

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates  
[Hansard]

**Legislative Assembly**

**WEDNESDAY, 3 OCTOBER 1866**

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

*Wednesday, 3 October, 1866.*

Governor's Salary Reduction Bill, 1<sup>o</sup>.—Export Duty on Wool, Tallow, and Hides.—Medical Act of 1861 Amendment Bill.—Civil Service Act Repeal Bill.

## GOVERNOR'S SALARY REDUCTION BILL.

Mr. PUGH moved for leave to introduce a Bill to reduce the salary of His Excellency the Governor.

The motion was agreed to, and the Bill was brought in, read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. PUGH then moved—

That the second reading of the Bill stand an order of the day for to-morrow.

Mr. PALMER moved, as an amendment—

That the second reading of the Bill stand an order of the day for this day six months.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he was not aware the honorable member for Port Curtis intended to offer any opposition to this Bill at the present stage. It was his own intention to oppose the Bill on the second reading, but as the honorable member had moved that the Bill be read a second time six months hence, probably it was just as well the House should now get over any discussion on the subject, and dispose of the matter at once. Had the Bill been a Bill for the purpose of settling the salary of future Governors of the colony, it might have been met upon its merits; but as it was introduced for the purpose of reducing the salary of the existing Governor, it was liable to objections of so serious a character, that it might be dangerous for the House to proceed with it; and he thought, considering that and other circumstances, the House would be justified in rejecting the Bill. The amount of salary which the Governor now received was fixed by Act of Parliament—by instructions from the Home Government. When that Act was passed, it was reserved for the approval of Her Majesty;

and it was not till that approval was obtained that the Act came into operation. He might also state that, in the case of all Bills of this kind—whether for the purpose of increasing the salary of the Governor or reducing it, or for the purpose of increasing the salaries of the Judges, or reducing them—the Governor would not have power himself to assent to them; indeed, he was specially prohibited from doing so, and he would therefore have to reserve it for the consideration of the Home Government. There were two cases of Bills of this kind, which settled the matter, but he would refer to only one of them. Honorable members would no doubt remember that some few years back a Bill was introduced into the Victorian Legislature for the purpose of reducing the salary of the Governor of Victoria. That Bill was passed by the Parliament of the colony, and sent home for the royal assent; but the Bill was disallowed by the home Government, on the ground that there could be no interference permitted with the salaries of existing Governors; and that as the salary was fixed and settled by Act of Parliament, the Governor was entitled to receive the amount so fixed so long as he remained in the colony. As to a measure for fixing the salary of future Governors, the Home Government would no doubt be prepared to act on it as they might think proper; but as to the Bill before the House, the same answer would be given to it as to the Bill that was sent home from Victoria—the Home Government would disallow a Bill that affected the salary of the existing Governor. He would therefore submit that, upon that ground alone, the honorable member ought to withdraw the Bill; and if he did not do so, that it should be thrown out by the House. But, independent of that, or anything regarding the present circumstances of the colony—and he admitted the colony was not in fortunate circumstances—he admitted there was a cloud hovering over them, but one which he fervently hoped would soon pass away—yet he would say, taking the circumstances of the colony as they now stood, and he was certain most honorable members would agree with him, that the salary given to the Governor was not too much for the Governor of a colony like this. The Governor of Queensland, like the Governor of New South Wales, and the Governors of other colonies, required not only to entertain illustrious strangers, but also to give entertainments of an expensive character in the colony, and he could not be expected to do so at his own expense. He had made a memorandum of the establishments allowed to the Governors of other colonies, and he found that the cost of the establishment of the Governor of Victoria was £3,000; of Tasmania £2,500; and of New South Wales £2,000, while the cost of the establishment of the Governor of Queensland was only £1,000. Now, surely if the Governor was

to be expected to keep up any establishment at all, he could not do it on less than the amount he now received. It was also to be remembered that, independent of other circumstances, the Governor of this colony was put to an expense to which no other Governors were put to—that while in New South Wales the Governor was allowed a Private Secretary, a clerk to the Private Secretary, and an Aide-de-Camp, the Governor of this colony, if he wished the services of persons in such positions, would be compelled to pay for them out of his own pocket. He did not know if it was necessary for him, and he certainly did not desire, to occupy the time of the House by going at any length into this subject, which he felt, so far as he was concerned, was a delicate one, looking at the position which he occupied towards His Excellency. But what he said now he said more as a private member of the House than as a member of the Government, and from a conviction that the House could not offer to any Governor a less salary than was now paid to Sir George Bowen. He was not aware that the honorable member who introduced the Bill had ever, in the House, assigned any reasons for the reduction of the Governor's salary. He must say, for himself, that he had never heard the honorable member state that he thought the salary of the Governor should be reduced, and he did most sincerely trust the House would hesitate before it introduced a precedent of passing a Bill, which, it was well known, would not receive the sanction of the Home Government—a precedent which was not only bad in itself, but which might give rise to questionable results. In the event of the honorable member for Port Curtis pressing his amendment to a division, the Government would support him.

Mr. PUGH said the honorable the Colonial Secretary had informed the House of what every honorable member knew he was not expected to do at that stage—that he had not stated to the House any reasons for bringing forward this Bill. Had the honorable member for Port Curtis done him the courtesy of allowing the Bill to go to a second reading before opposing it, he would have stated his reasons for introducing it. If the Bill was to be quashed at that stage, there was no necessity that he should withdraw it. He would therefore now go on to state his reasons for introducing the Bill. In the first place, he took it that honorable members and others had heard something about the necessity for retrenchment; and no honorable member had been louder in his demands for retrenchment than the honorable member for Port Curtis; and he thought the best way, if they were to retrench in the case of the Civil Service, was to begin at the top and come all the way down. It had been said that the salary of the Governor had never before been objected to in the House. He admitted that such was the case, but

there was this very good reason for it—that the salary of the Governor was fixed by Act of Parliament, and it was for the purpose of repealing that Act, and settling the salary of this Governor, and other Governors of the colony in future, that he introduced this Bill. He doubted very much the vaticinations of the honorable the Treasurer, that all would be well in twelve months, and that by that time the Government would have £600,000 in hand, which they would not be able to spend. If that was to be the case, there was no necessity for the House to go on with retrenchments; but, on the contrary, the best thing they could do would be to raise all salaries, from the Governor's downwards. However, at the present time, honorable members were condemning a measure they had never seen, and which, consequently, they knew nothing whatever about, except so far as they were informed by the notice paper; and he must say that he thought it was scarcely courteous to oppose the Bill at the present stage. It was a most unusual thing to do so, and he was not therefore prepared with all he would have had to say in reference to the Bill if, as was customary, it had been allowed to go to a second reading. He thought the Bill should have been allowed to go to a second reading, and he would certainly press the motion before the House, in order that it might be seen who were the real advocates for retrenchment.

Mr. PALMER said that if the course he had taken, of moving that this Bill be read a second time that day six months, was not the usual course, if it was an irregular course, he did not mean by taking that course to perform an act of discourtesy towards the honorable member who introduced the Bill. His only object was to endeavor to stop at the outset a discussion which he saw could do no possible good; for every honorable member must be aware that even if the Bill passed both branches of the Legislature, it would not be allowed by the Home Government. Another reason he had for opposing it was, that he observed honorable members were putting a quantity of motions on the notice paper, which there was not the slightest prospect of carrying this session. The session was drawing to a close, and what was the use of putting motions on the notice paper that would only provoke a discussion, and end with the slaughter of the innocents?

