

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates
[Hansard]

Legislative Council

TUESDAY, 5 AUGUST 1919

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QUEENSLAND PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly.

SECOND SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT.

APPOINTED TO MEET

AT BRISBANE ON THE FIFTH DAY OF AUGUST, IN THE TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF HIS
MAJESTY KING GEORGE V., IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1919.

[VOLUME 1 OF 1919.]

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

TUESDAY, 5 AUGUST, 1919.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

Pursuant to proclamation of His Excellency the Governor, bearing date 8th July, summoning Parliament to meet this day for the despatch of business, the Council met at 12 noon.

The CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS read His Excellency's Proclamation.

THE GOVERNOR'S OPENING SPEECH.

At noon His Excellency the Governor came in state to the Houses of Parliament, was announced by the Usher of the Black Rod, and received at the bar by the President (Hon. W. Hamilton).

The members of the Council being seated, a message was sent to the Assembly, informing the members of that House that His Excellency desired the presence of Mr. Speaker and hon. members in the Council Chamber. The Assembly attended accordingly, and hon. members being seated in the place reserved for them below the bar,

HIS EXCELLENCY read the Opening Speech, as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,—

"I am very happy to meet you at the opening of this the second session of the twenty-first Parliament of Queensland.

"It must be a source of intense gratification to you that the dreadful war which for more than four years had devastated the fairest portion of Europe and had caused appalling loss in life and treasure has come to an end with victory for the side that stood for freedom, justice, and civilisation, against a formidable enemy.

"Equally gratifying is the probability that never again in our time will all the Great Powers of the world be engaged in sanguinary conflict, as also is the prospect that the League of Nations may make such conflicts impossible in future.

"With your rejoicings on the return of peace to a war-desolated world must be mingled deep sorrow and sympathy for those of our people that are mourning for kinsmen who heroically laid down their lives for the Empire and thus made it their debtor for all time.

"It gave me much pleasure, on the recommendation of my advisers, to signalise the great event by the exercise of clemency towards many of the prisoners in our gaols, whereby their periods of detention were, according to circumstances, terminated or reduced.

"Though the most destructive of all wars is over, out of it have arisen great problems which demand speedy and satisfactory solution. Of these problems Queensland has her full share, and it will be your duty to give them your most serious consideration. One of the most pressing of them is the adequate recognition of the claims of our returned soldiers. It would be indeed impossible for you to provide a sufficient reward for these brave men, who risked everything in defence of the Empire, and of the righteous cause to which the Empire was committed, and who in the discharge of their self-imposed duty won eternal honour for themselves and for Queensland. But we can at least give evidence of our pride and gratitude by taking every care that none of them will seek in vain for comfortable conditions of existence. To this important matter my advisers have for some time been anxiously devoting their attention, and, so far, with very successful and encouraging results.

"But no scheme that could be devised for the benefit of the returned soldiers, or of the community generally, can be fully effective while the law permits the remorseless profiteer to make grossly excessive gains by

the sale of the common necessities of life. As the rescission of the Commonwealth price-fixing regulations has given this species of exploiter larger opportunities, a measure dealing with the whole matter thoroughly and equitably will be submitted for your approval.

"Of great importance is the fact that the validity of certain proclamations issued by the Governor in Council under the Sugar Acquisition Act has been established by the Privy Council's decision in the Mooraberrie case. Also important is the same tribunal's finding that the Queensland Government's administration of that Act was perfectly legal.

"While year by year there is a decline in our gold yield, the output of our other minerals showed no signs of decreasing until a few months ago, when a considerable fall in the price of copper caused a diminished production of that metal. More recently, however, there has been a marked revival in the copper market, which it is believed will immediately ensure renewed activity in our copper workings.

"With regard to State enterprises associated with mining, the question of an iron and steel works site is still engaging the closest attention of my advisers; the arsenic works at Jibbenbar are already in the experimental stage; the Chillagoe and Etheridge railways, and the mines and works connected with them, have been taken over; the Bamford battery continues to work satisfactorily; the Bowen coalmine needs only the completion of the railway to it to make its development practicable and successful; and prospecting for coal on the areas reserved for State purposes is being continued at Styx River and Baralaba.

"Everything considered, land settlement is progressing satisfactorily, and the perpetual lease system is rapidly growing into favour with selectors. The majority of the selections at Cecil Plains have been acquired under this tenure, many of the successful applicants being returned soldiers, to whom preference was given over other competitors. In the Atherton district no fewer than 14,000 acres of freehold land valued at £154,000, and occupied by coloured aliens, have been resumed and are being made available for soldiers.

"Realising the duty of preventing the unnecessary waste of our timbers, my advisers are not only taking the best steps to husband existing resources, but have decided to adopt the latest and most scientific methods of reforestation on a large scale. The scheme includes the means of providing cheaper timber without sacrificing future forest yields, and will require a larger staff with wider functions than is the case at present. These more extensive operations will, it is thought, afford a field of congenial usefulness to many of our returned soldiers.

"In many parts of the State drought prevailed for a considerable period with prejudicial effects on our producing interests and on the State revenue. Our farmers passed through a trying ordeal, the dairying industry in particular receiving so considerable a set-back that butter factories had temporarily to close through lack of cream. Equally disheartening was the experience of many of our wheat and barley growers. The

sugar industry suffered materially from cyclone and floods, the result being that the current year's yield will be insufficient for Australian requirements. An additional sugar experiment station has been formed, and it is proposed to establish an irrigation farm on the Burdekin Delta. The Cane Prices Act has produced a degree of equality that did not previously exist between farmer and manufacturer in the matter of price-fixing.

"In order to facilitate land settlement and increased production, it is the intention of my advisers to introduce measures having for their objects the encouraging of dairying and its allied industries, by providing for greater financial assistance to enable co-operative societies to be formed, and by making provision for assisting selectors to procure dairy stock.

"For some months Queensland has suffered from an outbreak of influenza, though not to the calamitous extent experienced in the Southern States. Among the measures adopted by my advisers to cope with the epidemic was the securing of the co-operation of the various local authorities, which was readily given. It is a matter for congratulation that so far as Queensland is concerned the disease has almost disappeared.

"My advisers have further advanced their humanitarian efforts by establishing a home for epileptics at Willowburn, and by bringing almost to the point of completion a sanatorium for miners' phthisis patients at Westwood.

"For some time past my advisers have been giving great attention to the question of the welfare of our aborigines, and a Bill dealing with the subject will be laid before you.

"A Bill empowering my advisers to vary the conditions of the tenure of the Jimbour selections in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commission to inquire and report with respect to the matter will be introduced.

"A Bill will be submitted, having for its objects the mitigation of the evil of unemployment and the establishment of an unemployment insurance fund.

"It is the intention of my advisers to reintroduce the Bill for the abolition of the Legislative Council, which passed through the Legislative Assembly last session, but did not meet with the approval of the Legislative Council.

"Recognising the need of a better system of constructing and maintaining the principal highways of the State, my advisers will introduce a Bill providing for a board to work in co-operation with the local authorities and to control the main roads.

"The tendency of some property holders to subdivide city and suburban areas without proper regard to public health renders imperative the amendment of the law relating to the subdivision of land, and a Bill will be submitted providing that proper access to a road or street must be given to allotments used or to be used as sites for dwelling-houses.

"It being the desire of my advisers that persons who have attained the age of eighteen years should, if otherwise qualified, have a vote in the election of the member who will represent them in the Legislative

Assembly, a Bill embodying this and other amendments to the electoral law will be submitted.

"Experience having shown the necessity for conferring more comprehensive powers upon the Public Curator, for simplifying procedure in his office, and for giving him greater facilities in the exercise of his functions under the existing law, a measure with those objects in view will be submitted for your consideration.

"With the view of preventing dishonourable business transactions in which secret gifts are offered to or accepted by an agent as an inducement or reward for action he may take in relation to the affairs of his principal, it is the intention of my advisers to introduce legislation to prohibit the payment of secret commissions.

"It is proposed to afford to tenants means of appealing against what they may consider an exorbitant rent and to establish a fair rents court, consisting of a police magistrate. The court will hear and determine applications from lessees, as well as from lessors, of dwelling-houses, who desire that the court will fix a fair rental for such houses.

"In consequence of the shortage of workers' dwellings within the State and of the difficulty in the way of many workers availing themselves of the workers' dwellings provisions of the Government Savings Bank Act, it is the intention of my advisers to submit a measure which will enable the Government to erect suitable dwellings which will be leased or rented to workers on approved terms.

"Owing to circumstances beyond State control, for some months it has been extremely difficult, through lack of normal shipping facilities, to keep the northern portions of Queensland supplied with bread-stuffs and other necessities, but my advisers with the limited means of transport at their command have so far contrived to avert actual famine in those localities.

"I am glad to draw attention to the improvement in the conditions of the public service brought about by industrial agreement and awards, and by a reclassification by a specially appointed Commissioner.

"It is proposed to continue the extension of primary, secondary, technical, and vocational education, to establish additional rural schools, to reorganise the training college for teachers, and to provide increased facilities generally for public instruction.

"My advisers have given serious consideration to questions of social and temperance reform, and Bills dealing with such matters will be submitted for your consideration.

"There is intense public anxiety with respect to the missing steamer 'Llewellyn,' and though it is to be feared that she has been wrecked we are all hopeful that the search which is being made may result in the rescue of all the human beings she had on board.

"It is the intention of my advisers to make to the Imperial authorities representations having for their object, at the expiration of my appointment in March next year, the abolition of the existing office of State Governor.

"As this is probably the last occasion on which I am to have the pleasure and distinction of addressing you from this place, I take the opportunity of thanking you for your unvarying courtesy and kindness to me. My relations with you could not have been better or more agreeable to me than they have been. I shall always take a deep interest in Queensland, where my two children have been born, and where I have spent some of my happiest and, I hope, not least useful years.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,—

"The Estimates for the current financial year are under consideration and will be tabled at the earliest possible opportunity. They will be found to have been framed with due regard to the requirements of the State and to the imperative need that exists for economy in public expenditure.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,—

"Among other measures, the following will be submitted for your consideration:—

- A Fair Prices Bill;
- A Judges' Retirement Bill;
- A Legislative Council Abolition Bill;
- A Main Roads Bill;
- An Undue Subdivision of Land Prevention Act Amendment Bill;
- An Elections Act Amendment Bill;
- A Public Curator Act Amendment Bill;
- An Amendment of Criminal Code (Secret Commissions) Bill;
- A Fair Rents Bill;
- A Health Acts Amendment Bill;
- A Local Authorities Acts Amendment Bill;
- An Initiative and Referendum Bill;
- A Tramway Fares Bill;
- A Tramways Purchase Bill;
- A Fire Brigade Bill;
- A Police Superannuation Bill;
- An Unemployed Workers Bill;
- A Water Power Bill;
- An Arbitration Act Amendment Bill;
- An Electrical Workers Bill;
- A Public Service Act Amendment Bill;
- A Mining Act Amendment Bill;
- An Aborigines Bill;
- A Workers' Homes Bill;
- A Liquor Act Amendment Bill;
- A Dairy Produce Bill;
- A Stock Bill;
- A Co-operative Agricultural Production Act Amendment Bill;
- A Stock Foods Bill;
- A Jimbour Selections Bill;
- A Forestry Bill;
- A Bill to Amend the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act;
- A Seaforth Estate Bill;
- A Co-operative Societies Bill;
- A Jury Bill;
- A Queensland National Bank, Limited (Agreement) Act of 1904 Amendment Bill.

