is without parallel to see a Ministry send down for acceptance a programme for the expenditure of money for the construction of public works, without telling the House how the finances stand or stating from what source they are going to draw the money.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY : The proper time will be when they bring in the Bills.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : The object of it is to obtain the assent of this House, and then to turn round and say "We shall borrow the money. You knew it, and at the proper time you should have objected to the proposals, and said you would not pass them. You simply passed the Address-in-Reply, and you confirmed what we said." That is the bait, but it is ill-covered, the hook being in view, and I object to swallow it. In as plain terms as is possible the House informed the Government last session that they would not authorise the construction of any railways which would involve the expenditure of money or the raising of further loans until the present loan authorisations were exhausted; yet, in the face of that, the Ministry send these proposals down. I only wish to show you how much consideration is paid to this House and the respect entertained by the Ministry for it, when they have the impudence to send down Bills again asking us to authorise the construction of these railways which they were told should not be constructed. Notwithstanding the able and learned eloquence of my hon. friend, the House again expressed the opinion to which I have referred, and said "We will have no railways." Will the Ministry understand that when once this House sets its foot down it intends to keep it down ?

A MEMBER : Circumstances have altered.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : Of course if circumstances have altered, and if, instead of having a deficit of a quarter of a

million, we have a deficit of half a million, do you think we are any better off ?

A MEMBER : We have not that deficit.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : I will deal with that later on. The hon. member says we have not that deficit, but if we had not that deficit would we owe that debt ? At all events, I challenge the hon. member to assert that we are in a better position financially to-day than we were last year.

HON. C. A. PIESSE : We are.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : He knows everything. I challenge the hon. member to contradict me when I say that, and I will ask him to remember that I would be supplied and prepared with the figures. I repeat that I challenge him to say we are in a better position financially. On the contrary, we are in a worse position.

HON. C. A. PIESSE : We are living within our means.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : I sympathise with every word of the statement that we are a quarter of a million to the bad.

HON. R. G. BURGESS : More than that.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : A quarter of a million for the year. The hon. member must remember that I have been fully instructed as to how this has been made up; but I do not know that it is my duty to go into the matter, because it will be dealt with in another place, and it is not for us to discuss it. At all events, there is nothing in this Speech to show that we are in any better position financially than we were 12 months ago. As a matter of fact we are in a worse position. One member says that we are not in a worse position, but I join issue with him. It must be remembered that at the present time the Government are authorised to borrow to the extent of, I believe, two million pounds more, but I am speaking subject to correction. I think it is two and a-half millions. Is it, or is it not, a fact that the Government can borrow ?

HON. C. A. PIESSE : They can borrow.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : Why do they not borrow ?

HON. A. B. KIDSON : They cannot.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : The hon. member is here chirping away, saying the Government can borrow, whereas they cannot, and he does not know what he is saying. It is absurd to say they can borrow the money, for I know the Government too well not to be aware that,

if they could have borrowed it, they would have done so and have spent the amount.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: They do not want to borrow the money.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I will just reveal a few things to show how hard up they are for money. A little time ago a small sum—only a few thousands of pounds, but I am not sure of the exact amount, and the number of thousands is immaterial—was voted for some construction work. It is immaterial what the work was, but I think it was sidings. Every member knows that if money is voted for any year to be expended on construction work, and that work is not proceeded with, and the money is not expended, the amount falls back into the consolidated revenue, and has to be reappropriated by Parliament for the ensuing year. It appears that a sum of money was taken from construction work and placed to revenue expenditure, the amount being some £16,000 or £17,000. Neither this House nor the other knows what has become of that amount. The proper course was to send it back to the consolidated fund and reappropriate it; but whilst Parliament is not sitting it is possible to take a sum and apply it for revenue purposes and then bring in an Excess Bill to justify the expenditure. That is the proper, the constitutional, and the honest course; but it is dishonest to take a sum of £5,000, £15,000, or £20,000 which has been voted for the construction of sidings or any other purpose, and to use the money in revenue expenditure for the running of the railways, refraining from telling the public anything about it, but stating that the railways are being run at a certain sum, when, as a matter of fact, you are squeezing in £15,000 or £16,000 which you are giving them no account of.