Mr. R. CRIBB said the course which the honorable member for Port Curtis had taken on that occasion was very unusual. Indeed, it was unprecedented in that House, so far as his experience went, and he thought the Government ought not to have assented to it. As the Bill was brought in without any objection being offered to it, the members of the Government and other honorable members should have waited till the Bill was printed and circulated—till they knew its provisions and the extent to which it proposed to go, before making any determined

opposition to it. The amendment before the House being submitted at the present stage of the Bill, he could not otherwise regard than as an attempt to burke discussion. Such conduct shewed a great want of courtesy, not only towards honorable members, but also to the constituencies they represented; and he was surprised that the honorable the Premier's knowledge of political tactics should not have prevented him from falling into the trap of the honorable member for Port Curtis. As to the Bill itself, he did not see any objection to it. There was no objection offered to the Bill for increasing the Governor's salary, and he did not see why there should be any objection offered to this Bill. He did not see that any of the reasons advanced by the honorable the Chief Secretary were sufficient to satisfy the House that they ought not to discuss this question. That the Bill was one of those that had to be reserved for the sanction of the Home Government, was no reason why the House should not discuss the question. As to what had been said about the Bill to reduce the salary of the Governor of Victoria, he did not see that it at all applied to this colony; nor, if it did, would it justify the House in burking a measure of this kind in its infancy. He hoped the honorable member for Port Curtis would withdraw his motion; and he was sure that if the honorable member had had a little more Parliamentary experience he would have allowed the Bill to be printed.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS said he would support the amendment proposed by the honorable member for Port Curtis, as he could not approve of a reduction of the Governor's salary. He would always support any proposition for enabling the Governor of Queensland to support the dignity he was expected to maintain.

Mr. GROOM said he considered that if the House were to accept the *ipse dixit* of the honorable member for Port Curtis, and reject a motion of this kind at the present stage, the sooner they passed the Estimates, and allowed the House to be prorogued, the better. But he must dissent altogether from a doctrine of this sort, because he could scarcely see the necessity of the various constituencies sending representatives to that House, if discussions on motions of the sort before the House were to be burked. He was as anxious as any other honorable member to see the session brought to a close, that he might go and attend to his own business, but that was not a sufficient reason for burking discussion. If the amendment should be agreed to, a strong impression would be produced in the public mind, that some other influence had been brought to bear in respect to a matter of this kind, than a desire to bring the session to a close. The honorable the Chief Secretary, before he introduced the precedent of Victoria, should have made himself acquainted with all the

facts of the case. It was well known that Sir Henry Barkly had assented to measures that were obnoxious to the party in power; that they, as it were, by way of retaliation, passed a measure for reducing the salary of the existing Governor, but the people, with whom Sir Henry Barkly was very popular, petitioned against the royal assent being given to the Bill; and it was in deference to this petition that the Queen refused to give her assent to the Bill. It had been said that Sir Henry Barkly was the best Governor Victoria had ever had, which shewed the people were right on that occasion. He would vote against the amendment, but he would not thereby pledge himself to vote for the Bill.

Mr. FORBES said he was surprised to find such an amendment proposed as the one before the House; and he hoped he might say that if the honorable member for Port Curtis had held a seat longer in that House, he would not have been guilty of such an act of discourtesy. He was not in favor of the Bill, but he considered it most discourteous treatment, the way in which the Bill had been received. He considered it would be most injurious to pursue such a course, and he would, therefore, vote for the motion.

The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC LANDS said the arguments that had been used towards the amendment of the honorable member for Port Curtis were, he was free to confess, those that prevented the Government making any opposition to the Bill at the present stage. Such an amendment, he must say, did bear the appearance of a want of courtesy, and also of a desire to burke discussion; but, admitting all that, he thought there would be no difficulty now in arriving at a conclusion without any lengthened discussion. It was obvious from the title what was the nature and extent of the Bill; and if that were the case, and if honorable members had made up their minds that a Bill of this kind should not pass into law, he thought it was well the Bill should be rejected at once. The honorable member who introduced the Bill had said, as an argument in favor of it, that the present state of the colony required that great retrenchment should take place wherever it was possible. Now, on that very ground, he held that the Bill before the House should now be thrown out. As honorable members were aware, it could not come into operation for twelve months from the beginning of next year, as it would have to be reserved for the sanction of the Home Government, and, therefore, no immediate advantage would be derived from retrenchment in the way proposed by the Bill. The ground of immediate necessity for retrenchment would, therefore, not apply in this case, and could not hold good as an argument in support of the Bill. The honorable member for Drayton and Toowoomba referred to the case of Sir Henry Barkly, while Governor of Victoria, and the reasons that induced

the imperial authorities to withhold the royal assent from the Bill proposing a reduction of his salary; but the honorable member did not allude to other and stronger reasons why a Bill of this nature, proposing a reduction of the salary of the Governor holding office, should not pass. There were the same reasons against reducing the salary of the Governor holding office, as there were against reducing the salaries of the Judges of the land; but, more than that, it must be obvious to every one that the Governor of a colony who had such weighty influence in the passing of laws by Parliament should not be under any such influence or obligation that he would require to curry favor with Parliament. So it was with the Judges. They were placed in a position of such independence of the Parliament and of the country, that a measure of this kind might not be able to touch them. He thought that, for those reasons, and because of the late period of the session when time was an object with every honorable member, the Bill had better be thrown out at once.

Mr. TAYLOR said he could assure the House that the Bill was not brought forward, as appeared to be insinuated by some honorable members, from private feeling of any kind. He was consulted by the honorable member before it was brought forward, and he advised that it should be brought forward, on the ground of economy. The mind of the House seemed to be in favor of reducing high salaries, and he thought they ought to begin with the highest salaries on the list. The Governor had £4,000 a year, which was a very handsome salary. As to his giving entertainments to the public, what had the House to do with that? There was something said, too, about the Governor having to entertain grandees. Well, what of that? They didn't do the country any good. He should oppose the amendment, as he would support the motion; and he must say, that he thought the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Pugh, had not been fairly treated, for he had been snubbed at the very commencement.

Mr. MACKENZIE said he did not think the salary which the Governor received was at all too high, or out of proportion to the salaries paid to the Governors in the other colonies. He had previously spoken upon this subject, but he did not in what he then said mean that the Bill should apply to the salary of the present Governor. If they were to reduce the salary of the Governor, he thought there would be some difficulty in obtaining a Governor at all. There was nothing unusual or discourteous in the amendment, for there was a precedent in the case of the Bill to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

Mr. R. CRIBB denied that the case referred to formed a precedent, or was in any way analogous to the present amendment.

Mr. BROOKES said he thought enough had been said to shew that it was a dangerous



thing to depart from the established or ordinary rules of the House; for by that having been done on the present occasion, honorable members had been led into a discussion that it would have been desirable to avoid. He considered that it came with very bad grace from the Ministry to attempt to choke off discussion in the way they had attempted to do that afternoon. He should vote against the amendment and in favor of the motion, but without pledging himself, by so doing, to support the motion.

Mr. WIENHOLT said he would support the amendment proposed by the honorable member for Port Curtis. He would do so without desiring in any way to shew the slightest disrespect towards the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Pugh, but because he did not see the slightest use of going on, at that period of the session, with a discussion on a Bill that would not receive the royal assent. He regretted very much to hear the speech of the honorable member for the Western Downs, Mr. Taylor. He was sure that no other honorable member would have made such a speech. He was sure, from the way the honorable member alluded to Major-Generals, that he was not in the habit of associating with gentlemen of that rank, or he would not have spoken of them in the way he did.