"To these and all other matters that may be brought before you I invite your consideration, and I earnestly pray that the

blessing of Almighty God may attend your labours."

HIS EXCELLENCY then left the Chamber, and the members of the Assembly withdrew.

The Council adjourned at twenty-three minutes past 2 o'clock p.m. until half-past 3 o'clock p.m., resuming at that hour.

DEATH OF MEMBERS.

HON. C. CAMPBELL AND HON. W. H. CAMPBELL.

The PRESIDENT: It is my melancholy duty to inform the Council of the death of the Hon. Charles Campbell and the Hon. Wm. Henry Campbell, and I have directed that their names be removed from the list of members.

The SECRETARY FOR MINES (Hon. A. J. Jones): Since the House rose last year two deaths have been recorded—that of the Hon. Charles Campbell and that of the Hon. Wm. Henry Campbell, and I desire, both personally and on behalf of the Government, to express my sympathy with the relatives of the deceased gentlemen in their sad loss. The Hon. Charles Campbell made his home in Queensland, I understand, in the year 1864, and he was a member of this House from the year 1914 to the date of his demise. The Hon. William Henry Campbell became a Queenslander in 1878, and he entered this House in the year 1906. Although differing largely with the political views of the deceased hon. gentlemen—and they of course differed with me, and largely differed with the policy of the Government as expressed by me in this Chamber—since I have known them in politics I have personally learned to respect them, and I believe both hon. gentlemen earned the respect of every member of this Chamber, and of every member in the other Chamber. (Hear, hear.) On behalf of the Government and for myself I desire to say that we deeply sympathise with those who are near and dear to them in this the time of their trouble, and I suggest on behalf of this branch of the Legislature that you, Mr. President, send a letter of condolence to the families of the deceased hon. gentlemen. (Hear, hear!)

The PRESIDENT: I may inform the hon. gentleman that I have already instructed the Clerk to forward a letter of condolence to the relatives of the late Hon. Charles Campbell, and I will direct him to carry out the wishes of the Council in regard to the Hon. W. H. Campbell. (Hear, hear.)

HON. P. J. LEAHY: If I may be permitted, I would like to make a few remarks as one who knew both the deceased hon. gentlemen many years before they entered this Chamber and since. The late Hon. Charles Campbell might be said to be the father of local government in Queensland. He was an old colonist who devoted a very large amount of his time without any remuneration whatever to the affairs of local authorities, and he was held in the highest esteem by those who knew him, both inside and outside this Chamber. The late Hon. W. H. Campbell was also a most deserving colonist. He came to this country from New Zealand many years ago. He was a capable, and in fact a brilliant pressman, and was identified with the development of the Blackall and Barcaldine districts, being connected with grazing farms and having other interests

there. He was a man of very keen intellect, an able writer, and a good debater. Both hon. gentlemen might be described as unselfish patriots. There can be no question that not only this House, but the country, has suffered a distinct loss in their death. (Hear, hear!)

HON. B. FAHEY: I desire to express my deep regret at the loss the country has sustained by the deaths of both hon. gentlemen to whose careers the Minister has made such graceful and worthy reference. The hon. gentleman said that, although differing in politics with both hon. gentlemen, he still regretted the loss the country had sustained. I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman is as loyal to his principles as any hon. gentleman in this House, and it was very graceful on his part to say what he did in regard to both hon. gentlemen, although in politics they were his opponents.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: There are no politics in this Chamber.

HON. B. FAHEY: The hon. gentleman might sometimes imagine it, but I cannot agree with him on that subject. I knew the Hon. W. H. Campbell for thirty-four years. He was an able journalist, and one of the most faithful and serviceable colonists Queensland has ever had. He was a man without political or religious prejudices—a thorough man of progress, and a worthy citizen. He was as fair an opponent as ever stood on the floor of this House. I deeply regret that the country should lose the services of such able citizens as both hon. gentlemen were. I sympathise entirely with their families, and thank the Minister for the very nice references he made and for the motion he has moved. (Hear, hear!)

PANEL OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.

The PRESIDENT: In compliance with the provisions of Standing Order No. 17, I nominate the Hon. A. A. Davey, Hon. B. Fahey, Hon. T. Nevitt, and Hon. W. Stephens to form the panel of Temporary Chairmen of Committees during the present session.

AUDITOR-GENERAL'S REPORTS.

The PRESIDENT announced the receipt from the Auditor-General of a letter dated 14th February, 1919, covering the twenty-ninth half-yearly report under the provisions of the Queensland National Bank, Limited (Agreement) Act of 1904, which had been printed and circulated during the recess.

The PRESIDENT further announced the receipt from the Auditor-General of—

- (a) Report, dated 26th July, on the Public Debt Reduction Fund for the financial year ended 30th June, 1919; and
- (b) Report, dated 26th July, on the transactions in connection with the Loan Acts Sinking Fund for the financial year ended 30th June, 1919.

Ordered to be printed.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: I think this is a good opportunity for asking the Minister if he will try to expedite the Auditor-General's report on the finances of the State. This is the month of August; we are meeting

[Hon. W. Hamilton.]

practically two months later than we sometimes do, and I hope that the publication and laying on the table of this report will be expedited as much as possible. So far as the finances of the State are concerned, we are largely in the dark if we have not got the Auditor-General's report. I would therefore urge the Minister to try and get it published as soon as possible.

PAPERS PRINTED DURING RECESS.

The PRESIDENT: The following papers were ordered to be printed and circulated during recess, in accordance with the resolutions of Parliament passed by both Houses during the session of 1901:—

1. Annual report of the Department of Agriculture and Stock for the year 1917-1918.
2. Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the position of the settlers on the Jimbour Estate.
3. Report of the Royal Commission on public works on—
 - (a) Proposed railway from Pearamon, on the Tolga-Johnstone River line, to Boonjee;
 - (b) Proposed railway from Mount Larcum, on the Rockhampton—Gladstone line, to Bracewell;
 - (c) Proposed deviation of North Coast Railway from Owanyilla through Tinana to Maryborough, and improvements to Maryborough railway yards;
 - (d) Proposed tramway from the soldier settlement at Pikedale to the Southern railway line.
4. Regulations, dated 1st May, 1919, under the Income Tax Acts, 1902 to 1918.
5. Regulations, dated 5th June, 1919, under the Rights in Water and Water Conservation and Utilization Acts, 1910 to 1915.
6. Report of the Royal Commission on the classification of officers of the Public Service.
7. Report of the Royal Commission on the classification of officers of the Government Savings Bank service.
8. Annual report of the Department of Mines for the year 1918.

PAPERS.

The following paper was laid on the table:—

Copy of the report of the investigation of the causes of the collision between a tram train and municipal tram at Rockhampton.

The following papers were laid on the table, and ordered to be printed:—

1. Report of the Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board, Brisbane, for 1918.
2. Order in Council amending schedules II. and III. of the Gas Act of 1916; also decision by the President of the Court of Industrial Arbitration in relation thereto.
3. Amendments of Rules of Court under the Industrial Arbitration Act of 1916.

4. Despatches conveying His Majesty's assent to Acts passed during session of 1918.
5. Regulations dated 15th May, 1919, under the Fish Supply Act of 1916, and the State Enterprises Act of 1918.
6. Regulations dated 15th November, 1918, under the Public Service Acts, 1896 to 1901.
7. Regulation dated 16th January, 1919, under the Public Service Acts, 1896 to 1901.
8. Regulations dated 3rd December, 1918, under the Succession and Probate Duties Acts, 1892 to 1918.
9. Regulations dated 6th December, 1918, under the Stamp Acts, 1894 to 1918.
10. Additional regulation dated 7th November, 1918, under the Workers' Compensation Act of 1916.
11. Rules of the Supreme Court, as of Thursday, the 5th day of December, 1918.
12. Additional Regulation dated 20th December, 1918, under the Workers' Compensation Acts, 1916 to 1918.
13. Public Curator balance-sheet for the year 1918.
14. Orders in Council under the Workers' Compensation Acts, 1916 to 1918.
15. Additional regulations dated 21st February, 1919, under the Workers' Compensation Acts, 1916 to 1918.
16. Amended regulations dated 16th May, 1919, under the Public Service Superannuation Act of 1912.
17. Additional regulations dated 19th June, 1919, under the Workers' Compensation Act of 1916.
18. Additional Regulations dated 23rd May, 1919, under the Stamp Acts, 1894 to 1918.
19. First actuarial report of the Public Service Superannuation Board.
20. Rule of Court, as of Friday, the 6th day of June, 1919.

BRISBANE TRAMWAY FARES BILL AND BRISBANE TRAMWAY PURCHASE BILL.

PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

HON. T. M. HALL: I beg to lay upon the table the report of the Select Committee appointed on the 4th September, 1918, to consider and report on the Brisbane Tramway Fares Bill and Brisbane Tramway Purchase Bill, together with the minutes of proceedings and evidence taken before the Committee on 20th September and 18th October, 1918; and I move that the paper be printed.

Question put and passed.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: I move—
“That the Council at its rising adjourn until 3.30 o'clock p.m. to-morrow.”

I should like to request hon. gentlemen opposite to appoint their leader to confer with

Hon. A. J. Jones.]

me as to the conduct of the business of the House. That is the usual course in the Legislative Assembly.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: Have we to follow the example of the Legislative Assembly?

Hon. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: No, we can set our own precedent.

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: During the last two sessions I endeavoured to please too many hon. gentlemen in regard to the conduct of the business of the House, and any little differences we had in connection with the matter were usually caused by the fact that we could not agree as to the times of adjournment. If hon. gentlemen have no leader on that side and do not consider this to be a party House, I think in all seriousness that it would be wise for hon. members to appoint one person who could confer with the Government with reference to the conduct of the business.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: We are not a party here in the sense that you are.

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: I desire as far as possible to meet the convenience of hon. gentlemen, and I think it would be wise if they appointed someone with whom I could confer as to the conduct of the business of the House.

Hon. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: What is wrong with the Hon. T. M. Hall, who confers with the Hon. T. Nevitt?

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: Last session there were too many conferring with me.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: Cannot we consider this matter at the proper time and in the proper course?