HON. A. B. KIDSON: How does that show that the Government are hard up?

HON. C. A. PIESSE: I question the statement.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: The hon. member questions the statement, and I shall call for papers to be laid on the table of the House and prove what I am saying. Everything is in black and white. That is a case in which the Government have taken money and used it when it was

voted for another purpose. I shall ask for the papers, and then we shall see what the opinion of the legal adviser to the Government is.

HON. F. T. CROWDER: The Government were perfectly justified in what they did.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Of course they were. The hon. member can see the justification, but I call it dishonest.

HON. D. McKAY: You should not have been allowed behind the scenes.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: The member could have seen what I have seen. There is a paper on the table at the present time—in fact I have the document here, and perhaps I shall refer to later on.

HON. A. B. KIDSON: Show us how the Government are hard up.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: How the Government are hard up is this: I am pretty credibly informed, but I do not vouch for the information, that the Government have been taking money from certain votes and placing them to the credit of other votes, and not telling Parliament about it. That shows the Government are hard up. With reference to the railway from York to Greenhills, I have asked the Colonial Secretary to lay before the House a statement showing the cost of construction, the cost of the rolling-stock, the cost of running during the last six months, and the cost of the upkeep, and when we get that return we shall see whether the agricultural railways pay or not. Mr. Piesse has referred to the Greenhills railway, and he says that it will be necessary for the House to authorise the construction of more railways to agricultural centres. That may or may not be right.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: Railways are cheaper than roads.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I confess I am not an agriculturist, but what I say is this, that if we judge by the agricultural railways in Victoria we must come to the conclusion that they are very dangerous toys to play with. I am going to ask the Colonial Secretary to lay before the House, as we have one of these agricultural railways, a return of the traffic on the York-Greenhills railway, which runs through an excellent agricultural district. I am sure Mr. Burgess will bear me out in saying

that a great deal of produce is grown in the Goomalling district.

HON. E. McLARTY: Ask for a statement in reference to the South-Western line at the same time.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I do not call the South-Western line an agricultural railway. That railway taps a lot of ports, in addition to which I should be sorry to compare Bunbury, Pinjarrah, or Vasse with Goomalling. Now I will take the Speech itself. Is any reason urged for the construction of these railways? No reason is given at all.

HON. C. A. PIESSE: You say the Speech is too long already.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: To what railway is the hon. member referring?

HON. R. S. HAYNES: The Goomalling railway; what is it required for?

HON. R. G. BURGESS: To open up the country.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: We might as well open it up with a school teacher. Let the hon. member show any necessity for that line.

HON. A. B. KIDSON: There are two people there.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: No; they have left. The reason given in the Governor's Speech for the construction of this line is this:

To still further encourage and stimulate increased settlement, my Ministers consider that the Northam-Goomalling railway should be constructed without any further delay, and that the Lands Department be further authorised to clear and prepare for cultivation lands in localities specially suitable for root products.

I am not going to say anything about the clearing of the land, because I think that is a step in the right direction; but I think that before building a railway the Government should clear the land, and then it would be seen whether settlement would take place in the Goomalling district or not.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: That has been shown.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Some people believe anything.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: You ought to go and see.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: A man would have to take a black tracker to find the place. I might refer to a case in which the Government voted a sum of money for the construction of a bridge over a

creek in a certain district, and when the surveyors went out to find the creek they could not discover it.

HON. W. T. LOTON: It was filled up by the last flood.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: That is the district in which the Government ask us to build a railway.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: The hon. member ought to get information before making these statements. What the hon. member refers to was not in the Goomalling district.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: It was in the Northam district.

HON. R. G. BURGESS: It was at Meckering.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Well, I suppose the people there will want a railway some day. The Speech says:

The expansion of the gold mining industry renders it obligatory that railways shall be extended to all those centres which warrant it, as already by this means not only have the gold mines been assisted in the best possible way, but agricultural, timber, coal, and all other producing interests in the colony have been stimulated and assisted at the same time. Bearing this in mind, my Ministers consider that the extension of the railway from Menzies to Leonora has become an urgent necessity, and they propose to again submit the project for your consideration.