Mr. MILES said the course adopted by the honorable member for Port Curtis was not taken for the purpose of shewing any disrespect towards the honorable member for North Brisbane; nor had he himself any such feeling in seconding the motion. He seconded the motion simply because he considered the Bill was not likely to pass this session, and that, even if it did, it would have to be sent home for the royal assent. As to the Governor's salary, he did not think it was at all too much; and, as had been shewn, it was the lowest salary paid to the Governor of any of the Australian colonies. He would not have said a word upon the present motion, but for what fell from the honorable member for the Western Downs. That honorable member had said the Bill was brought in on the ground of economy, and that he was a party to its introduction. Now, he would only refer honorable members to the division lists of the previous evening, for illustrations of the honorable member's ideas of economy. It would be seen by those lists who were the real economists, and who were not. The honorable member was one of those remarkable economists who would swallow a vote of £100,000, but would strain at a vote of £100 or £200. For the knocking off of £5 or so from a clerk's salary, the honorable member was all there; but when it came to the voting of £100,000 for a gigantic swindle, like the Warwick railway, there was the honorable member supporting it. When the question was the reduction of some paltry salary, the honorable member was most indignantly

economical; but when it was the voting of a large amount from which there was no prospect of the country ever deriving any benefit, the honorable member got liberal at once. If the honorable member would give his attention to the reduction of the large amounts, he might be of some use; but he seemed unable to rise beyond a paltry salary. He was really disgusted with the honorable member from the way he went on. The honorable member for Toowoomba also endeavored to read a lecture to the House; but he did not think that anything that fell from that honorable member in that way would have any influence whatever, or that the honorable member would be able to guide other honorable members one way or another. Seeing the length to which the discussion had been carried, he regretted the Bill was not allowed to go to a second reading.

Mr. B. CRIBB opposed the amendment, as he considered the Bill ought to be allowed to go to a second reading.

The question, "That the words proposed to be omitted stand part of the question," was then put, and the House divided as follows:—

Ayes, 8.	Noes, 14.
Mr. Taylor	Mr. Macalister
„ Brookes	„ McLean
„ Groom	„ Bell
„ E. Cribb	„ Watts
„ B. Cribb	„ Lilley
„ Stephens	„ Fleming
„ Forbes	„ Palmer
„ Pugh.	„ Miles
	„ Sandeman
	„ Mackenzie
	„ Coxen
	„ Royds
	„ Fitzsimmons
	„ Wienholt.

The motion was accordingly amended, and the question, that the second reading of the Bill stand an order of the day for this day six months was agreed to.

#### EXPORT DUTY ON WOOL, TALLOW, AND HIDES.

Mr. GROOM moved—

That this House will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole to consider the following resolution:—“That an address be presented to the Governor, praying that his Excellency will be pleased to cause a Bill to be introduced to this House to impose an export duty of one halfpenny per pound on wool, one pound per ton on tallow, and threepence each on hides.”

The honorable member said that, in introducing the motion to the House, he desired at the outset to disclaim any intention of introducing anything in the shape of class legislation; or that this motion should, as some endeavored to represent it would, impose an oppressive tax on a most influential class of the community—a class which, perhaps of all others, could at the present time least afford to submit to such a tax. What he desired the House to do was to consider this question in a cool and dispassionate spirit. He did not desire for one moment to excite any antagonism between

the different interests in the country, but would only ask that the question should be considered on its merits; and if it could be shewn that those persons who were directly interested in the subject of the motion could not afford to bear this tax, and that the assessments they now labored under, together with the increased rents of their runs, were together equal to the tax on wool, tallow, and hides, which he proposed, he would be prepared to withdraw the motion. But in the absence of any information of a tangible character that would be likely to lead honorable members to a different conclusion, he thought he was justified in asking the House to assent to the motion. It was not to be forgotten that the colony was now placed in a very difficult position, that it was in a fearful state of bankruptcy, and that it had become necessary to resort to extraordinary measures to provide for the current expenditure of the colony, in order to maintain its public credit. In accordance with that proposition, the House had consented to increase the customs duties, and had assented, though reluctantly, to an *ad valorem* duty. In addition to that, the House had passed a Stamp Duty Bill, which had not yet become law, but had passed through two stages of its progress, and might on the following day be read a third time. Now he looked upon that Bill as being an iniquitous and oppressive measure, and as one that was calculated to trammel commerce to an extraordinary extent, while he did not believe that it would produce the amount of revenue expected to be derived from it. It had been argued, and with some degree of reason, that when taxes were distributed indiscriminately, those who were best able to bear taxation were those on whom it should fall. Since he gave notice of this motion he had made it his study to read the speeches, on such questions, of some of the most able financiers in the Imperial Parliament, and he found that the same policy had been approved of by them—that was, that in such extraordinary emergencies, the taxation should fall upon those who were best able to bear it. If they referred to the mother country they found that attempts had been made, from time to time, to repeal the tax on hops, but the attempts had been invariably resisted, because that tax was considered to fall upon a good subject. It was the same with the malt tax, which it had been sought frequently to repeal, but was always opposed, on the ground that malt could very well bear an export duty. Now, arguing on the same line of policy, in this colony they would be perfectly justified, in their present emergency, in placing an export duty on wool, tallow, and hides. He was the more induced to ask the House to accede to this proposition because he found, on looking at the statistics lately laid upon the table of the House, that since Separation there had been a steady increase in the

exports of the various articles which constituted the produce of the pastoral tenants of the Crown. He found that, in 1860, the amount of wool exported was 5,007,167 pounds; tallow, 640 tons; and the number of hides, 18,976. In 1862—wool, 8,163,612 pounds; tallow, 1,503 tons; and the number of hides, 29,737. In 1865—wool, 12,251,841 pounds; tallow, 1,940 tons; and the number of hides, 45,511. Now, from those figures, it was clear that since Separation there had been an uninterrupted course of prosperity in the case of the pastoral productions of the colony. Therefore, looking at that circumstance, and looking at the financial difficulties under which the colony at present labored, and when they were compelled, *nolens volens*, to tax everything that could be taxed, it was only fair that the articles of wool, tallow, and hides, should bear a measure of taxation. He did not say that it should continue long. He did not mean to say it was wise, if they came to consider the question of export duties by itself, to adopt an export duty at all. Indeed his own reading would lead him to come to a different conclusion. But what they were now called upon to consider was, the extraordinary position in which they were placed, and that it was absolutely necessary money should be raised in order to carry on the Government of the country. He was not one of those who agreed with the honorable the Colonial Treasurer, that the amounts expected to be raised by the extra taxation that had been imposed would be realised. He thought the honorable gentleman would find that of the articles subjected to an *ad valorem* duty there would be a very marked decrease in the imports; and he would also find that those who dealt with foreign merchants would at once commence to reduce their orders to a very considerable extent. He believed, also, that the Stamp Act, if it became law, would be evaded, and he held that it was unjust to levy such a tax when there were articles untaxed that could very properly bear to be taxed. The Colonial Treasurer, according to his financial statement, expected to raise from the stamp duty £35,000; and he apprehended the honorable gentleman had access to official records and documents that would enable him to make something like a correct estimate. Now, looking at the exports of wool, tallow, and hides for last year, he found that £32,000 would be obtained from a duty of a halfpenny a pound on wool, one pound per ton on tallow, and three-pence on every hide exported. It would thus be seen that, if his motion were agreed to, there would be no necessity for a Stamp Act, and that it might therefore be done away with altogether. But it might be objected that a tax on wool, tallow, and hides would fall unequally upon the squatting community, because of the far greater distance that some had to bring their produce to the seaboard than others. It had consequently been