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: I am not answering questions now; there is a proper time for answering questions. But I make the suggestion in all seriousness, so that we may study each other's convenience as far as possible.

Hon. B. FAHEY: The hon. gentleman who has just spoken stated that we have no leader on this side of the House, and subsequently indicated that we have a multiplicity of leaders.

The PRESIDENT: Order! There is no motion before the House.

The question having been stated,

Hon. B. FAHEY said: I want to know from the Minister whether he wishes the House to understand that we have on this side a multiplicity of leaders?

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: I did not imply that, but said that it would be wise to appoint someone with whom I could confer regarding the conduct of the business of the House.

Hon. B. FAHEY: We all claim on this side of the House that we are not party politicians, and do not want leaders. It is only on the hon. gentleman's side of the House that they have leaders, but, as the hon. gentleman himself insinuated, we have no leader on this side of the House, and do not want one. We are all clever men who attend to business.

Question put and passed.

[Hon. A. J. Jones.

DAIRY PRODUCE BILL.

INTERIM REPORTS OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: I ask the leave of the House to move a motion without notice. It is a perfectly harmless motion, and its terms are that the Select Committee appointed to consider and report on the Dairy Produce Bill have leave to report the minutes of evidence from time to time. I propose this merely for the convenience of hon. gentlemen.

The PRESIDENT: Is it the pleasure of the House that the hon. gentleman be allowed to move the motion without notice?

HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: I move—

"That the Select Committee appointed to consider and report on the Dairy Produce Bill have leave to report the minutes of evidence from time to time."

I submit this motion because hon. gentlemen may wish to have the minutes of evidence before them as soon as possible. A large number of instalments are already available for hon. gentlemen, and if this motion is passed I shall follow it with another motion to the effect that the evidence be printed.

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: I think this motion is somewhat unusual. The Select Committee, I understand, sat and took evidence during the recess, and their report should now be complete. If it was necessary for the committee to sit during the session and take evidence, the motion now submitted would not be unusual, but under the circumstances I think it is out of order, as the committee should have had their report presented to the House at the opening of the session, or later on. However, I do not want to oppose the motion for the mere sake of opposing it. If the motion is in order, and it is for the convenience of the House to have the interim reports printed, I have no serious objection to the motion, though, in my opinion, it is a very unusual motion, and is not in order.

The PRESIDENT: The hon. gentleman assured me that he only wished to report evidence that had been taken [4 p.m.] during the recess, and on that ground I rule that the motion is in order, but if he wants to get further evidence in he will be out of order in doing so.

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: We have not asked for that.

The PRESIDENT: I take it that it is only evidence which has been collated up to the present.

Question put and passed.

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: I beg to lay upon the table of the House minutes of evidence taken on 27th March, 2nd April, and 7th April last, and I move that the evidence be printed.

Question put and passed.

THE GOVERNOR'S OPENING SPEECH.

The PRESIDENT: I have to inform the Council that, for greater accuracy, I have obtained a copy of the Speech which His Excellency the Governor was pleased to make this day to both Houses of Parliament. Under the Standing Orders I should read

such parts of the Speech as were addressed to the Council, but in recent years it has been the practice to take the document as read. Is it the wish of the Council that that practice should be followed on the present occasion?

HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

ADDRESS IN REPLY.

HON. L. McDONALD: I beg to move—

“That the following address be presented to his Excellency the Governor in reply to the Speech with which his Excellency this day opened the present session of Parliament:—

“To His Excellency Sir HAMILTON JOHN GOULD-ADAMS, Major on the Retired List of His Majesty's Army, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor of the State of Queensland and its Dependencies, in the Commonwealth of Australia.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

“We, His Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of the Legislative Council of Queensland, in Parliament assembled, desire to assure Your Excellency of our continued loyalty and affection to the Throne and Person of Our Most Gracious Sovereign, and to thank Your Excellency for the Speech with which you have been pleased to open the present session.

“We shall ever hold Your Excellency in kindly remembrance, and we earnestly hope that all good will ever attend you and your family.

“We shall give our most careful consideration and attention to the several measures mentioned by Your Excellency, and to all other matters brought before us; and we sincerely trust that our deliberations will tend to the promotion of the good government and the welfare of the State.”

Before I proceed with the few observations which I have to make in moving this motion, I wish to express my profound sympathy with the relatives of the Hon. W. H. Campbell and the Hon. Charles Campbell, who both passed away during the recess, and with reference to whom a motion was moved by the Minister. Although I was not intimately associated with the hon. gentlemen who have passed away, I firmly believe that during the period they were members of this Council they did their best in accordance with the political views that they held. Although I do not agree with the political opinions of hon. gentlemen opposite, still I am one of those who are at all times prepared to give to their opponents credit for believing the opinions which they hold, and I feel that I cannot let this occasion pass without personally adding my meed of sympathy to the relatives of the deceased gentlemen.

I also wish to mention a matter which has been referred to in the Address of His Excellency; that is, the apparent loss of the steamer “Llewellyn.” I think from current reports that it is practically placed beyond doubt that the “Llewellyn” has gone down, possibly with all hands on board. I think that in times like these, and particularly in

connection with the little steamer which was sent north on an errand of mercy to relieve the threatened famine of foodstuffs in the north, we should give our sympathy to those who have suffered in the disaster. I sincerely hope that further investigations will prove that, if not all, at least a number of those on board have been saved from the death which so often happens to those who go down to the sea in ships.

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: Was that Government boat seaworthy?

HON. L. McDONALD: The hon. gentleman might give notice of that question. I want to express my pleasure at the fact that for the first time in a period of five years the House meets under peace conditions—(Hear, hear!)—and I think it a matter for general congratulation that the war which has devastated the world, as mentioned in the Speech, has now passed away. We were told that the war had been waged in order to make the world safe for democracy, but events during the war and subsequent happenings have demonstrated that there is very little in the nature of democracy. We find that while peace has been declared war has not ceased in the world. We find that as a result of the war which has been waged for so many years, the people of certain of the warring countries rose in revolt against the conditions which existed in those countries and overthrew the existing dynasties. I particularly refer to Russia, which was at one time regarded as an ally, and where at the present time sanguinary war is being carried on between the recently established Russian Republic and other nations—

HON. P. J. LEAHY: But there is not a republic in Russia, is there?

HON. R. BEDFORD: Yes, there is.

HON. L. McDONALD: Due to the intervention of the other nations in the internal concerns of Russia. It has been matters such as these in the past—one nation interfering with the internal affairs of other nations, and the curse of secret diplomacy—that have brought about the conditions that caused the war from which the human race has been suffering for the last five years. For five years those of us in the Labour party and other parties have been declaring that we stand for such things as Britain for the British, and Australia for the Australians, and if we mean those things we shall leave every other nation to work out its own economic salvation in its own way, and not interfere with the affairs of other nations unless they are interfering with ours; by that means we can bring about a state of affairs between the nations of the world which will make future wars such as the one we have just come through impossible. I think that I have been as keen after information about what the Bolsheviks are doing in Russia as anybody else and the authentic information with regard to what is actually going on there is very meagre. We notice from the Press day by day that even prominent English statesmen now see the mistake that has been made in the way of intervention and that the British forces in Russia are about to be withdrawn.

HON. P. J. LEAHY: Did you read the American reports of Bolshevism?

HON. L. McDONALD: Yes, and I also read the refutation of them, showing that a lot of the evidence was absolutely a frame-up. We do not know to-day what to believe. The Russians are a great people, and there

Hon. L. McDonald.]

is no man in this Chamber who can say that the Russian people have not been suffering untold tyranny and hardship for many years.

HON. P. J. LEAHY: It is worse now than ever.

HON. L. McDONALD: The Hon. Mr. Leahy knows more than I do. Before I pass any judgment on the situation I want further information than what is available. I am not extolling the alleged methods that are being adopted by the revolutionaries in Russia, but I simply want to say that it is the intervention by nations in the affairs of other nations that brings about the conditions which make for war, and I want the conditions that make for war to be absolutely stopped, so that there will be no more wars in future. So far as Australia is concerned, the lines that we are proceeding on in Australia are good enough for me. In Australia, where every adult has an equal franchise, we can work out our own destiny in our own way.

HON. P. J. LEAHY: Would you help my country to get Home Rule.

HON. L. McDONALD: I would.

HON. P. J. LEAHY: Is that not going against your principles now?

HON. L. McDONALD: I have no objection to Ireland working out her own destiny in her own way, and I am not going to interfere. Where nations have common interests, and know best the conditions they want, they should be allowed to work out their own economic salvation in their own particular way.

There is a reference in the Speech to the work and services which those who served at the front have accomplished. In that regard I think that every man who conscientiously volunteered his services is deserving of every honour. (Hear, hear!) But we should be proud also of the fact that the men who went away, and who are now coming back in such large numbers, went without any compulsion or force. They went as free men of their own free will, and it is a proud thing, after all the turmoil and heat of the past four years have passed away, that Australia alone with South Africa can say that our country did so much as volunteers, and that the blot of compulsion has not rested in any form on this fair land. I know that, notwithstanding the fact that men have not raised their voices, there are men on the opposite side of this Chamber who are just as pleased at it as I am.

HON. T. M. HALL: Hear, hear!

HON. L. McDONALD: When one thinks of all the heat and bitterness and acrimony and hatred that the proposal to send men away under compulsion caused in our midst, I think it is a fine thing, now that peace has been declared, that we can take a retrospective view and say that the fair name of Australia has remained untarnished, and that Australia has done more in proportion to any other British Dominion, both in the matter of the men who volunteered and went across the water and in regard to the amount of money raised to prosecute the war. I am also proud to say that Australia seemed to be peculiarly situated in this regard—Australia as a whole seemed to have an intuition that compulsion was a wrong principle. It is quite probable that not many of the Australian people when they voted on this question knew that men like

[Hon. L. McDonald.]

Sir Ian Hamilton, Lord Roberts, and other distinguished soldiers, back even to Napoleon, had declared against any form of conscription, and I think we should be proud to stand to-day and say that Australians volunteered in this war as free men. I am proud of the part that the Labour party as an organised party took in that particular question.

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: Do you believe in freedom of contract?

HON. R. BEDFORD: Where are you conscriptionists now? You are very quiet.

HON. L. McDONALD: That is so. In view of the sacrifice they made, I think it is only a fair thing, now the soldiers are coming back, that the promises made to them should be fully redeemed. We notice in the Speech a reference to the fact that the men who are coming back will suffer from the ravages of the profiteer who is abroad in our midst to-day.

HON. T. M. HALL: Who is he?

HON. L. McDONALD: I will come to that in my own good time and deal with it. I will show you what some of your friends have to say about it. All I want to say is that I think the Queensland Labour Government is deserving of every commendation for the work they have done in the interests of the returned and returning soldiers. I think I am not making an extravagant claim when I say that the present Labour Government have done, and are doing, in proportion to their position more than any other Government, the Commonwealth Government not excepted, in the way of repatriation.