With reference to that railway, I will only say that if circumstances are shown which will justify the construction of that line, I do not think this House will hesitate in authorising the construction of it, provided the money is available. If the Colonial Secretary thinks this House is going to stultify itself and go back on the resolution passed last session I think he will be mistaken. Where is the money to come from? The only way the money can be obtained is by raising a further loan. At the opening of the last session of Parliament the Speech of His Excellency stated that money would be reappropriated, and this House set its face against that reappropriation as being unconstitutional, and we also said that until the present loan authorisation had been expended we did not consider it advisable to further increase the indebtedness of the colony. I say again it would be unwise to further increase the indebtedness of the colony. The reasons I gave last session, when I moved an amendment to the Address-in-Reply, are still continued. There has been no change which necessi-

tates the construction of this line except it may be that there is more urgency for the construction of the line. Mr. Loton has been through this district, and he is capable of forming an opinion. If he speaks he will tell this House whether it is necessary to construct the line. If the hon. member tells the House that such a line is absolutely necessary no doubt that will go a long way with me and many members in saying whether the line shall be constructed or not. If Mr. Loton says the line is unnecessary I think it will take a good deal to get the House to support the construction of the line.

HON. A. P. MATHESON : Where does the hon. member sit for ?

HON. R. S. HAYNES : The hon. member sits for the Central Province. At the present time no reason is given why we should construct the line. The further you get away from the centre the greater is the cost of the traffic and the upkeep. The General Manager of the Railways says that a higher rate should be imposed in the outlying districts, but the Government give way at once to a demonstration. A weak Government bends to the will and the shouts of the populace, and especially is this so on the goldfields. It would not be right to ask the rest of the country to contribute to the cost of a line for the use of a few people in a place which may be deserted six months hence.

HON. C. A. PRESSE : The people go back again.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : They go back to die. If my arguments are sound then there is no justification for the line, and I desire again to state that so far as the Goomalling railway is concerned, until it is clearly shown that the finances of the country have improved and the Government can, without dragging the colony through the slums of London, obtain the money, I shall not consent to further increasing the indebtedness of the colony and to hold us up to public ridicule.

HON. W. T. LOTON : I do not think the Government would get money from the slums of London.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : They cannot get it from the banks. A day will come when all the statements in reference to borrowing will appear in black and white. Wait until the next Government come in, and then we shall know where the

Government have been trying to obtain the money.

HON. F. T. CROWDER : We shall not be alive then.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : The Coolgardie-Norseman line is suggested. Will the Colonial Secretary kindly tell the House what is the increase in the population of Norseman ? What is the increase in the output of gold there ? How many people travel to and fro in a month ? How many coaches run between the two places, and how many mines are working ? The Colonial Secretary might also tell us where the Government are going to get the water for this line ?

HON. F. WHITCOMBE : They will get the water from Mt. Leonora.

HON. R. S. HAYNES : Where are they going to get the traffic from ? I believe there are half a dozen good mines at Norseman, but half a dozen good mines will not warrant a railway being constructed. What a sop this is ! I can trace in this paragraph, as I trace in other paragraphs, the finger of a member for the goldfields, and an oily finger it is too. There is the Bonnie Vale railway—and a "bonnie" line it is, too. In the name of common sense, what do they want that line for ? Is it the fact that a member representing one of the districts in that locality is interested very largely in one of the mines at Bonnie Vale ? I do not know whether such is the case or not, but people say it is, and we ought to have it contradicted.

HON. W. T. LOTON : Would you contradict a fact ?

HON. R. S. HAYNES : Yes, because that is the way you can have the position explained. This proposal is like the fly in amber, for you cannot tell how it got there. There is no necessity for the line, and, if the hon. member intends to speak, will he give us some reason why it should be constructed ? I have heard some cock-and-bull story about it. It is said it will be a splendid line, and there is going to be a dam ; but if that is the reason, one would have thought some mention would have been made of it in the report of the Engineer-in-Chief upon the Coolgardie water supply scheme. One would have thought he would have said it would be necessary to have that line from Coolgardie up to the place to carry the pipes, but there is no mention