argued that a distinction should be drawn between the Darling Downs squatters and those who resided in the far north. Now, he must say that he could not arrive at such a conclusion, because the squatters on the Darling Downs had recently had their runs assessed afresh; and though he was one of those who did not consider those runs were yet assessed to their fair value, still the occupiers of them had to pay much more than the pastoral tenants in the north. He did not therefore see there was any ground for a distinction being made between the squatters in the two districts in respect of a duty on wool; but this was a matter of detail that might be settled afterwards. Another thing in favor of this tax was that it could be easily calculated, and, besides, there would not be the slightest necessity to increase the number of customs officers for its collection. He might be told, by the honorable member for the Maranoa, for instance, that if a tax of this kind were imposed, large quantities of wool would be sent down the Murray from the runs adjacent to the border of New South Wales; but he had yet to learn that any large amount of the exports of the country were sent that way, or that the gentlemen there had found that it would be to their advantage to be unconnected with Queensland. As he before observed, he did not wish to excite anything like antagonism between the importer and the exporter; but he must say that he had not heard any argument advanced to satisfy him why articles that were imported should be taxed, and articles that were exported should be free—that was, why they should have an *ad valorem* duty on all articles of import, no matter what description, and not impose a duty on any articles that were exported. He felt perfectly convinced that the honorable the Colonial Treasurer, if he should then be in the same position as he was now in, would, on the re-assembling of Parliament, have to come down to the House and ask for the imposition of a duty such as this. In the Cape of Good Hope, where there had been a great monetary depression, in consequence of a severe drought, the Governor had been compelled to send down a message to the Legislature, recommending the imposition of an export duty of threepence per pound on wool, in order to meet the financial difficulty. It appeared to him that this colony was almost in the same position; and it was a very serious matter for the House to consider, if they should not assent to a small amount like this at present, rather than run the hazard of having to agree to a more stringent motion by the Government, in future. He did not wish to draw a gloomy picture of the colony; but he must say, as one engaged in commercial transactions, that to him the Government did not seem fully to estimate the financial position in which the colony was at present placed. It did not seem to be known that

the banks were bringing a pressure to bear upon persons engaged in commerce, or that a statement had been made in New South Wales by a high commercial authority, to the effect that a person who might one day think he was worth £100,000, might on the next day find he was not worth £100. There was the authority of the honorable the Treasurer of that colony for saying that the pressure that was being brought to bear by the banks was producing dire ruin amongst the mercantile community. Now, seeing that this colony was so intimately connected with that colony in commercial and pastoral pursuits, it appeared to him that persons engaged in business must more or less suffer from such a course of action; and, therefore, the House, he thought, should not allow the question to pass away without a calm and dispassionate discussion upon it. He did not desire to draw any distinction between the squatters, on the one hand, and commercial men, on the other; but he maintained they ought to have the burden of taxation to fall on the commodities that were best able to bear it. Now, by the figures he had quoted, it was clear there had been a marked increase in the articles of pastoral produce. Besides that, according to latest advices, wool had advanced twopence per pound in England. Now, as it was very probable that this advance would continue, and as the amount of revenue from the sources he had mentioned would come to nearly £33,000, he contended that this was a very fair and reasonable proposal, and one which those who represented the squatting interest in the House should assent to; because he felt confident in his own mind that such would be the marked decrease on the anticipations of the honorable the Colonial Treasurer, that next session he would be compelled to come down to the House with a proposal of some such measure or other of taxation. It had been observed by the honorable the Colonial Treasurer that he would regard this motion, if carried, as a vote of want of confidence. He was surprised to hear the honorable gentleman express such an opinion, for there was no necessity for it. The question was a very fair one for discussion here, especially at the present time, and there was no necessity for any feeling of antagonism about it. At a time when they were laboring under financial difficulties, when they felt compelled to effect retrenchment in every possible quarter, and to be careful of their expenditure, it was a fair time to consider whether they should not impose an export duty on those commodities that were best able to bear it. He trusted the motion would receive the consideration which, from its importance, it demanded. He would not trouble the House with any further remarks than to say that he would suggest there should also be a halfpenny charged upon every sheepskin exported from the colony. He would now leave the motion



in the hands of the House; and he would say that if it could be shewn that the increased rents and assessments were equal to the amount of taxation he proposed—if it could be shewn that this taxation, in addition, would be an injustice to the pastoral interest, he would be prepared to withdraw the motion; but he would ask the House, in the meantime, to receive the motion in a spirit of moderation, and to discuss it calmly and dispassionately on the present occasion.

The COLONIAL TREASURER said that, perhaps, as this was a matter having reference to taxation, he would be expected to say something concerning it; and, in doing so, he must, in the first place, pay a high compliment, indeed, to the honorable member, for the very moderate manner in which he had brought the matter under the notice of the House. The honorable member had been temperate in his language, and had made as good a case out as he possibly could. However, in listening to the honorable member's remarks, he was compelled to understand from him that he admitted that it was unsound in policy, and that he could not find any writer of any note or importance on political economy who advocated such a system of taxation. He was rather glad to find that the proposer of the motion admitted those facts, because they were facts that must be taken notice of by all honorable members who might address the House on the subject. The principal excuse offered by the honorable member for bringing this exceptional measure before the notice of the House was that the commercial interests of the country were very badly off indeed, and that the banks would not discount their bills. Now, if the honorable member would come forward with a specific motion, stating that, under the circumstances in which the colony was at present placed, the wool-growers should contribute largely for the relief of the commercial interests, he could understand his motive—he could understand his excuse for introducing such a measure. He must say that he could not observe any connection between putting a tax upon wool to ruin the pastoral tenants, and the want of means on the part of the commercial interests here, on account of not obtaining from the banks the accommodation they required to enable them to carry on their operations. Now he must object to the proposed tax, for various reasons. He had searched very hard to find if there were any arguments in favor of the proposed tax, that would satisfy him of the reasonableness of the motion; and he must say that if they existed he had failed to find them. Such a tax as this would, in its tendency, at least, be a class tax in every shape and form. It would, besides, fall very unequally, and therefore operate very unjustly, upon those from whose produce it was to be raised. All honorable members who had travelled over the country were aware that the nature of the soil and the nature of the

climate differed very greatly, and that, in fact, there were a great many inequalities in runs. Some were good, and some were bad, and some were very indifferent; some, indeed, were so bad that no one could live by them. Now, while that was the case, this proposed tax would impose the same amount on the tenant who had a very bad run, and who could only grow wool of a very inferior description, whose produce would bring but a small price, as it would upon the tenant who had a very good run. The motion would impose the same tax upon the person who produced wool of an inferior kind—of the value of, say, eightpence per pound—as upon the person who produced wool of a superior kind, wool that would bring half-a-crown per pound. In that respect, therefore, he felt that the tax would not operate fairly as to producers generally. Besides that, he had also an objection to the tax, in consequence of the tendency it would have to send stock out of the colony. There could be no doubt, that if they were so devoid of consideration for their own interests, or so insensible as to the effect such a measure would have upon the interests of others, as to pass it into law, they must be prepared to see the pastoral tenants, in many cases, take up shearing stations in the adjacent colony. For his own part, he would say that if such a tax were imposed, he should take care very soon to have a station on the New South Wales side of the border, where he would have all his sheep taken to for the purpose of shearing. He should take good care that his sheep should not come under the operation of a resolution like this, and he had no doubt that many other gentlemen would very soon follow his example. He also objected to the motion, on the score that it would not leave it open to the purchaser of land to make use of the land he had purchased for whatever purpose he might wish. If a person purchased land and fenced it in, and made use of it for the purpose of grazing, he would be subject to this peculiar tax; while the person who purchased land, and grew cotton upon it, would get a bonus from the Government for so cultivating his land; and the person who grew sugar would have the benefit of a protection of £6 per ton. The latter class of cultivators would not be subject to an export duty on their produce, but, on the contrary, would virtually receive a bonus. He must say that he could not find anything at all that could recommend the tax. He had no personal interest to serve in the matter, and he had no desire to object to any system of taxation that would yield a large revenue, and at the same time operate fairly as regarded the community. But this tax, he held, would not do so. He believed, and he had no doubt that several honorable members would inform the House of the fact, that a great number of the pioneer squatters of the country were now not even able to pay their rents, let alone

bear an export duty on their produce; and he had no doubt many honorable members would relate instances where the produce of the wool, brought from far out stations, did not come to much more than was sufficient to pay the expense of its carriage down, and of the carriage of rations back to the station. All the rest of the expenditure on the station consisted of outlay of personal means, or of borrowed capital. He believed that three-fourths of the stations that had been taken up in this country, during the last five or six years, were in the position he had described, and that they did not yield returns equal to the expenditure. Having such a state of matters coming within his own experience, he was fully sensible of the fallacy of such a system of taxation as that now proposed, and he would therefore submit that it was both undesirable and impolitic to resort to such an extraordinary measure of taxation. For his own part, he would oppose the motion.