HON. P. J. LEAHY: In Victoria and New South Wales the Governments have done a great deal more.

HON. L. McDONALD: I noticed in the Press the other day that a very prominent gentleman in repatriation work paid the Hon. J. M. Hunter the great compliment of saying that he considered he was the father of repatriation. Notwithstanding all the criticism that has been hurled against the present Government, they have gone right through a most bitter period, and have done the fair thing by returned soldiers. They have done all that they have been able to do, and as much as hon. members opposite on one occasion would permit them to do.

HON. P. J. LEAHY: You will not give them any freehold. That is one of their great grievances.

HON. L. McDONALD: People are beginning to realise the advantages of leasehold over freehold.

HON. P. J. LEAHY: That is a misstatement.

HON. L. McDONALD: We know that in the early stages of the war the matter of repatriation was largely left to the State Governments; later on it was taken over by the Commonwealth Government, who appointed a Minister of Repatriation. But we know from the dissatisfaction that has been manifested by returned soldiers throughout the length and breadth of Australia that the administration of the Commonwealth Repatriation Department has been anything but a success, and at the present time the Minister of Repatriation has thrown in his marble, and I believe it will ultimately devolve upon the individual States to look after the welfare of their

soldier citizens who are returning from the front. The Government of this State have been mindful in almost every direction of the interests of the returned soldier. We know how the settlement at Beerburum was scoffed at by hon. members in this Chamber and in another Chamber. I have had personal experience of men who have come from Beerburum, and who have told me that they are firmly convinced that after two years' operations at Beerburum on soldiers' holdings they will be assured of an income up to £600 per annum. (Opposition laughter.)

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: Ask the soldiers.

Hon. L. McDONALD: Hon. gentlemen opposite may laugh. Perhaps they do not believe in a soldier having an income up to £600.

Hon. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: We do not believe the Government are providing it for him, at any rate.

Hon. L. McDONALD: I know what men have made out of their farms at Beerburum. When the Government started the Beerburum settlement it was scoffed at as only settling a few soldiers on the land. But in addition to that settlement the Government have thrown open land at Pikedale, Oswald's Track, and Mount Hutton. They are giving preference to returned soldiers at Mount Hutton and Cecil Plains in the matter of selection. At Sunnybank and Mount Gravatt areas are being made available so that any returned soldier who desires to go in for any branch of agrarian industry has an opportunity of doing so under the Government scheme.

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: This House prevented us from throwing open the Upper Burnett lands.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: In what way?

Hon. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: This House prevented you from throwing away half-a-million of money.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: The evidence showed that it would be five years before the land was available.

Hon. L. McDONALD: The amount expended to assist soldiers' settlement up to April, 1919, was—Advances to selectors, £67,445 1s. 2d.; advances for workers' dwellings, £155,173 8s. 5d.; soldiers' settlements, canneries, &c., £121,755 18s. 3d. The grand total was £344,374 7s. 10d.

Hon. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: Was that all for returned soldiers?

Hon. L. McDONALD: Yes. Through the railways the Government granted concessions to returned soldiers and their relatives, nurses, and others, last year amounting to £8,738. There were also other items such as assistance to various funds—subsidising various war enterprises. The expenditure which has been incurred and paid by the Chief Secretary's Department in this direction totalled £36,862 8s. 2d. In addition to that the Government have established the Soldiers' Inquiry Bureau; they have given the soldier every possible legal assistance through the Public Curator, and I think, notwithstanding the criticism that we daily hear levelled against the Government and their attitude towards returned soldiers, that the record of the Queensland Government in this matter of repatriation and assistance to

soldiers is deserving of the greatest commendation from every returned soldier.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: Did this money come out of revenue or out of loan?

Hon. L. McDONALD: If the hon. gentleman cares to peruse the figures he can see for himself. I am glad to note in the Speech a reference made by His Excellency the Governor to the presence of the profiteer in our midst. The paragraph reads—

"But no scheme that could be devised for the benefit of the returned soldiers, or of the community generally, can be fully effective while the law permits the remorseless profiteer to make grossly excessive gains by the sale of the common necessities of life. As the rescission of the Commonwealth price-fixing regulations has given this species of exploiter larger opportunities, a measure dealing with the whole matter thoroughly and equitably will be submitted for your approval."

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: Are not the Government profiteering in fish?

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: Who are the profiteers?

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: The Government are making 200 per cent. profit on fish.

The PRESIDENT: Order!

Hon. L. McDONALD: We know that during the war period, not only here, but in other countries, profiteering was rampant. I have here a report from the "Sydney Morning Herald" of last month of a meeting of the State Nationalist Parliamentary party, who—

"were engaged all day yesterday in a consideration of the question of regulating the prices of commodities in order to defeat the profiteer. No other matter was discussed."

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: Who are the profiteers in Queensland?

Hon. L. McDONALD: This is what this report says on the subject—

"A lengthy discussion ensued," said Mr. Holman, "when it was discovered that, with one or two exceptions, the whole party was in favour of some action to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of the Federal regulations. It was recognised on all sides that we were passing through an abnormal period, and that until matters had got into their ordinary channels again some system of Government regulation of prices must take the place of ordinary commercial competition."

We know that with the return of the Nationalist party to the Federal Parliament in 1917 the control of price-fixing was taken out of the hands of the State Governments, and we know what a sorry farce the Federal Government have made of it. Ever since then the prices of the necessary commodities of life have been soaring up out of the reach of even a great number of what you might call the well-to-do people, so that it is not only the worker who has been suffering as a result of high prices and the profiteering that is going on, but even the better circumstanced people are clamouring for some measure of redress and to be saved from the exactions of the profiteer. We know very well that the Nationalist party would not talk about their friends the profiteers unless they realised that they are hard up against it, and

Hon. L. McDonald.]

that they are going to meet with annihilation at the hands of the people unless they do something to deal with this matter.

THE SECRETARY FOR MINES: That is the primary cause of the industrial unrest.

HON. L. McDONALD: Of course it is. Anyone who scrutinises his housekeeping expenses from day to day must know that prices are soaring, and that the prices of the ordinary articles of diet and the ordinary necessities of life are almost prohibitive to the average worker.

HON. F. T. BRENTNALL: That is largely owing to wages being forced up.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: Increased production will get over that.

HON. L. McDONALD: The Hon. Mr. Brentnall cannot show me an instance where a demand for increased wages has preceded an advance in the cost of living. The demand for higher wages has only followed the increase in cost of living, and has been a natural corollary of that increased cost of living. The housewife complains to her grocer and other suppliers of commodities about the soaring prices, and a glib tale is told her. They blame it on to the high cost of shipping freights, high wages, and all that kind of thing. But, as I said before, the workers' demands for increased wages are only made as a result of the increased cost of living.

HON. T. C. BEIRNE: Have the Government reduced the price of fish?

HON. L. McDONALD: They have reduced the price of fish. (Opposition laughter.)

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: The housewife does not say so.

HON. L. McDONALD: The Government have reduced the price of meat, anyway.

HON. T. C. BEIRNE: For some few people.

HON. L. McDONALD: You can now buy fish for 4½d. per lb., but when the dago ring had a monopoly of the trade you had to pay 1s. for a ½-lb. whiting.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: Now you have to pay 1s. 6d.

HON. L. McDONALD: You have to do nothing of the kind. I want to say a word also about the inordinate profits that have been made during the war by the shipping companies. I am not going to rely altogether on my own statements, but I will call some of the journalistic friends of hon. members opposite as witnesses. I have here a paragraph from one newspaper—

"The great war has been a lesson to most of us; a severe, a durable, and an expensive lesson. But to the shipping rings, both here and in Great Britain, the war has been rather a blessed revelation which has shown how simple, how easy it is for a certain class of capitalist to be pleasantly patriotic before all men while heaping up untold wealth for himself."

That is from no less an organ than the "Daily Mail." Then there is an article which appeared in the Melbourne "Age" and which characterises the shipping industry as the most lucrative of war industries.

The article says that in 1916 the [4.30 p.m.] Cunard Company, after paying income and excess profits taxes, set aside £1,500,000 for depreciation—three times as much as in previous years. After placing £250,000 to the reserve account, they

carried forward £150,000, and still had a profit of £2,500,000, 50 per cent. more than in 1915. Another authority says—

"During 1916 the Cunard Company absorbed the Commonwealth and Dominion line, pooled its interests with the Canadian Northern Steamship Company, and became heavily interested in the business of Funch, Edye, and Co. The Peninsular and Oriental and other of the greatest steamship companies absorbed the British-India Steam Navigation Company just before the war, and since the war began they have taken over the New Zealand Steamship Company and the Federal line. This combination is credited with controlling 1,387,000 gross tonnage. The Furness Withy Shipping Company has absorbed the Prince line, a concern that was paying 30 per cent. dividends. The Furness Withy Company is not only a ship-owning company, but the proprietor of docks, shipbuilding yards, and ironworks. In 1916 it earned nearly 7,000,000 dollars, which was twice as much as its profits for the preceding year, and it paid a 20 per cent. dividend, which was twice its dividend of the preceding year."

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: Has that anything to do with Queensland?

HON. L. McDONALD: Yes, it has a great deal to do with Queensland, as the shipping companies here have had their share of the profits derived from the industry, just as much as any other shipping company throughout the world.

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: Well, quote them.

HON. L. McDONALD: I want now to quote something else from the "Courier" which appeared in an article published some time ago. The article referred to Mr. Bonar Law and his speech in the House of Commons when the Finance Bill was before that House and it was proposed to take 80 per cent. instead of 60 per cent. from the profits of shipowners. Mr. Bonar Law said the moanings of the shipowners had arisen simply because the Government, in the interests of the country, decided to deal with the shipping trade in a particular way with the utmost fairness. Mr. Bonar Law assumed that his own share of shipping profits would be considered disgraceful—disgraceful that such profits could be made while others were suffering privations. Mr. Bonar Law invested £8,100 in fifteen shipping companies running tramp steamers. Five per cent. would be £405. He received £3,625 in dividends in 1915, and received £3,847 in dividends in 1916, after paying the excess profits tax.

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: Have those figures anything to do with Queensland?

HON. L. McDONALD: Of course, they have. It is this kind of thing, which has been going on here as well as overseas, that is responsible for the high cost of living; and I say it is about time that the people of Australia rose up in their might and demanded the recall of those men in the National Parliament who were returned during the war period and said that they were going to control the prices of commodities, and yet allowed profiteering to go on in the way I have mentioned—a profiteering which no less a person than the Nationalist Premier of New South Wales has stated does exist.

[Hon. L. McDonald.]

I don't intend to traverse the whole of the items enumerated in His Excellency's Speech, but I do want to say a word or two on a matter in the Speech which I consider to be of vital importance, and that is the pronounced intention of the Government to submit during the forthcoming session a Bill to abolish the Legislative Council.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: They won't be game to go to the country on it.