whatever of it. The mention of the Northam to Goomalling line in the Speech is one of the greatest conundrums I ever met with. Who pulls the string to make the figure move? The figure will not move of its own accord. I take it that the hon. member who represents the Government in this House is responsible for the statement in the Speech, he having been consulted upon it. I ask the hon. member, as leader of the House, if he thinks the House is going to build these lines when there is no reason to build them, and we have no money for the purpose. Will he give us some reasonable explanation? Does he think that after the House has been prorogued we forget everything that we have done before? Surely, if this House is going to ask for the respect and confidence of the electors of the colony, the House will adhere to a continuous policy. I hope every member will adhere to the vote which he gave before, and that there will be some continuous policy, for otherwise we will become the laughing-stock of the community. Those are the railway lines that the hon. member asks this House to pass. I think the member who moved the adoption of the Address-in-Reply struck the keynote when he said it was impossible to agree to the construction of these railways, while there was a deficit of a quarter of a million, and I cordially agree with every word he said in reference to the railways in question. If they are absolutely necessary, we will be able to consider whether they shall be constructed or not when the money is forthcoming. My opinion is that the Coolgardie to Norseman line is not wanted; and so far as the Coolgardie—they all radiate from Coolgardie—so far as the Coolgardie to Bonnie Vale line is concerned, its construction would be a waste of money and it would be a sin and a shame. I know something about Coolgardie and a good deal about the business that goes on in that district, having a business there myself, and I say it would be dangerous in the extreme to go and spend any further money upon Coolgardie; and to spend it upon such a line as that would be little short of a disaster. With reference to the Leonora line, I see no reason whatever for its construction, except that to spend money is the policy of the Government, and has been all along. But per-

haps I am not in order in referring to something which Mr. Whitcombe referred to.

**THE PRESIDENT:** The hon. member is quite right in referring to any debate which has taken place on the subject now under discussion.

**HON. R. S. HAYNES:** Mr. Whitcombe referred to the question of the redistribution of seats. I ought to have raised the point whether the Address-in-Reply is to the Speech as printed and as delivered in this House, or to the amended Speech that is tacked on to it, saying there is going to be a redistribution of seats. As this has been boldly announced by the Premier, and the subject is bound to be introduced, I think it is our duty to express our opinion upon it. The question of the redistribution of seats was dealt with on a former occasion at the request of Mr. Parsons, who moved a motion that there should be a redistribution of seats, and, for the purpose of provoking a discussion, and only for that purpose, I seconded the motion. I do not know that a more serious question will present itself to the House than that of the redistribution of seats. I am always in favour of giving the people ample and equitable representation, and I always shall be in favour of it; but when we come to the question of redistribution of seats, it will depend entirely on the scheme brought before the House whether the people will accept it or not. I desire to place on record my view. I shall never consent to any scheme having for its object the extinction of the pastoral and agricultural industries. There is a great deal of laughter and sport made about the districts in the far North, it being said that certain members represent twenty-five constituents, or twenty-four, and so on, and it is also pointed out that one member represents two, or three, or four thousand. That may be, but inequality exists in all new countries. Are you going to allow the persons gathered together upon the goldfields, who have no fixed habitation, and who, I regret to say, have not made the best of colonists, notwithstanding all the "butter" that is laid upon them by several members; persons who have no sympathy with us whatever in our efforts to send this country ahead, but who look upon the colony as inhabited by Boers, and who

through their papers (not one paper, mark you, but every paper in the whole of the district) level insults at the people of Western Australia, and who are applauded by a vagabond mob; are you, I ask, going to allow these persons to dominate the people in the far North, and not only those, but the people down South? If you are going to give them what they want, there will be nothing left for you. The Lower House must always bend to a certain extent to the will of the people. There are plenty of men in that House who are forced, by reason of the hue and cry of their constituents, to vote perhaps for the redistribution of seats, and to give the goldfields more than they themselves desire to give, but we are here to check hasty legislation, and, in case of need, stand as a bulwark against a House that will bend to the popular will and the popular clamour. We in this House have been returned on a property qualification, and we represent the vested interests and the solid people of the colony. I repeat that I have always wished that persons shall have equal representation, but I think it would be inequitable representation to give a number of persons situated in Coolgardie the same voting power as is enjoyed by those who have spent all their lives and invested all their fortunes in the far North, few though they may be. I think that it would be unjust, and that you would never have got those people who live in the North-west, in the far North, in the Murchison district, to invest their money had they known or foreseen that the House would allow them to be governed by persons on the goldfields.