Mr. R. CRIBB said the honorable the Colonial Treasurer had given the House some very funny reasons for opposing the motion; and one of them was, that the squatters were not at the present time able to pay their rents, far less bear such a measure of taxation as was proposed by the motion before the House. Now, he would like to know why the honorable gentleman did not advance some of those reasons a few days ago, when he brought forward his machinery in the shape of a Stamp Duties Bill, for the purpose of squeezing taxation out of the commercial community, who were in such a depressed condition at the present time, that many of them had to take shelter in the Insolvent Court. The honorable gentleman, however, did not make any allusion to the distress of the commercial community, when he was only dealing with their part of the question. The honorable member for Drayton and Toowoomba had informed the House that, according to latest advices, the price of wool had advanced in England to the extent of twopence halfpenny per pound. Now, the amount of taxation proposed in the motion was only one-fifth of that increase. Yet the squatters, though being in so prosperous a condition as regarded the value of their produce, objected to pay the smallest portion towards relieving the colony from its financial difficulty. The honorable the Colonial Treasurer had also told the House, that if this tax were imposed he would go out of the colony, and have a station on the New South Wales side of the border for shearing purposes. But did the honorable gentleman really think he would be allowed to do that? He had put stamp upon stamp on the transactions of commercial men; and did he suppose that he and other squatters would be allowed to avoid the law? Did he expect he would be allowed to avoid taxation; or that, if he succeeded in doing so in any instance, he would not be made

pay the penalty? As to the argument about the tax falling heavier on one description of wool than on another, or upon wool from one quarter more than upon wool from another, there was no force in it whatever, because the difficulty was one that could be easily remedied. The schemes of taxation which had been proposed by the honorable the Colonial Treasurer, and which had so far passed through the Legislature, were most obnoxious in their nature, as being oppressive and inquisitorial, whereas the scheme embodied in the motion was in no respect obnoxious. In particular, it was not inquisitorial in its nature, nor would it be expensive in collection. All that would have to be done would be to give in a return to the Custom-house of the quantity of wool laid down on the wharf for exportation, and along with the return put down the amount of duty to which such quantity of wool was liable, at the rate of a half-penny per pound. There would be no necessity for anything of an inquisitorial character, because, if it should in any case be considered necessary to check the returns, there would be nothing easier or less offensive than to count the number of bales, and calculate their aggregate weight. As he approved of the proposition, he would support the motion.

Mr. BROOKES said that, in anticipating the probable effect of the motion of the honorable member for Toowoomba on the House, he expected it would be treated with some degree of coldness; but he must say he was not prepared to find such a degree of stolidity on the part of the House, with reference to a motion of this character, as had been evinced by honorable members. If it were supposed for one moment that the motion was introduced from any other wish than that, at this critical period of the affairs of the colony, all taxation necessary to relieve the colony from its difficulties should press fairly and equally on all classes, he could only say that those who thought so were under a very great mistake. He hoped that, in the remarks he had to make, nothing whatever would escape him of an unfriendly or of an intemperate character. He would endeavor to open up the question as fairly as he could; and at the outset he might just observe that the ultimate appeal would lie, not, in the first place, as to the manner in which, or the ability with which, the motion was brought forward; but the ultimate appeal would lie with the colonists, and if they saw that such a motion as this, involving an important principle—a principle that commended itself to the common-sense of every disinterested person—was not received in the House with favor, the appeal to them would be very unfavorable to those honorable members who occupied a position in the House, and who had not availed themselves of the opportunity of speaking to the question, but had left themselves open to the charge that this appeal to their sense of justice and fair

play was to be in some degree decided by the mere force of numbers. He did not, of course, entertain any sanguine hope that the motion would pass at the present time; but, the time would come, and that shortly, too, when it would pass. There was not the slightest doubt that, as the colony grew—as it grew in numbers and grew in intelligence, and as it grew in material wealth—the question now before the House would be raised again and again; and about the final issue of it, he had not the slightest doubt. He must say that he did expect to hear from the honorable the Colonial Treasurer something like a faint shew of reason why he opposed the principle of the motion. But, he would tell the honorable gentleman, before he proceeded to examine his remarks, what was the broad ground on which the motion commended itself to the House and to the colonists, and to the whole of the colony. He found that, from Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill—and taking also into consideration every intervening writer of note on political economy—the principles which Adam Smith laid down with reference to taxation had become so venerable, and experience had shewn them to be so impregnable that John Stuart Mill called them the four classical maxims of Adam Smith. Now, if the honorable the Colonial Treasurer, at a time like this, when he was proposing, for the first time, measures of taxation for relieving the financial difficulties of the colony—if he violated the first of those principles, which every person of ordinary information was aware of, or ought to be aware of, he could only say that the honorable gentleman was not possessed of that knowledge which the House had a right to expect a gentleman occupying his position to be possessed of, or that he was not actuated by a wish to impose the additional taxation necessary in a way that would be equitable. He would read that maxim for the information of the honorable gentleman, if he did not already know it. It was as follows:—

“The subjects of every state ought to contribute to the support of the Government, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation.”

Now, he found, on referring to the *Statistical Register*, evidence that fully convinced him that the pastoral tenants of the Crown came within the application of that maxim. It could be said, with reference to the pastoral tenants of the Crown, that they derived large revenues under the protection of the State, and that those revenues were more easily raised than were those of any other class whatever in the colony; indeed, it might be said that the immense area of the colony had in a way been surrendered to them. He found from the *Statistical Re-*

*gister* of last year that there were 6,565,522 sheep, 753,314 head of cattle, and 40,315 horses belonging to the Crown tenants in the colony. He also found that the property represented as belonging to the pastoral tenants of the Crown—the money value of it—stood, according to the estimate of the Registrar-General, at £4,714,764 18s. 3d. That was the amount of money for which the Registrar-General stated it was mortgaged; so that he thought he might suppose its actual value was somewhat more. But he would remind honorable members that that very large amount of money would not be so large were it not for the fact, as had been often stated in the House before, that the value of the stock was not fairly computed—that the value put down was beyond the actual value. But that in some degree, and, he might say, in a large degree, arose from the fact that the valuation of the stock included also the valuation of the stations upon which the stock was depastured. In the sale of a station, the stock was the only property represented in the transaction, as the station went with the stock. In other words, the stock, besides their own value, carried upon their backs, as it were, the value of the station also. Now, he considered the House was entitled to demand, at a time like this, when the question was as to how they could get money out of the people, that the honorable the Treasurer—and this was a perfectly fair question for any Colonial Treasurer to entertain—ought to have gone in the first instance to the pastoral tenants of the Crown, and inquired whether they were paying the amount that might justly be demanded of them; and if he found, on reference to the Estimates laid before the House, that in the estimate of the probable ways and means there was expected to be raised from this source not more than £138,000—that was to say, that the colony, or by far the largest proportion of the colony, was so held that it only produced £138,000, which was almost equal to having the land for nothing—he ought to have made them the first subjects of additional taxation. Now, he would just take that opportunity of expressing his utter and entire astonishment, and his regret, that a gentleman holding the position of the honorable the Colonial Treasurer should have expressed the opinion that it was unsound to tax exports. Honorable members, he believed, would admit that they had a right to expect from a Minister of the Crown better information than that. The honorable gentleman ought to have known better. But, as if to make bad worse, he said he was glad to find—and he believed he was—he believed the honorable gentleman was relieved when he came to the conclusion that authorities were not at hand—he was glad to find that his views, taken up without examination, fell in with the opinions of the leading political thinkers of the day. Now,

the honorable gentleman never made a greater mistake in his life; and if the honorable gentleman had done him the honor to speak to him on the subject, he would have referred him to a passage which he would now read. He hoped the honorable gentleman would not run away with the idea that he wished him to take his opinion. He did not wish him to do that, but he would have referred him to the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which he found the following remarks, which he would commend to the attention of the present and of future Colonial Treasurers:—