HON. L. McDONALD: I venture to predict that they will be game to go to the country on that Bill, and that they will probably go to the country on it earlier than the hon. gentleman expects. Hon. gentlemen opposite sneer at the proposal, and their Press protagonists outside have claimed that this Chamber is a revisory Chamber which revises and checks hasty legislation. I say that to delegate to any number of gentlemen who represent nobody in particular, except some particular interests, the responsibility of revising and blocking hasty legislation is an absurdity from a democratic point of view. We have been told that the war was waged to make the world safe for democracy. I ask where, in a country which has a nominee Chamber such as exists in Queensland, which flouts the will of the people and prevents them carrying out their desires as manifested at the general election, can we say that the world has been made safe for democracy. Only last Parliament when the Industrial Arbitration Act was before this Chamber, members opposite exercised their revisory powers, and sought to refuse to the judge of that court the power to grant preference to unionists. In the exercise of their revisory powers they passed an amendment which had that object in view, but after the Act was passed it was found that it allowed the judge to grant preference to unionists.

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: Do you believe in preference to unionists?

HON. L. McDONALD: I do.

HON. E. W. H. FOWLES: And you said a little while ago that you did not believe in compulsion.

HON. L. McDONALD: I say that the men who have joined the unions are entitled to the preference which the judge is authorised to allow them. But my point is that the revisory powers of this Chamber were exercised in such a way that what members wished to eliminate from the Bill was still contained in the Act. And that is not the only instance of such an exercise of their revisory powers. When the Workers' Compensation and Insurance Bill was before this House, having been submitted in accordance with a mandate from the people and the well-defined policy of the Ministry, it was proposed to make State insurance a monopoly. We know how the workers suffered at the hands of insurance companies prior to the passing of that Bill, and yet when the Bill was before the Council members opposite proposed to revise it and so to amend it that insurance in respect of compensation should not be a State monopoly. But after the Bill was passed it was found that the very power which they wanted to take away from the Government still remained in the Bill. Those two instances show that the statement that the Council is a revisory Chamber is not supported by the evidence and that as far as revisory powers are concerned the Council fail when they attempt to

exercise them. It has been stated here to-day that there are no parties in this House. Speaking from my experience in the Chamber, I say there are parties here, and that when the party whip is cracked over the heads of hon. members opposite they are more solid as a party than the party on this side of the House. There are particular interests represented on the other side of the Chamber. When I and my colleagues came into this Chamber certain words of welcome were extended to us by hon. gentlemen opposite. The Hon. Mr. Fowles, who was among the gentlemen who gave us that welcome, expressed regret that the mining interest was not so well represented in the House as it might be, thereby inferring that every other interest is represented in the House. Whether hon. gentlemen opposite admit it or not, I say that this Chamber exists for the protection of privilege. When legislation is brought forward which affects a particular interest, we know how it is attacked with well prepared assaults by hon. members opposite. My friend, the Hon. Mr. Page-Hanify, had occasion last session to call attention to the presence of lawyers in the Chamber with whom hon. gentlemen opposite conferred on matters vitally affecting a Bill which was in the interest of the country. When the Land Act Amendment Bill was before the House a fight was put up by hon. gentlemen opposite in the interests of the big squatters, and they tried to prevent the squatters from being compelled to pay the same rent as was paid by struggling selectors. It is at such times that hon. gentlemen opposite show their teeth and put up a fight.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: Confiscation, that was.

HON. L. McDONALD: It was nothing of the kind.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: It was repudiation.

HON. L. McDONALD: It was nothing of the kind. There was no repudiation about it. For years the Labour party has stood for the equalisation of the rents paid by pastoralists and grazing farmers; they have urged that it is a fair thing that the man who holds only a few acres of land should pay the same rent in proportion as the man who holds thousands of acres. The interests of the squatters are very well represented in this Chamber. Last year a confidential circular, under the signature of an hon. gentleman who occupies a seat on the other side of the House, was sent out to all pastoralists in Queensland. That circular contained a notice of a levy on all stockowners of so much per thousand head of sheep or cattle to provide a fund to defeat the Labour Party. And I have in my hand a copy of a more recent circular of a similar character and over the signature of the same hon. gentleman. It is headed "Political Funds—Organising the Primary Producers of Queensland," and it is issued from the office of the United Graziers' Association of Queensland, Union Bank Chambers, Queen street, 27th June, 1919. After stating that the results of the last State election showed evidence of want of organisation among the electors, it went on to say that they needed funds to oppose the Labour Party, and a levy of 5s. per 1,000 head of sheep and 10s. per 1,000 head of cattle or horses was made. Each individual pastoralist is assessed at so much in order to provide funds to fight the Labour Party

Hon. L. McDonald.]

and kill the campaign against the abolition of the Legislative Council.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: You know that is not true.

Hon. L. McDONALD: It is stated here over the signature of a member of this Council who sits opposite.

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: There are not three squatters in this House.

Hon. L. McDONALD: The hon. member's interests are pretty well looked after. Hon. gentlemen opposite stand up and say that the poor squatter cannot pay this and cannot pay that, yet only the other day the biggest squatter in Australia, Sir Samuel McCaughey, died and left a fortune close upon £2,000,000.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Yes, and what did he do with it?

Hon. L. McDONALD: I was just going to come to that. In all my experience Sir Samuel McCaughey is the only man who in his will has seen fit to give any measurable proportion of the wealth that he accumulated in this country back to serve the interests of the country. We read from the reports of the life of this gentleman that he had been sixty years in this country. There are other men who have been here for lesser periods, and who have amassed fortunes in the same proportion according to the number of years they have been operating, and yet they do nothing else but squeal against their legitimate share of taxation, and fight through representatives here to keep down their just measure of rent which they pay for the land they lease. It is to the credit of Sir Samuel McCaughey that he realised that he had a measure of obligation to the people through whom he made his wealth. I say that it is a scandalous thing that a condition of affairs exists in a country like this under which one man in the course of his life can amass surplus wealth to the tune of almost £2,000,000 out of a population of only over 4,000,000 people; it is a travesty on our social system. With wool at the price it is, our children are dying under this stressful weather for the lack of warm clothing, because their parents have not the wherewithal to buy warm clothing at the prohibitive price it is to-day, and men are making millions of pounds out of the pastoral industry in Australia. It is a travesty on the conditions which exist in Australia to-day, and which hon. gentlemen opposite are always so zealous in endeavouring to bolster up, and saying that we must make a change.

We know how the insurance interests have been represented in this House. We saw how men with carefully prepared briefs came into the House and pleaded and fought, and when the whip was cracked from that side of the House on any vital question affecting the people, they swung over there in a body; yet hon. members stand up and say there are no parties in this House, and that they do not want a leader. We know that the whip was cracked even on a minor matter last session like the proposal for a new Trades Hall site, and that at the whim of the leader of the opposition on the other side the whole membership of the other side of the House swung behind the Hon. Mr. Leahy on an eminently fair proposal—

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: They did not swing behind me to give the £200 to the other place, did they?

[Hon. L. McDonald.]

Hon. L. McDONALD: An eminently fair proposal to give to the workers of this State a home for the unions as compensation for one that was being acquired by the Government. Even the party prejudices of hon. gentlemen opposite could not be sunk, but they swung behind, and on a minor matter like that showed their party spirit.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: Because the rate-payers were opposed to it.

Hon. L. McDONALD: Then we saw last session how the interests of the Tramways Company were represented here. We saw how certain hon. gentlemen arrived at a certain arrangement "on their own," and how Mr. Feez, K.C., was brought to the bar of this House to try and bludgeon hon. gentlemen of this Council into the view put forward by—

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: I rise to a point of order. Is the hon. gentleman in order in referring to Mr. Feez as bludgeoning this House?

Hon. L. McDONALD: "Verbal" bludgeoning I was referring to.

The PRESIDENT: It is not parliamentary language.

Hon. L. McDONALD: I was showing the reasons why, in my opinion, this Council should not exist, either as a revisionary or as a legislative body. Hon. gentlemen opposite know as well as I do that by the tactics adopted by them in this House we were precluded almost up to the last moment of taking the last referendum from putting our views before the people of the State. But I honestly believe—and, in my opinion, the sooner it comes the better—that when we are able to place the facts before the people, the much vaunted majority of 62,000 which we have heard so much about in this Chamber will not only diminish to vanishing point—

Hon. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: It will be double.

Hon. L. McDONALD: But we will have as large a majority the other way. The particular interests hon. members were concerned in were prepared to fight this case in the law courts. Now that the opponents of the Labour party have absolutely failed in their efforts to divide the Labour party in the political field, they are trying by every means in their power to drag our Government into the law courts and get judgment from the courts against it; but up to the present, owing to the legal ability of our Premier, those tactics have miserably failed. There is another matter which I want to refer to. I note that the conclusion of the Speech—

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: Temperance reform? You are careful to avoid that.

Hon. L. McDONALD: No. I notice the abolition of the State Governor. That has been a plank in the Labour party's platform ever since we have had a platform.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: That does not make it right because it has been in your platform.

Hon. E. W. H. FOWLES: Was it a fair thing to ask the Governor to read that paragraph?

Hon. R. BEDFORD: Chivalrous Mr. Fowles!

Hon. L. McDONALD: I do not wish to say one word against His Excellency and his occupancy of the office, because I believe that, as Governors go, Sir Hamilton Goold-Adams has been as efficient a Governor as any we

have had; but I say that the office of Governor is absolutely unnecessary in a country such as this, and more particularly is it unnecessary since the inception of federation. It is held up that we must have the King's representative here to preserve the link between us and the mother country, but I say that we can be quite as loyal to the mother country without a costly State representative. Since federation we have had the Governor-General here. I think that anything which savours of unnecessary expense in our government should be cut out.

HON. F. T. BRENTNALL: We would have had to cut a lot out during the last four years if we had followed that principle.

HON. L. McDONALD: I think that the problems which the Government have had to face during recent times have been fraught with tremendous difficulties. Ever since the inception of the Labour Government here in 1915 until quite recently, they have had the abnormal difficulties brought about by the war to contend with. They have had cyclones in many parts to deal with, and, latterly, the tremendous influenza epidemic.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: And the biggest revenues on record.

HON. L. McDONALD: There was involved the relief and succour to citizens affected by these catastrophes, and even hon. gentlemen opposite with all their capacity could not avoid the expense entailed by the necessity of relieving the sufferers from those calamities. In addition, the Hon. Mr. Hawthorn refers to the great revenue. The Government required the revenue in order to meet the increased cost of materials necessary for developmental work. Hon. gentlemen know from the Auditor-General's report for last year that the price of railway materials in some places had increased from 150 to 200 per cent., and yet they talk about the increasing revenue! Everything has increased in price, and we must impose more taxation and get more revenue to meet the increasing needs of the community.