At 6:30 p.m. the PRESIDENT left the Chair.

At 7:30 the PRESIDENT resumed the Chair.

HON. R. S. HAYNES (resuming): I was referring to the question of the redistribution of seats, and I may say I have had considerable experience with the goldfields, and am sure anyone who goes to the fields will come away with the same feeling that I have. When a man arrives, say, at Kalgoorlie, he feels like a man in a strange country. He does not

feel as if he were in Western Australia amongst Western Australians. The style of life is different. You see various sights.

HON. A. P. MATHESON: You see some life.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Of a very doubtful character, there is no doubt about it. You see boxing exhibitions and other exhibitions; and although people go to see these sights, they go in slouch hats, and would scarcely like to be seen at such exhibitions. Members have had an opportunity of visiting the goldfields and of seeing the vast improvements there. Take the improvements and compare them with improvements in other parts of the colony—do these improvements warrant any vast amount of representation? You see the people living there—where do they live? They live in small houses or, rather, huts or humpies, which could be easily removed or burnt down in a moment. These people have no stake in the place; they have no feeling of sympathy towards the people of this country; they care not a jot for the advancement of the country. Their ideas are well expressed by the newspapers on the fields, and there is no newspaper on the fields that has not levelled insults at every man who has the progress and advancement of this country at heart. There is a continuous heaping of insults on the heads of everyone in the country. We are called "Boers," and the people on the goldfields call themselves "Uitlanders." They say we run the country in our own interests. The Government have increased the debt of this country in building railways or in building dams for the benefit of the people on the fields. Legislation has been passed entirely in the interests of the goldfields people. The Government have sacrificed the farmer, the artificer, and the labourer, who are identified with this colony, in order to allay the demands of the people on the goldfields. There must be an end to all this. Again we are met with the request to build further railways for these people. The goldfields residents have behaved themselves so well in the past; they have been so thankful for what has been done for them, that they should be given further facilities. Let us pause for a moment. Persons have gone into the northern in-

terior and opened up the country; they have paid money to the revenue in the shape of rent; they have settled on the soil, all their money has been expended on the soil, and with what result? To-day many are not able to pay their way. These pioneers have worked early and late—not the eight hours a day that people work on the goldfields, but eighteen hours a day—yet the people who are opening up the country are to be still further sacrificed for the benefit of the people on the goldfields. I think it is our duty to put aside all party-feeling and resist the demands of the Government, because the Government have stooped and bowed down to the storm before them. And the Government intend to send to us a Bill for the re-distribution of seats before the time has elapsed for which the members of the Assembly were elected. So much for re-distribution of seats. I feel I have the sympathy of the whole House in respect to this matter. I see in the Speech certain references made to legislation, and I congratulate the Government on the steps which are to be taken to introduce a Trades Union Bill and a Bill to deal with trucking. I think that the time has arrived when a move should be made in this direction. At present we have no legislation dealing with trades unions. I think all trade unions are illegal, and it is time they were legalised. I hope to see arising out of the Trades Union Bill some attempt at a Conciliation Board.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: Compulsory?

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I do not like compulsory references, and I am not prepared to go so far as to say that there should be compulsory conciliation boards. Still, I have not given the matter full consideration. There are many other measures promised which commend themselves to this House, and I only wish the Government would see fit to introduce other social legislation to deal with social matters, instead of leading us into long and stormy debates over chimerical railways and chimerical problems. I regret again there is no mention made in the Speech of the foundation of a University in this colony, and I shall not allow any session of Parliament to pass without referring to this matter. I hope members will join with me in trying to bring pressure to bear on the Government to found

a University. It is a crying disgrace to this colony that we are without one. We can support a Mint and an Observatory, but we are not able to support a University, which, I think, is a disgrace in a rich colony like this.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: Queensland has no University, has it?