"No doubt, were a country, which has no peculiar facilities of production, to attempt to raise a revenue by duties on exports, other states would do the same; and as the imports are almost always as great, and commonly, indeed, much greater than the exports, a country which should adopt a system of this sort would most likely lose as much on the one hand as it gained on the other, or more.

"But when a country has any exclusive advantages in the production of one or more descriptions of commodities, duties on their exportation would seem, if cautiously imposed, to be among *the best that can be imagined*. They must not, however, be carried to such a height as to equal the peculiar advantages enjoyed in their production, nor to diminish materially the demand for them in foreign countries.

"But supposing that these limitations are kept in view, they seem to be, in most respects, unexceptionable."

Now, that was the latest opinion he had been able to get; and he found the article concluded with these remarks:—

"So long, indeed, as the mercantile or protective system was in the ascendant, any proposal for the imposition of duties on exports would have been scouted on all hands; and since its overthrow, they have been regarded with much jealousy by most writers on finance.

"But when the articles on which these duties are imposed are of the proper description, and the duties are properly limited, there can be no better taxes."

He would put these quotations against the crude and ill-digested remarks of the honorable the Colonial Treasurer; and he would maintain that the honorable gentleman in his speech had shewn that he had never inquired into the subject; and he had rather preferred to adopt the scheme of a Stamp Duties Act than to use a proper and legitimate method of raising money. He maintained that it would be a standing charge against the honorable the Treasurer, and the Government of which he was a member, that they had sought to impose on the colony such a measure as a Stamp Duties Bill before they tried a fair and reasonable export duty on wool, tallow, hides, and sheepskins—a duty which could have been collected without one shilling additional expense, and which would have been a far more equitable mode of bringing the squatters to contribute to the necessities of the State than a proposal to

raise the present rents and assessments. He thought he had shewn that the honorable the Colonial Treasurer was far away from the tracks of the present style of thinking, in supposing there was anything unsound in taxing exports; and he might just say that when he quoted the article on taxation from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he was not aware that it could be said he was quoting a writer who was excessively wide of this particular view of the question. He did not find that the remarks of that writer differed from the opinions held by McCulloch and by other writers on the subject of political economy; but he merely quoted them because he had seen no remarks more appropriate to the subject now under discussion. He found, also, that the same writer stated that in Great Britain export duties might be laid upon coal and iron; and he spoke of such duties as reasonable duties in Great Britain, and as being among the least exceptionable duties it was possible to suggest. He also said that—

"Few articles seem to be better suited than the sulphur of Sicily and the olive oil of Naples to be charged with duties on being exported. \* \* \* Had the Government followed an uniform system, and systematically enforced moderate duties on their export, they would have produced a considerable amount of revenue without injuriously affecting the demand for the articles."

The same writer said—

"The tax on the opium sent from India is a still more striking instance of an unobjectionable duty on exports. It yields a large revenue to India, while, by raising the price of opium, it tends to lessen its consumption by the Chinese, to whom, if taken in excess, it would be highly injurious. Hence this export duty is beneficial, alike as a fiscal and a sanitary engine."

The point in this passage was in its reference to India. Again, to shew how universally the policy of imposing an export duty on a principal product was adopted, the writer referred to the case of China, and here was what he said:—

"The Chinese lay a duty of about three halfpence per pound on tea when exported; and it has never been alleged that this duty has the smallest influence on its exportation. It might easily, indeed, be raised to threepence or fourpence per pound."

He also observed, that in the case of Ceylon—a Crown colony, be it remembered—a very suggestive illustration might be taken from that island; he found that when railways were proposed to be made in Ceylon, and money to be raised by loan for the construction of those railways was authorised by a Bill—he found that though a million pounds sterling was authorised to be so raised for the purpose of constructing the railways, the Imperial Government would not sanction the Bill till a tax had been raised on the principal staple of the island—that was on coffee. Now, he would suggest to this Legislature whether it would not have been wiser not to



have delayed so long to impose a reasonable export duty on wool, tallow, hides, and sheepskins; and not to have rushed into the money market till they had tried the resources of the colony. The honorable the Treasurer seemed to imagine that there was something inconsistent in allowing a bonus upon cotton, on the one hand, and charging an export duty upon wool, on the other; but he thought he would not be misunderstood when he said that there had been a very heavy bonus for the production of wool for a great number of years past, and the difficulty they now had to contend with in this colony, and the difficulty that had to be contended with in every other colony, was the disinclination of those who had been benefited by that bonus to give it up. He thought it might safely be maintained that the giving of this bonus in Australia generally, taking it as a whole, had tended more to retard the progress of Australia than any other single cause whatever, and that was saying a great deal.

**THE COLONIAL TREASURER:** It is saying a great deal too much.

**MR. BROOKES:** It was the fact, nevertheless. Now, in speaking of the bonus, as it at present existed in respect to the production of wool, he might point to the fact that, according to the last returns of the Registrar-General, there was something like six and a half millions of sheep depastured in the colony, and he supposed that that number of sheep would represent nineteen and a half millions of acres of country. He would give the squatters the cattle and horses in. He would say nothing of them, though he had no doubt they were fairly brought forward in this statement, as a proof of the depasturing capabilities of the land. Nineteen and a half millions of acres, therefore, was the minimum quantity of land occupied by the squatters that could be put down; and how, he would ask honorable members, did that contrast with the quantity of land devoted to agricultural purposes? The same returns said there were only devoted for agriculture—actually employed for agriculture purposes—14,414 acres, against 19,500,000 acres devoted to squatting purposes. And, if they wanted to know something about the working of that bonus—for he thought it was fairly entitled to be called a bonus—he would point to the return that was moved for by the honorable member for the Kennedy, Mr. Kennedy, in the second session of 1863. The honorable member moved, on that occasion, for a return that would shew the amount received by the Government as rent and assessment for runs situated on the Darling Downs in 1862; and, also, the estimated capabilities of each of the runs in that district.

**THE COLONIAL TREASURER:** They have been re-assessed since then.

**MR. BROOKES:** It was a return of the capabilities of each of the runs in that district; and he found in the return of the

Darling Downs District, a run called Westbrook—a station in the occupation, he believed, of the honorable the Colonial Treasurer. According to the return made in the second session of 1863, the honorable gentleman paid for that run £35 rent, and £105 assessment on the estimated capability of the run to carry 14,000 sheep; but he found the run carried actually 47,000 sheep, and 15,000 head of cattle, and, whatever the honorable gentleman might pay now, it was also to be borne in mind that the number of the sheep had been increasing in proportion. Well, he found in this return another run, Jimbour, also in the district of the Darling Downs, and, he believed, in the occupation of the honorable the present Secretary for Public Lands. He found here, there were two runs, Jimbour and Coorangah, belonging to the same honorable gentleman. The total rent paid for them was £85, and the assessment £255 on the estimated capability of carrying 26,000 sheep. The occupier had been paying for no more for a long while. He had been paying on the estimated capability of the runs for 26,000 sheep; but the runs actually carried upwards of 91,000 sheep. Now, if that was not a bonus on wool growing, he did not know what was. He found another run, Eton Vale, belonging to the honorable the present Secretary for Public Works.