Then, again, the demands of our public servants that have been so long withheld by previous Administrations have been granted. The public servants, the police, the teachers, and railway construction workers have been given some just measure of relief which was so long denied them by previous Administrations. We have also to look at the fact that there were some 60,000 wealth-producers and taxpayers taken out of this country to the other side of the world to fight in the war.

I think that I have now occupied sufficient time. There are quite a number of matters I would like to touch upon, but I do not wish to trespass too much upon the time of the House. I think that, if the measures contained in the Speech which His Excellency has read to us to-day are put into statute law, they will at least give a great measure of relief in many directions to the citizens of this State. There are many necessary Bills foreshadowed, but I do not intend to enumerate them. I do not expect that many of them will get much consideration, because there are measures outlined in the Speech which attack certain vested interests; but I venture to say that if those measures are permitted to be passed they will result in great benefit to the whole of the people.

HON. R. BEDFORD: In seconding the motion for the adoption for the Address in

Reply, the last paragraph of it appeals to me as it must appeal to all hon. gentlemen in our personal consideration of the Governor as a man. But I am very glad to see that the Speech itself contains a statement to the effect that as soon as possible imported Governors shall be abolished. There is a paragraph in the Speech which seems rather too optimistic, as it is discounted by the fact that the cause for which there is no peace—that of profiteering—is alluded to in the paragraph on page 2 as being the *raison d'être* of legislation at the earliest possible moment. But no man can lay the flattering unction to his soul that this paragraph is in any way quite representative of the facts. Then it is stated—

"Equally gratifying is the probability that never again in our time will all the Great Powers of the world be engaged in sanguinary conflict, as also is the prospect that the League of Nations may make such conflicts impossible in future."

That may appear so to people who think there has never been a League of Nations before, but at a time when Europe was in the same kind of unrest as now—in 1801—the Czar Alexander the First proceeded to inaugurate, as he called it, a new era of justice and right for the people of Europe. An envoy was sent to London to propose a League of Nations to enforce peace. England and Russia, the two powers which desired no further territory, as they said, were to form the nucleus of the league, but it fell to dust because Napoleon was a King not born but made. There is your cause of international war—Kings—just as the certain cause of civil war is bound to be the profiteer. At last Alexander contented himself with drafting a holy alliance by which certain kings bound themselves "to be guided in domestic and foreign policy by the principles of

[5 p.m.] the holy religion of Christianity, namely, the precepts of justice, charity, and peace." The King of Prussia signed it; the King of Austria signed it, and the Regent of England accepted it and assured the Czar that he would follow its sacred maxims. And what did that holy alliance become? It became an alliance for the bloody suppression of democratic thought and enlightenment in Europe for the fifty years following. Even Catherine of Russia had talked liberty and equality, and had given to her human stallions hundreds of thousands of serfs, millions of acres of land, and millions of roubles. When a man commences to talk about Bolshevism in Russia he ought to remember all the crimes that preceded it, and he ought to realise that Bolshevism is the natural corollary of czarism. These kings, by the grace of God, who do the work of the devil—these old men who make wars and send youths to fight—have been permitted hitherto by reason of the ignorance of the people. But now that the people have their eyes open they are determined that they who lived by the sword shall perish by the ballot box.

HON. A. G. C. HAWTHORN: Thank your stars that you are not in Russia at the present time.

HON. R. BEDFORD: I am sorry the hon. gentleman is not there, as he would be one of an Opposition who would be very easily dealt with. The speech says—

"But no scheme that could be devised for the benefit of the returned soldiers, or of the community generally, can be

Hon. R. Bedford.]

fully effective while the law permits the remorseless profiteer to make grossly excessive gains by the sale of the common necessities of life."

The whole of this profiteering business would be impossible under a condition of scientific protection. Combined with that system of scientific protection we should have the scientific fixing of wages and the scientific fixing of the prices of commodities of life, so that prices should never sky above wages. That is utterly impossible of realisation under a policy of imperialism—a bigger enemy than the war. For that reason, just as a set-back to imperialism, I am pleased to see the proposal, which I hope will be carried as soon as possible, to abolish State Governors. Everyone knows that Australia had to grow up from a series of six Crown colonies to six self-governing communities. In order to please the wealthy lower orders, those communities were clothed with all the paraphernalia of Government to be found in England; they had to be given a House like this. The people, who were really the people's representatives, had to placate them by giving them a pale imitation of the House of Lords such as this ridiculous House.

Hon. T. M. HALL: Why don't you get out of it?

Hon. R. BEDFORD: I came here to bring light to it.

The PRESIDENT: Order!

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: Don't shed too much light. It might be dangerous.

Hon. R. BEDFORD: The position of the imperialists in Australia is that imperialism connotes free trade. This House should go because it is supposed to be a link between this and the old country, just as the Governor is supposed to be a link between this and the old country; and the fewer the links the better. Let the connection remain a sentiment as far as possible. Any attempt at bringing Australia closer and closer into imperial domination is absolutely the worst possible reward that this country could have for going into the war. The other day Davidson, the Governor of New South Wales, said that £5,000 a year was not enough for him owing to the high cost of living, and he demanded more. That was a very foolish thing for a gentleman situated like him to do, because, if he had remained silent, no one would have known of his existence.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: That is not quite true.

Hon. R. BEDFORD: It is quite true. That is the statement the Governor of New South Wales made to a number of newspaper people who printed it.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: You said that people did not know of his existence. I say they did.

Hon. R. BEDFORD: Well, they did not see him often. They might have seen him on the comic opera stage occasionally, or something that looked like it. Governors are necessary. You must have a figure-head. But in the new Australia that is to come, when we have got away down to single-chamber Legislatures, big States like this will be easier to govern when split up into provinces, and then the governorship should be left to a good Australian. The Governors should be elected.

While on that subject, another thing that every good Australian—which means every anti-imperialist—must fight is the practice of giving cheap and nasty titles to anybody

[Hon. R. Bedford.]

who has made enough money to be so ennobled or enobled, or as a reward to any man who has sold the people to privilege, or as a bribe to him to sell the people. We have seen the system of imported titles come down to its proper position when we saw the other day a "Haggis comedian" made a knight—and a very proper position for him, too. Earlier than that down in Victoria it was a common thing to give titles to any man who happened to be a Lord Mayor on a certain day. Generally the whole system of the imported title is so abhorrent to a democracy such as this country is, and as this country will yet prove to be, that it should be a recommendation from the Government to the Colonial Office that no further titles shall be given to Queenslanders.

The programme we wish to put through is dependent on how far this House will agree to the taxation that is necessary for the proper development of this country.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: More taxation after the four taxation Bills of last year?

Hon. R. BEDFORD: Certainly, more taxation. It is a question of money, but whose? It's a question of taxation or control of finance. We have already found that some of the great captains of finance of this country are working on the money of the public which we propose to get. For instance, the Queensland National Bank, which has a capital of £480,000, has assets of £13,000,000, a great deal of which is State Government money—not the money of the general public. I know that the use of that money was secured to the bank under a deed of agreement in 1904. I will not say that that agreement was not necessary at that time, but it is not necessary now.

Hon. P. J. LEAHY: Has not all that money been paid back?

Hon. R. BEDFORD: It has all been paid back, but still there is a big deposit of State money. The Queensland National Bank is still the banker of the State Government. The "Bulletin" recently quoted three banks of which the total paid-up capital is £3,176,700 (probably some of it capitalised profit or other water), and which had advanced to customers and invested in Government securities a mere trifle of £18,420,317 out of the £20,000,000 deposited by the public. The banks pay interest on only some of that £20,000,000, and always at a lower rate—sometimes half the rate they receive. They get the public coming and going, and State Savings Banks have been accessories—more or less innocent—of the private banks. When public works are wanted these insolent self-appointed guardians of public credit yield or refuse credit to the State as they please. The Commonwealth could raise £300,000,000 to be blown away in war; and the Commonwealth can find £300,000,000 to be consolidated in development. If the Commonwealth could blow away £300,000,000 in war, then this State might find £50,000,000 or £60,000,000 for necessary public works by the same means. Seeing the tremendous success that has been made in insurance, sooner or later—and the sooner the better from my point of view—banking and insurance should be made State monopolies.

Always against our legislation is the foreign money-lender. The Brisbane Tramways Company, for instance, got a certain newspaper in England—or something which

used to be a newspaper about seventy years ago, and is now a superstition—the London “Times”—to make nasty remarks about the general repudiation of this Government, while at the time it was engaged in a scheme for blocking legislation in regard to tramway fares. Last year, when it was proposed to submit that legislation to a Select Committee for consideration and report, I said that that was probably intended as a means for sidetracking the right to review the tramway fares for another year—that it would enable the company to give the people the same service at the same rates for one year after they were marked for the axe. It will be remembered that, in order to turn down certain statements made by me, I was called either a lunatic or a blackmailer by the voice of Mr. Badger and the words of the Hon. Mr. Thynne. At the end of the session it was proposed to carry the Select Committee over during the recess. It was alleged that the Select Committee had to keep its life going because it had such important work to do, and I moved as an amendment to the motion for the continuance of the Select Committee during the recess that it should be an instruction from this House that “the prospectus of the Brisbane Tramways Company, dated 1895, and of the balance-sheets of the Brisbane Tramways Company, 1896 to 1901, inclusive, and of the prospectus of the Brisbane Electric Tramways Investment Company, dated 1900,” should be produced. The Select Committee did not meet during all these nine months. They did not meet until the other day, and by interjection I learned from the chairman of that precious Select Committee when the papers were tabled this afternoon that Mr. Badger—who is apparently coming out on a raft, as it has taken him nine months to get out with those precious papers—has not yet produced those documents. That absolutely satisfies me that there is no necessity to wait for the papers, and that the sooner the Brisbane Tramway Fares Bill is proceeded with the better. We now know that the whole object of the appointment of the Select Committee was to hold back the revision of fares for another twelve months. The position of this company is very much like that of the Melbourne Tramway Company, which also had a capital of £480,000, but which has made a few millions, and has still to pick up a few hundreds of thousands for rolling-stock and other things of the kind. Although it had in its franchise, passed in 1887, a clause providing that it was to employ its men only eight hours a day, yet for twenty years it employed its men sixty hours a week, and at the end of the time it was willing to pay £100,000 a year for the privilege of running the trams through the streets. These are the people who are generally against the Government, as in the case of the Midland Railway Company of Western Australia. That company agreed with the Government that they would build the line because the unfortunate State of Western Australia did not have enough money to build railways for itself. The line was to be built on the land grant principle, and the company were given tremendous quantities of land. Because they could not make it a success they said the Government had been guilty of repudiation and confiscation by putting through another railway, and now they are trying to make the Government take over the line at their price. That is the usual game of private enterprise—asking the

State to take it over when it is not a success. I know fine examples of men who are in favour of State enterprise as far as certain enterprises are concerned because they want the Government to purchase properties at their price: Either the “Daily Mail” or the “Courier” or the “Telegraph”—it does not matter which, because they are all liars about their circulation—republished the following paragraph:—

“London, Thursday.—Under the heading ‘Bolshevist legislation in Queensland’ the ‘Truth’ states that the selling of shares in Queensland concerns is proceeding—”

Well, if shares are being sold, somebody is buying them—

“owing to the Probate and Succession Duties Act. If the Queensland Government’s policy were not modified, the selling of the shares would extend until new capital would be denied to Queensland.”