HON. R. S. HAYNES: Queensland has none, but it is no argument because one colony is backward that we should be also. I say the want of a University reflects the greatest disgrace on Queensland, and it is a disgrace to this colony that we are bound to send our sons out of the colony to obtain higher education. I speak very feelingly on this subject, because if I desire one of my boys to become a graduate at a University, I have to send him for three years to another colony—for the three years when he ought to be at home under parental control. This is a great handicap. People can come from the other colonies where their sons have graduated at a University, and those sons have a better start in life here than the lads who have been brought up and reared here. If a person sends his son to another colony to be educated and to pass an examination, he does not know in what condition that son will come back. It is a disgrace to this colony that we have no University, and it seems that the Government are not at all in sympathy with higher education.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY: Oh, yes.

HON. R. S. HAYNES: I should be very sorry to refuse to accept the hon. member's statement, but I do not like statements without some facts to support them, and no attempt has been made to introduce these facts into the Speech. There should be no reason why the residents of this colony should have to send their children out of the colony for higher education. My experience teaches me that it is necessary to state that no attempt has been made to place upon the commission of the peace any representative of the working classes. In England the idea was first carried out and it was eminently successful. The same thing has been carried out in New Zealand and South Australia, and I believe in New South Wales. Here we have very many artisans and respectable, intelligent, hard-working men who would adorn the

bench, but they are not placed upon it, and the result is that their class is not represented on the bench. I unfortunately have had to appear before a bench in this colony which was packed as full as it could possibly be, some magistrates having come many miles, in order to convict a man. If the man had been as innocent as a baby it was immaterial to that bench, because that bench was sent on an errand to convict. It reflects the greatest possible disgrace to that part of the colony, and it was on the goldfields. If any respectable working man had been appointed as a magistrate, it would have been his duty to have gone on that bench and to have stopped what I call an infamous proceeding.

**THE COLONIAL SECRETARY:** What steps were taken to rectify that wrong, if it was a wrong?

**HON. R. S. HAYNES:** The proper steps. It was no good appealing from Cæsar to Cæsar. We are appealing on the law. The decision on the facts was what I call a monstrous decision of the court.

**THE COLONIAL SECRETARY:** There was no appeal to the Government.

**HON. R. S. HAYNES:** The case is *sub-judice*, therefore I shall say no more about it. The last matter I have to speak about—and I do so with some pain—refers to the Railway Department. I confess that the management and working of the Railway Department—I am not speaking of the running branch, but the management of the financial portion of the Railway Department—has been an absolute disgrace. I will now refer to a report to which I called attention earlier in the evening, and a further report. Let us see what the Auditor General says about the Railway Department. At page 265, paragraph 43, the Auditor General reports as follows:—

It has been my bounden duty on numerous occasions during the past seven (7) years to comment adversely on the performances of this highly important department, or perhaps I ought rather to say some of its officers (*vide* correspondence on record). However, I am free to confess that it has at all times been a source of worry and anxiety to me to be obliged to do so, and I now venture to think few will deny that the trouble experienced by me has been chiefly attributable to the system in vogue of giving effect departmentally to the public works policy of the Government to such a great extent. Of course I am aware

that there are two sides to this all-important, if not burning, question, and no doubt some will argue that in the interests of economy it is wiser and cheaper to do certain public works departmentally, whilst there are others who take the reverse view, or, in other words, would insist upon having all large undertakings or works performed by contractors.

**HON. F. T. CROWDER:** You are referring to the Public Works Department. That is not the Railway Department.

**HON. R. S. HAYNES:** It refers to the railways. I should have said the Public Works, as that includes the railways. The Auditor General goes on to say:

I deem it my duty to refer to this important, not to say serious, matter, as I am quite convinced that many loopholes for fraud exist, under the present system, to those who are dishonestly inclined, and I may here remark that it is an open secret that the Government is almost, if not entirely, in the hands of officers intrusted in accomplishing the works from time to time, and also in the disbursement of large sums of public money for wages, etc., under the system of payment inaugurated, and which, I may add, was rendered absolutely necessary. However, it is far from my wish or intention to cast a reflection upon the officers of the department as a whole, as I am quite certain that there are many excellent and painstaking officials on its staff; indeed, I may say a credit to any Government; but, unfortunately, there is no denying the fact that past experience has revealed a very highly unsatisfactory state of affairs in connection with the performances of other officials employed therein. It would appear that some have taken a delight in disobeying the requirements of the Audit Act, 1891, and were never tired in attempting to set aside, or rather ignore, some of its provisions; hence the trouble ensuing. It is due to the conduct of such officials that my suspicions have been aroused, and permit me to say I wish it to be known that in the future, as in the past, I am determined to insist upon the requirements of the Act being carried out to the letter. I have no sympathy with those officers (whoever they may be) who are always so ready and willing to air their views as to the working of the Act, and some have said it is unworkable; but I am quite sure that such is not the case, although, like everything else, it is undoubtedly open to improvement, and, as you are aware, can be amended, whenever Parliament is disposed to do so, on the motion of the Government. However, there can be no doubt but that the difficulties experienced by my department will soon vanish (as I am happy to be able to record the fact that they now are vanishing), consequent upon the further fact that most of the officers attached to the department in question are now working on the lines laid down by Parliament, thus assisting me very materially in discharging

the duty devolving upon me in administering the law in force respecting the expenditure of such enormous sums of public money by this very important department.

That is so far. Now I come to page 271, paragraph 54, under the heading—"Purchasing Goods from other than Contractors." The Auditor General says:—

In consequence of the objectionable practice of certain departments purchasing from other than Government contractors, it appears to me that thousands of pounds have been needlessly expended, indeed I may say wasted, and as an illustration I now enumerate items in support of my contention as under:—

He gives the items, altogether totalling £5,395 9s. 4d., wasted. The report goes on to say:—

It will be understood that a good deal of ingenuity has been exercised in attempting to satisfy my queries on this important question, and although I am quite prepared to admit that there are cases when a departure from contract rates is inevitable, still, at the same time, there can be no doubt whatever but that it should be the exception and not the rule to ignore Government contractors. I venture to think that most, if not all, of this amount might have been saved if only the responsible officers had exercised a little more foresight in obtaining their requirements from the contractors, as I think they should, and no doubt would have done if purchasing in their own personal interest, when in all probability a means to that end would have been found to effect economy in the truest sense of the word. There are many such subjects in this report, and then in a supplement the Auditor General deals with the sale of an engine. It is on page 11 of the supplementary report:—

*Sale of a Class "G" Engine, No. 132, to the Gill-McDowall Jarrah Company, Limited.*

The engine in question was purchased by the Government and debited to a vote of the Legislature some years ago, and now that it has been sold to The Gill-McDowall Jarrah Company, Limited, for the sum of £1,826, under the approval of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council, the Right Hon. the Premier has instructed the amount to be placed to the credit of the loan vote, which in my opinion is *ultra vires*, and, for aught I know, may be viewed by Parliament as *mala fides*, inasmuch as the debit was outside of the current financial year.

That is a nice report about the Government from their own officer, and our own officer, the Auditor General. He says it is *ultra vires*, and may be viewed by us as *mala fides*. The report goes on:—

I am not aware that it is necessary for me to amplify the observations which my duty

compelled me to put forth in my last annual report to Parliament (*vide* pages 274 to 278), but at the same time I feel it incumbent upon me to again submit most respectfully the matter for consideration of Parliament, with a view of obtaining definite instructions, in order to enable me to pass or reject transactions of this kind, as I conceive it to be my bounden duty to take exception to the Government disposing of Government property purchased and debited to a vote outside the current financial year, and placing the proceeds of sale to the credit of the vote for the current year. I say most unhesitatingly that the proper course to pursue would be to place the proceeds of sale into the Public Chest, and thus enable Parliament to re-vote it, and not, as in this instance, retain it as a matter of course without the sanction of Parliament; otherwise, can it be truthfully said that Parliament has the control of the purse-strings?

I now beg to quote *in extenso* the correspondence which has passed on this subject, and await the instructions of Parliament in this very important matter.

FRED. SPENCER, Auditor General.

#### MINUTE PAPER FOR THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

I recommend the Cabinet to advise His Excellency the Governor in Council to approve of the sale of class "G" engine, No. 132, to the Gill-McDowall Jarrah Co., Ltd., for the sum of £1,826.