**THE SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC WORKS:** No.

**MR. BROOKES:** Well, the honorable member had had the bonus, nevertheless. The rent paid for that station was £50, and the assessment £151 17s. 6d., on the estimated capability of carrying 14,000 sheep and 1,000 head of cattle; but he found that the honorable gentleman consented to pay assessment on very nearly 47,000 sheep and 23,000 head of cattle. He found also, three runs in the same district, Prairie, Dunmore, and Cecil Plains, the property of the honorable member for the Western Downs. The rent paid for those runs was £85, and assessment £250, on an estimated capability of, all three together, carrying 10,000 sheep and 3,320 head of cattle, when they actually carried 26,000 sheep and 7,000 head of cattle. Well, now there was another remarkable instance, and he only alluded to it because the same run might turn up somewhere, no doubt, in the discussion that would take place about the agricultural reserves, but he quoted it now in illustration of the bonus on wool—he referred to Canning Downs. The rent for that run was £110, and assessment £320, on the estimated capability of carrying 28,000 sheep, and 2,560 head of cattle, whereas, at the time this return was made, there were actually on the run 61,500 sheep, and 7,088 head of cattle. Now, he did not think it could be shewn that a heavier bonus existed than the bonus on wool—a bonus that consisted of paying an assessment for only 10,000 sheep, when there were actually depastured on the run three and four times that number. When he looked



at the argument as it applied to cotton, he was prepared to state that, whenever the cultivation of cotton had attained anything at all like the magnitude of the production of wool, and years and years before that, there would be no bonus granted on cotton. But he thought the honorable the Treasurer gave another instance of his inability to deal with this fiscal question—he gave further evidence that such questions were comparatively new to him—when he spoke of the bonus on cotton as being open to any objection whatever. The present, perhaps, was not the right time to go into that; but he would submit that it was for the Ministry and for the House to take a comprehensive view of this question of taxation. It was not yet too late to retrace their steps. It would not do to have the motion before the House demurred to on the ground that it ought to have been brought forward by the Government. No doubt, it would have come with far better grace from the Government, if they pressed the matter home, and said it should have come from the Government; but that was no argument why it should not be received with due consideration when coming from a private member; and he would ask the Ministry and the House to remember the position that this question would, from the period of this debate, publicly occupy. This was a question that had been smouldering in the minds of the colonists for years. It was a question that had been agitated in all the other colonies; and he thought it would be a great triumph for Queensland to be the first of the Australian colonies to lead the way to a return to something like an equitable system of taxation. He would submit to the Ministry, that they had a fine opportunity of shewing that they could cast aside all party and personal considerations, and act in a way that would remove any charge of trying to exclude themselves from bearing personally a fair share of the burden at a time when everybody had to bear an extra weight. And he might say, further, that the sooner this question was decided, and peaceably decided, the better. It had been clearly shewn that there was no valid reason, either going on the principles of political economy, or in the position of the wool-producing interest, why that interest should not be taxed. Now, he did hope and trust that honorable members would not have a mechanical statement made to them—one of those statements that fell free and easy from the lips of Ministers sometimes—and which could only be accepted as an official excuse, costing no mental effort whatever. He could suppose some honorable gentleman would now get up and say that he had listened to him for a good while, but had not heard one single argument that had convinced him. But if this question was to be decided in the Legislature, it should not be decided on any such grounds; and he trusted the House would fairly and properly discuss it, and that they

would arrive at a conclusion that would be honorable to them. He had heard some talk of an import tax being placed upon flour and sugar; now he would say that if they wished to have a tax placed upon flour and sugar, and if they expected to have it borne peacefully, it must come after an export duty on wool, tallow, hides, and sheepskins; and if the honorable the Treasurer required a further sum of money, if he should find that the taxes proposed by the motion before the House were insufficient, he could tell him that the colony would then willingly bear a tax on flour, on tea, and on sugar—any tax whatever except an odious and inquisitorial stamp tax.

**THE COLONIAL TREASURER:** It is the best system of taxation.

**MR. BROOKES:** He would support the motion.

**MR. WALSH** said it had not been his intention to speak at all on this subject; nor would he now do so but for the extraneous matter introduced into the debate by the last speaker, and the question he put, or rather the threat he held out, to the House at the opening of his remarks, respecting the result of this motion, if it should be contrary to what seemed to be his views. The honorable member said this was a question that would not be settled here; and he supposed, when the honorable member said that, he meant not by the breeches-pocket considerations of honorable members here, but by an ultimate appeal to the country. Well, upon that issue he was content to have the question decided, and in that way he was content to have it dealt with. He was satisfied that when the country did review, not only this question, but other questions that had been principally debated in the House during the present session—which had been debated so fairly and equitably by the producers of wool—and when the conduct of the honorable member who last addressed the House was compared with theirs—the result of such review would be that the honorable member would be found wanting. Talk of an ultimate appeal to the country on a question of this kind! Was it not the first duty of the House to prevent taxation as much as possible? Taxation was a following evil—an evil following from expenditure which might or might not be required; and it was the outrageous expenditure which the honorable member had been so instrumental in fixing on the country that had led to such an odious tax as this, or the necessity for such a tax. On the previous evening, the honorable member, untrue to his constituents, untrue to the country, and to himself and his fellow-colonists, in every respect, voted for the continuance of a work which had been justly denominated as a political swindle on the country; and yet the honorable member, who knew that as well as any other honorable member knew it, and who dared to denounce it—he, untrue to his constituents and to the country, last night,

forgetful of every duty under the circumstances that should have prompted him—gave his vote in favor of the continuation of that vile political swindle that entailed an outrageous expenditure on the country. It was disgusting to him, perfectly disgusting, to hear honorable members get up in the House, and talk about the breeches-pocket tendencies of other honorable members.

Mr. BROOKES : The return—

Mr. WALSH : Let them move for any return they liked. Those honorable members who charged the squatters with breeches-pocket tendencies would themselves, by almost every return that could be moved for, in which they were at all concerned, be convicted of being actuated by breeches-pocket tendencies—would be found voting for the continuance of all manner of extravagance, and being the recipients, large recipients, of the public expenditure. He should oppose the motion, which was so temperately and so properly introduced by the honorable member for Toowoomba. He should oppose it, for a very strong reason he had. Setting aside the absurdity of the country taxing its own enterprise, and taxing its industry and its products, its chief exports—setting aside that, which was defiant of all the political economy and all the advice of political economists—and notwithstanding the observations that had been made in support of the motion on the authority of political economists, he would oppose the motion for this one great reason, namely, that the House had lately passed a Bill which he believed would call into existence a most important and distinct class of colonists—a class of small stockholders. They had now passed such a Bill as would enable men of small means to become farmers, producers of wool and tallow, and he trusted that before the House met again, they would see the colony studded over with that rival and advantageous class; and he opposed this motion because he believed that to pass it would be to nip in the very bud the efforts and aspirations of that valuable class of colonists. Now, let it go forth that a man who was commencing sheep farming in a small way would be at once called upon to pay a tax upon his produce, and he would venture to say that it would have such an effect that not even the much abused squatter, who was said to have nefariously designed the Bill, not even he would be accused of having designed a scheme that would more effectually keep from the land the class which the measure was intended to invite to the occupation of the land. They ought not to let it go forth to the world that the moment they called a fresh industry into existence, they were prepared to chill it and check it by taxation. If the proposition had come from the Opposition side of the House, it would have been designated as a piece of class legislation, for the benefit of one class at the expense of another—as a