“The ‘Truth’ described the attempt to bring in legislation to increase the pastoral rents as disgraceful.”

The people who cry “stinking fish” when referring to the country which has produced all their wealth and who rail against the tremendous grasping of the Government, have made great profits out of the industries in which they have been engaged. Dalgetys made a net profit of £251,000 in 1918, and the London chairman of that company rails at this party because of the legislation which they propose. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company in 1915 produced secret profits to the amount of £3,250,000, and made a new company, and their profits since then have been—in 1916, £590,000; in 1917, £628,913; in 1918, £617,290; and in 1919, £593,830. The reserves have grown to £483,081 since 1916. Solomon was the man who said that there were two things which were never satisfied, the grave and the barren womb, and he might have added Dalgetys and the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. There has been so much misrepresentation with regard to State life insurance that it is not good enough to reply to that misrepresentation except by a statement of the actuarial facts. The Government Statistician of New South Wales is a good enough authority for these facts. I do not know that he is a Bolshevik; I believe he is quite a respectable man, and that he has some knowledge of figures. That officer gives some information with regard to the expenses of management in connection with insurance companies that is worthy of the consideration of hon. members. The expenses of management of the State insurance business in Queensland was about 10 per cent. of the gross receipts during the second year of its operations. The figures given by the Government Statistician of New South Wales for a number of companies are interesting by way of comparison. They are—

	Per cent.
Assurance and Thrift	36.55
Australian Temperance and General	15.41
Australian Metropolitan	18.41
Australian Mutual Provident	8.89
Australian Provincial	73.22
City Mutual	14.54
Colonial Mutual	16.74
Co-operative	69.54
Life of Australia	54.19
Mutual Life and Citizens	8.22
National Mutual	10.19
Provident Life	15.97

[Hon. R. Bedford.]

Can anybody be against State enterprise after that? The Mutual Life and Citizens low rate is not true, because the few citizens who run the Mutual Life steal from the industrial branch in order to fatten the ordinary branch. The figures I have quoted are alone sufficient to show why banking and insurance should become a monopoly of the State. The usual cry that is heard with regard to what has been done in the way of cheapening meat is that the Government are thieves, or that they have stolen from Peter to pay Paul. This presupposes in either case that the old rotten idea that Australians should pay more for food that is of Australian origin than people on the other side of the world is correct. We should recognise that first of all the quantities of food usable by the people of the State should be supplied to our own people at a fair price, and that after that the balance should be sold to the world at any price we can get. The revelations of the beef trust workings in the United States of America are of vital interest alike to the Australian meat producer and consumer. The following quotation from the Sydney "Bulletin" has a bearing on this matter:—

"A copy of the report of the United States of America Federal Trade Commission on the meat packing industry has come this way, and it is worse than the worst enemies of the beef trust had expected. Woodrow Wilson had asked the commission to find out if there were 'monopolies, controls, trusts, combinations, conspiracies, or restraints of trade out of harmony with the law and the public interest,' and the commission reported—

"We have found conclusive evidence that warrants an unqualified affirmative. Five great packing concerns of the country—Swift, Armour, Morris, Cudahy, and Wilson—have attained such a dominant position that they control 'at will the market in which they buy their supplies, the market in which they sell their products, and hold the fortunes of their competitors in their hands. Not only is the business of gathering, preparing, and selling meat products in their control, but an almost countless number of by-product industries are similarly dominated; and, not content with reaching out for mastery as to commodities which substitute for meat and its by-products, they have invaded allied industries and even unrelated ones.

"Tracing these five great corporations through their 'amazing and devious ramifications,' the commission found that it was 'not so much the means of production and preparation, not the sheer momentum of great wealth, but the advantage which is obtained through a monopolistic control of the market places and means of transportation and distribution. If these five great concerns 'owned no packing plants and killed no cattle and still retained control of the instruments of transportation, of marketing, and of storage, their position would not be less strong than it is.'

"And then the commission goes on to the indictment of the trust in detail;

[Hon. R. Bedford.

the monopoly of railway cars (which fact alone has become a strong argument in the United States for State ownership of railways), the internationalising of the trust's control; the establishment of schools for witnesses; the falsification of books and records; the control of eggs, cheese, and vegetable-oil products, and the extension of the trust's power 'to cover fish and nearly every kind of food-stuff'; the control not only of the United States meat, but also of more than half of the meat trade of the Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay and the 'large investments in Australia.' The Big Five control 86 per cent. of the principal food lines of the United States, 'manipulate stock markets, restrict interstate and international supplies of food, control the prices of dressed meats and other foods, defraud both the producers of food and the consumers, crush competition, secure special privileges from railroads, stockyard companies, and municipalities.' They profiteered so that in the war years 1915-16-17 four of the five packers made net profits of £37,000,000. Swift is the biggest butter distributor in the United States. They can fruit and vegetables, and are deep in the grocery business. In 1917 Armour sold 16,000,000 lb. of rice, and during the year rice prices leaped 65 per cent. The same company handled 75,000,000 bushels of wheat, or 23 per cent. of all grain received at Chicago, and has broken into fertiliser, feed, coal, fence-posts, wire, builders' hardware, twine, timber, cement, and bricks.

"The Big Five subsidise newspapers to defend their operations and control sixty banks. They had joint funds to 'employ lobbyists and pay their unaudited expenses.' The commission found that the Big Five shortweight the live stock producers in the sale of grain and hay at the stockyards; shortweight the retailers on meat shipments; shortweight the Government; and shortweight one another. But the most serious menace to Australian pastoralists is that disclosed by the evidence in the discouragement of production. The commission found that 'the packers have deliberately discouraged production in certain regions where they do not wish to establish packing plants and slaughter houses. The story of the packers' activities in destroying the raising of sheep and other animals in New England is a chapter by itself.'

"The Big Five have already got a strong footing in Australia, and their intentions can be measured. One of the trust's principals told one of the best cattlemen in Australia that his company intended to buy up the biggest cattle stations in the north and charge the Australian consumer American or European prices for Australian meat. 'We'll just spend £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 in getting control,' said the beef trust man, 'and then the prices will hit the roof.'

"'Do your worst,' retorted the Australian. 'You can't buy Legislatures here, and we'll hit you with an export duty on meat.'

"The beef trust man confessed the setback. 'If that's so,' he said, 'we'd best keep the millions in our pahcket.'"

"But the beef trust has many ways of doing the wrong thing, and the revelations of the United States Federal Trade Commission are a warning to Australians, producer and consumer alike."

Bound up with the questions of food and employment is the question of the tariff, and that is being sidetracked or attempted to be sidetracked by those who are mad anti-Australian imperial federationists. What may the policy of these people lead to? A cablegram from London says—

"The London correspondent of the 'New York Tribune' learns that a Bill is being drafted for submission to the British Parliaments in September providing for a reorganisation of the Empire. The plan would convert the sixty component parts of the Empire into one nation, with an Imperial Parliament, for the purpose of co-ordinating the military, naval, and business functions of the different Dominions. Each Dominion would retain its own Parliament. The Imperial Parliament would consist of a single assembly, with a Ministry responsible to its membership. There would be 140 representatives in all, of the United Kingdom, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The proposition is that there should be one Dominion member for each 500,000 white people. The chief duties of the Imperial Parliament would be to settle disputes between the Dominions, to make all treaties with other Powers, and to declare war, if necessary."

The other day a customs officer in Melbourne explained that the peace conditions did not prevent us forming a tariff. But it was apparently necessary to contradict the statement, because under the conditions proposed we should be in a greater danger than we were before the war. We who opposed conscription knew what might come if conscription was adopted in Australia, but in any case we find that we are now face to face with a conspiracy of Imperialism. Even Brigadier-General Monash has been talking of the co-ordination of the armies of England and the Dominions, and has said that—

"Soldiers trained in Australia, England, and Canada should be able to go into action without the slightest preparatory training as a whole."

But we want no more foreign wars. We do not want to spend another penny or another life or offer another man to interfere in any further European troubles. As a matter of fact, we have only one friend in the Pacific, and that is America. When Australia was trying to make a tariff, some nine or ten years ago, people in York street and Flinders lane made arrangements with Max Hirsch and Ehrlich, another German—one dead and the other interned—to lobby the Federal Parliament in the interests of free trade—these Germans who were doing Germany the greatest service by keeping Australia off high protection. This is a question of trade, and of trade only, and it should be considered apart from any question of interfering with the sentiment binding us to a Throne which has really ceased to possess

whatever usefulness it may have had. I should like to refer to a report made by the State Commissioner of the United States on the meat-packing industry, to show how necessary it is in the interests of both the producer and consumer that this matter should receive our closest attention. That report shows that in America the meat trusts deliberately encouraged the breeding of stock in places where they did not intend to establish packing houses. This report is so interesting that, for the information of producers and consumers, I think it should be placed on record. Therefore, with your permission, I shall hand the document to "Hansard." As I have said, we want no more foreign wars. The imperialist raves of the Throne and imperial sentiment, and we know that a street sweeper with a vote is of more value to Australian legislation than any king ever could be, because the man in the gutter has a vote. Though we hear so much talk about imperialism and about the links binding the Dominions to the Empire, we have men like Carson still preaching sedition even in the English Parliament, when every man knows in his heart that Carson is traitor enough to have been hanged on the same gallows as Casement. The imperialism that is advocated would strengthen Japan, and Britain favours this because she is afraid of what might happen in India. India is not worth anything to Australia. The old order has changed, and the people have got to recognise the fact. When the late war started there were 400,000,000 people under kings in Europe, and there are now 320,000,000 people under Republican Governments. The question of tariffs is naturally associated with the matter of repatriation and State taxation. The idea of repatriating a man and putting him on land for which he is not fitted, sending him out a prohibitive distance on to poor land in the Mallee, as has been done in Victoria, while good land is held by rich men within nine miles of Melbourne, is a farce. The tariff must be considered in the light of its effect on State finances, and it is important that we should not lose sight of this fact. I find that—

"In 1913-14 we exported 531,436,000 lb. of greasy wool and 64,415,000 lb. of scoured. Australia's gross production for 1913 was 754,123,000 lb. We manufactured only 11,619,000 lb., or under 2 per cent. War protection increased that to 3¼ per cent."