(Signed) JOHN FORREST,  
for Commissioner of Railways.

12th June, 1899.

This money must go to credit of Loan Vote.

(Signed) J. F. P.

The Cabinet advises as recommended.

(Signed) JOHN FORREST,  
Premier.

#### THE COMMISSIONER OF RAILWAYS.—

Approved by His Excellency in Council, and entered on the Minutes of the Executive Council accordingly.

(Signed) F. D. NORTH,  
Clerk of the Council.

21st June, 1899.

#### THE AUDITOR GENERAL.—

Please note.

(Signed) C. B. RUSHTON,  
for Under Secretary for Railways.

21st June, 1899.

#### Immediate.

#### THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR RAILWAYS.—

Please inform me the date when the engine in question was purchased, and also the Vote to which the cost was indebted?

(Signed) FRED. SPENCER,  
Auditor General.

26th June, 1899.

## GENERAL MANAGER,—

Please supply the information asked for.

(Signed) C. B. ROBERTSON,  
for Under Secretary for Railways.

20th June, 1899.

## THE AUDITOR GENERAL,—

With reference to the enclosures.

The engine in question was purchased from Messrs. Jas. Martin & Co., Gawler, S.A., during 1896, and it was erected during March of that year.

I am sorry I cannot supply you with particulars of the Vote to which the cost of this engine was debited. The transaction was arranged during the time the Engineer-in-Chief was acting in the capacity of General Manager, and the matter was arranged in his office.

The information is sent you direct in accordance with your wish, expressed verbally.

(Signed) J. DAVIES,

General Manager.

per C. S. Gallagher,

30th June, 1899.

*The Auditor General to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary.*

As the Right Hon. the Premier has instructed the proceeds of sale of the engine in question to be placed to the credit of the Loan Vote, and in view of the correspondence which has passed on a previous similar question, as reported to Parliament in my last Annual Report, I feel it incumbent upon me to enter most respectfully my protest against the proceeds of sale being placed to the credit of the Loan Vote, on the grounds that the debit was outside the current financial year.

2. Will you kindly submit the papers for the information of the Right Hon. the Premier, as I purpose placing this matter before Parliament, at an early date, in a Supplementary Report.

(Signed) FRED. SPENCER,

Auditor General.

30th June, 1899.

There, in defiance of a properly-constituted officer, who forbids the money to be accounted for in a certain way, and in defiance of the Audit Act and every principle of honesty, the Government pay the money to current account, making it appear that the money voted for the year was sufficient, whereas the revenue was supplemented from outside sources. That is about the strongest report ever laid on the table of any Legislature in the British dominions. I desire to close my remarks. Perhaps I could have gone a little further. There are several matters to which I would like to refer, but I do not want to unduly take up the time of the House. In conclusion, I wish to place upon record my intention of voting

against any proposition to construct railways on the goldfields, or to construct any railways at all unless the credit of the country has improved, and unless the Government inform us from where they are going to get the money.

On the motion of the Hon. A. P. MATHESON, the debate was adjourned.

## CRIMINAL APPEAL BILL.

Introduced by Hon. A. B. KIDSON, and read a first time.

## ADJOURNMENT.

The House adjourned at 8 o'clock p.m. until the next day.

## Legislative Assembly.

Tuesday, 4th July, 1899.

Papers presented Question: Railway Carriages Reserved, Charges Question: Railway Demurrage on Timber—Address-in-Reply: Mr. Leake's Amendment and Division; Third day of debate—Adjournment.

THE SPEAKER took the chair at 4:30 o'clock, p.m.

## PRAYERS.

## PAPERS PRESENTED.

By the DEPUTY SPEAKER:

By the PREMIER: 1, Report of Penal Commission; 2, Report of Commission on City Railway Traffic; 3, Report of Surveyor General for 1898; 4, Report of Conservator of Forests; 5, Report on Gaols and Prisoners for 1898; 6, Report of Education Department for 1898.

Ordered to lie on the table.

## QUESTION—RAILWAY CARRIAGES RESERVED, CHARGES.

MR. QUINLAN asked the Commissioner of Railways: 1. Upon what terms railway carriages were reserved upon race days. 2. What concession was given to stewards of race clubs, if any.