Japan has been permitted to buy Australian wheat and sell it back to us as flour. During the last five years Japan has increased her exports to Australia by over £4,000,000. Free trade has weakened Britain and has encouraged Germany to fight. A recent cablegram from Japan tells us of the Japanese dissatisfaction with the League of Nations, and has given us a statement by a member of the Government on the matter. The Prime Minister of Japan has given fair notice to all concerned of his views on this subject. He says—

"I do not believe that the League relieves any nation of the obligation of developing its own strength. Japan must make further efforts."

That means that Japan, having been given a free rein in China, is just the sort of country to discover that it can [5.30 p.m.] stretch out for military domination. Now, Queensland is starting an iron and steel industry, and, although

I believe we are going to make the cheapest iron and steel in Australia, that steel cannot very well stand up against the lack of an effective tariff. Our imports of pig iron, rails, corrugated and galvanised iron, wire, and tin plates was £7,980,044 in 1913, and now that the protection of ship shortage is off, without a tariff we must return to pre-war conditions.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: We will certainly be in the hands of the Federal Government.

HON. R. BEDFORD: Certainly; and that is why the Federal Government should be a Labour Government as soon as possible. In 1901, imports were £42,434,000, or £11 3s. 11d. per head; in 1917, £76,229,000, or £15 12s. 7d. per head; and in 1918-1919, £100,000,000, or £20 per head. As showing how the English Tory regards us, and why he should want to imperialise us, take the last statement of Sir Edward Carson's. Speaking at Belfast, he said—

"Ulstermen must be prepared for every emergency. If any attempt were made to take away one jot or tittle of the rights of British citizenship won in the war, he would call out the Ulster volunteers. A Dominion Government in Ireland meant an Irish Republic camouflaged. Ulster would have nothing to do in a Dominion Government of any kind."

That is just what he thinks of us, and that is why an attempt at any price to lure us in to taking a status in the Imperial Parliament in which we practically have no voice must go by the board. In the meantime, even our financial centre has changed the venue from London to New York. Whereas America before the war was a debtor nation, the war has made her a creditor nation. The following is a statement of foreign loans placed in the United States and outstanding on 1st January:—

"United States loans to— Amount.

Great Britain	£885,664,000
France	541,100,000
Italy	210,200,000
Canada	92,532,790
Russia	54,545,950
Germany	400,000
Mexico	25,717,500
Belgium	34,676,000
Japan	21,560,000

"There are other countries of whose securities smaller amounts are held. For instance, Australia is down for £250,000. Total Government, State, municipal, and corporation securities of foreign countries placed in the United States, and outstanding on 1st January, estimated at £1,896,665,000."

Australia requires a tariff so that she shall not be left defenceless against her enemies. Defence against enemies means a united people at home. How is that possible with the present system of gargantuan profits on one side and starvelings on the other? Even the Melbourne "Age," an anti-Labour paper, sees the necessity of this. It says—

"The vulgar greed that seems to obsess a section of our traders is a particularly malicious enemy of Australia, for it keeps the helpless people poor and creates a discontent which is a menace—to property first of all. Small men or interested men may stand aghast at the

[Hon. R. Bedford.

difficulties of controlling the cost of living when there are so many rapacious profit-mongers, but as a matter of grim necessity the work has got to be done. All the price-fixing must not be in the hands of the combined traders. The great mass of the population—the men who work with hands and brains for wages and salaries—will not consent to be plundered as they have been for the last four years. They have been charged high shipping freights on goods that did not pay shipping freights, high or low; they have been fleeced on the score of high wages, when the wages increase amounted to 5 per cent. and the over-charging on the goods to 50; and war has been pleaded as an excuse for an advance of 300 per cent. in the cost of material that was in stock before the firing of a shot. The law must reach this brazen commercial Bolshevism, and the penalties be proportioned to the cold and hunger it is bringing, by the aid of 'direct action' of an equally iniquitous kind, to many homes this bitter winter. Where stands the National Federation on national questions like these?"

Where stands the National Federation on the national question like this? It is an excellent thing to see the "Age" wallowing its joss. Now, apologists for the present system have all the forces at their side. They have the churches for fuglemen, all the hypocrites stand for the system which Christ, Moses, Shakespeare, Plato, and all the thinkers of the world condemn. A big number of the churches preach contentment, and one old gentleman has been saying that, if the people would only leave the Trades Hall and go to the little Bethel, all their troubles would be over in a moment. Even the "flu" found profiteering undertakers. Down in Sydney the men who were conducting the funerals asked for an increase of 8s. a funeral, and the undertakers put on £5 5s. extra to cover the balance. The London Stores, Limited, in Melbourne, formed in 1912, has a paid capital of £70,000, of which £46,000 was real money, and £30,000 shares to the vendor. At the end of six years it has 32s. 6d. per £1 share in tangible assets; its gross profits have grown from £47,532 to £75,983. Last year it made £21,624 on a working capital of £30,000. Much of these profits to rags has come from local spending of war loans, so the future interest payer can comfort himself with the knowledge that he is paying for the wine and cigars of some departed draper. What is the good of talking of repatriation and a new era for the people when profiteering goes on with regard to soldier settlements? Mr. Trethowan, M.L.C., president of the New South Wales Farmers' and Settlers' Association said recently—

"As far as I can see, we are doing nothing for the returned soldiers. We are asking them to pay the full price of the land, on terms; that is, we are doing nothing. Any man can get and buy land on almost any terms. The returned soldier will be paying interest all his life. We landowners should notify them we are prepared to carry our share of the burden, and pay this interest. The same principle should be applied to any returned soldier set up in business."

We can see that from one end of the world to the other this unrest is incapable of being put to sleep by prayers and speeches and

rosewater; it has to run its full limit. We find the real reason behind the strikes of coalminers in England in the case sighted with regard to the Marquis of Bute—

“The Marquis of Bute owns a total of 128,582 acres of land, of which 48,873 acres are being worked for coal. The average annual output from the collieries on his estate is 3,241,962 tons. The average royalties paid to him is 8.14d. per ton, which gives him an average income of £109,277 annually from royalties. His coal properties in Wales are among the most important in Great Britain, and the greater part of them were granted in 1547 and 1550 to his ancestor, Sir William Herbert, by the boy King Edward VI.”

Just because a little boy called a King did this so long ago, for ever and ever, until the last ounce of coal is lifted from there, the people who use it have to pay the Marquis largess; and similarly with many other cases of the sort. And is any further reason for industrial unrest in Australia wanted than this? For every one shilling increase in workers' wages since 1911 capitalism has taken 2s. in increased cost of living. Out of the first increase in coal of 3s. a ton granted by the Commonwealth, labour got 6d., and out of the next 2s. 9d. in the increase of the price labour got 6d. Behind all this there is the mean and wasteful competitive system throwing away half the nation's coal. Just because the long wall system, which would take practically 90 per cent. of the coal, is expensive in its first cost, they work by the old cheap method, with the result that in the Borehole seam in Newcastle there are millions of tons of coal which have been lost for ever. How serious is the economic position in Australia can be judged by the following figures, which tell their own story:—

Item.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.
Average wage paid weekly	51/3	53/10	55/1	55/7	56/6	60/8	61/2	65/-
Per cent. increase above 1911	—	5.1	7.6	8.5	10.2	19.4	25.2	26.8
Money required to purchase food compared with £1 in 1911	22/-	22/6	21/11	22/11	23/4	26/11	28/5	30/3
Percentage decrease in purchasing power of £1	—	12.9	9.5	14.4	41.6	48.5	47.2	51.4
Wage increase per £1 ..	—	1/1	1/6½	1/8½	2/0½	3/8½	5/0½	5/4
Cost of living increase per £1	—	2/6	1/11	2/11	8/4	9/11	9/5	10/3

These figures reveal an alarming position. They show that, since 1911, while the workers' wage has increased 26.3 per cent., the cost of living has gone up by no less than 51.4 per cent. That is to say, the cost of living has risen about double the wage increase within seven years. The average wages should be not 65s. but 77s. 7d. The Australian soldier was poled on for his quality. The oversea capitalist poled on the Australian primary producer during the war with Australian wheat at 4s. 9d. a bushel and American at 9s. 2d.; with Australian copper at £105 a ton and American at £163; and Australian wool at 1s. 3d. a pound and American cotton at 1s. And then the Australian producer is robbed by preposterous exchanges as well, making wool under 1s. 1d. a pound, or the price of cotton. But labour is robbed by all.

If we take these items, we see that the average rate of wages paid show that since 1911, when wages increased 26.8 per cent., the cost of living has gone up by no less than 51.4 per cent. That is to say, the cost of living has risen about double the wage increase within seven years. I propose, as a way out of that, the national policy of high protection, and, accompanying that, legislation to fix wages and prices. This is no new scheme. In the first French revolution there was an attempt, but only half an attempt to get at the maximum. They fixed a maximum price for goods, but they did not fix the minimum wage for the men to buy the goods; they forgot that. We fixed the maximum wage in Australia, but we did not fix any maximum price for goods, so that as fast as a man's wages were raised the price of commodities went up. It is this that is rehearsing revolution. The sacred right of insurrection triumphed with Colebatch in West Australia and Freeman in Sydney. Behind Freeman and Colebatch is the unrest of the poor and of the people impatient against oppression. Everybody knows that high prices have always preceded revolution. I know very well that in any revolution it will not be my neck that will be called for, but I want to warn the other people who are on the side of the profiteer. The peoples of old world countries are about to translate Tennyson's figure of revolution into fact—

“Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion creeping nigher,

Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly dying fire.”

We know that the Australian has always gone for constitutional means, and we hope that he will be given by an early measure of relief from profiteering a chance of continuing in his good old way. But if he does not get justice with reason it is equally certain that he will be tempted to take justice with revenge.

The PRESIDENT: In regard to the very lengthy sheet the hon. gentleman has put on the table, and taken for granted that it will be allowed to appear in the report of his speech, I must call his attention to the fact that I had to refuse to allow the Hon. Mr. Page-Hanify to get in something in the same manner last year.

Hon. R. BEDFORD: If I did not consider it necessary I would not do so.

The PRESIDENT: There is a Standing Order which says that documents read or cited by an hon. member may be laid on the table. The hon. gentleman may lay it

Hon. W. Hamilton.]

on the table, but he must know that "Hansard" is a true record of what takes place in this House, and therefore I could not consent to this going into "Hansard." Whatever the hon. gentleman has said or read is reported, but this is too lengthy altogether to be put in.

Hon. R. BEDFORD: I can put it on the table or into the waste paper basket.

HON. T. M. HALL: I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Question put and passed.

The resumption of the debate was made an Order of the Day for to-morrow.

ADJOURNMENT.

The SECRETARY FOR MINES: I move —That the Council do now adjourn. The first business to-morrow will be the resumption of the debate on the Address in Reply.

Question put and passed.

The Council adjourned at fifteen minutes to 6 o'clock p.m.