proposition for annihilating and checking their rivals. On that ground, he called upon the honorable member who proposed the motion to pause before he inflicted upon his constituents, who would be greatly benefited by the Leasing Bill—he called on him not to do them an injury by putting a chilling tax upon their industry and their enterprise. The honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Brookes, in the course of a debate that took place not very long ago, asked over and over again, what do wool, tallow, and hides contribute to the colony? That question was asked about fifty times over on one evening. Now, it seemed to him to be hardly necessary for any honorable member to get up and state, in reply, what they contributed. But he would answer the question by asking another. He would ask, could any one go down the street, travel along any public road, or go down to the Bay, or consider the vast number of people brought into the country, and the wealth embarked in industrial pursuits in the colony, or consider the wealth the country was said to possess, without being obliged to confess that there were but three things that had actually led to such an advanced state of civilisation as was everywhere shewn to exist—and that those three products were wool, tallow, and hides? Was it not these that had raised Brisbane to its present state of prosperity, and that had given to Queensland the high name it possessed? But for the production of those articles, would the city of Brisbane be needed, would the banks be needed, would the shipping that came to their ports be needed, and would the immigration that took place be needed? Without the production of those articles, without the value they had given to the country, without the wealth that had flowed from them, from the industrial pursuits, and the capital connected with them, what would this country have been, and what would it now be? After such a review, was it possible to say that the products had contributed nothing to the country? Why, it was those very products—it was the wealth they possessed, and were known to be capable of possessing—that had given to the colony the high position it occupied. It was to them the colonists owed everything in the shape of Government, in the shape of a colonial existence, and in the shape of wealth. How, then, the honorable member, with that knowledge, which must be universal, could get up and ask what they had done for the country, was to him incomprehensible. Was there another source of wealth, another product, that had contributed one iota to the expenses of the country? Was there another source from which was derived, directly or indirectly, the means of carrying on the Government—the large expenditure of carrying on the Government—and enabling the city of Brisbane to carry on its business.

Mr. MILES : Cotton.

MR. WALSH: As to cotton, he trusted that it would become equally beneficial to the colony, and would equally contribute to swell the revenue and assist in the advancement of the colony; but as yet, so far, it had been a drag on the country. They had hitherto been paying a bonus for the production of cotton, and what had been produced had neither been a credit nor a benefit to the colony. For the reasons he had given, he would oppose the motion; and he sincerely trusted that the day would be far distant when the House would ever be called upon to debate a similar question. The present debate would reflect no credit on them. It would be read and commented upon in other colonies, and unless the motion were defeated by a large majority, and defeated in such a way that it would lead capitalists and persons resident in other colonies to see that there was no chance of its finding any favor in this colony, the discussion of the question would only be another cause of hindrance to the progress of the colony, and another reason why capital should be withdrawn from the colony, and why confidence in it should fail.

MR. HALY said he would not have addressed the House upon the motion, but for one remark which was made by the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Brookes, towards the conclusion of his speech. That honorable member said that nothing tended more to retard the progress of Australia than the occupation of the country by the squatters. Now, he would give an instance that would prove how fallacious that argument was. They all knew that the Government of South Australia had tried to colonise North Australia; and they also knew by the newspapers how signally they had failed. And why did they fail? Because they did not allow the squatters to go and take up the country before they formed a settlement. If they had allowed the squatters to take up the country first, they would have succeeded in colonizing Northern Australia. But they had not men of sufficient enterprise to go and do it. None but the drones of the towns went, and they made a failure of it. Had they allowed the squatters to go first—men of enterprise and energy—who would have overcome all the difficulties, they would have effected a success, instead of making a signal failure. The honorable member, Mr. Brookes, read a long account of the runs on the Darling Downs. Now, he maintained that it was wrong to judge of the whole colony by the Darling Downs; and all the arguments the honorable member brought forward, based upon the return he quoted from, only went in favor of putting on a tax of a halfpenny a pound on all the wool that came from the Darling Downs for the payment of the debt which the making of a railway there had caused. The honorable member's argument would be good for that, but for that only. But why tax the squatters away up at the

Gulf of Carpentaria, who had yet every difficulty to overcome—who were not only exposed to injuries by the natives, but had the very climate and everything else against them? Why tax men in such unfortunate circumstances as those? He could not understand why a man with so much common-sense as the honorable member for North Brisbane—a man who, if he were asked the question, would say that no other man knew so much as he did himself—he could not understand why such a man could make such a speech—a man who knew that a tax on wool would not fall equally upon all the squatters in the colony. A tax of a halfpenny a pound on wool from the Darling Downs would not be equal to a tax of an eighth of a farthing a pound on wool from some other quarters—upon wool brought from the far interior, from runs occupied by the most enterprising squatters. He had two stations himself, and he could tell honorable members, whether they liked to believe him or not, that it cost him double as much to bring the wool from the one that it cost him to bring the wool from the other to the seaboard. Now, how could they tax the wool from both those stations equally? Those were facts that could not be overcome. The honorable member might read all the books he could find on political economy, and he would not convince him of the justice of such a tax, for the writers knew nothing about wool growing in Australia. The honorable member also talked about the bonus that squatters had received; but he could tell the honorable member that no one ever paid him a bonus to form his stations. It was useless to talk of a bonus having been paid to the squatters. He had never been paid anything; but, he could tell the honorable member, that he was forced to pay a good rent for his stations. The honorable member admitted that the squatters paid £138,000 annually to the State, for the use of the lands they occupied; but he wanted to make out that they would pay nothing of the *ad valorem* duty at all. Now, he maintained that the squatters would have to pay more of it than any one else, on account of the stores they required for their stations. The honorable member for North Brisbane would take care not to sell him anything unless he were paid the *ad valorem* duty upon it, and something to go into his own pocket besides. The other night, the honorable member did not forget to secure that the few things he himself dealt in should be allowed to come in free, and yet he sought to make the House believe that he was a most disinterested individual. He might make the public of Brisbane believe that he was disinterested, but he would not make honorable members of the House believe it. The honorable member seemed only desirous to shift the burden of taxation from himself on to the squatters, who had not the opportunity of holding forth at large



public meetings, and telling all about their grievances. If the squatters were to come forward and tell about their grievances, it would be found that they had far more of them than the people about the towns had. To him it was perfectly astonishing to hear an honorable member go on as the honorable member for North Brisbane had done. The honorable member had done nothing but talk about the Darling Downs, which was the best district in the colony; and he had always gone upon the value of fine washed wool, but he never said anything about the burden of a halfpenny a pound upon greasy wool, that would only bring sevenpence a pound in the market, while other wool would bring half-a-crown. A man of the genius of the honorable member for North Brisbane might have been expected to give the House some valuable information on such a question, but he had not done it. He would oppose the motion.

Mr. MILES said that, after the course pursued by the honorable member for North Brisbane, on the previous evening, when the Additional Customs Duties Bill was before the House, he was not surprised at any course the honorable member might adopt. However, so far as the motion before the House was concerned, he would oppose it. There was another motion on the notice paper relative to the Pastoral Tenants Relief Bill, and it seemed to him that that motion and the one now under discussion were somewhat contradictory. The one admitted it was absolutely necessary that relief should be given to the pastoral tenants of the Crown, and the other, notwithstanding that, proposed to subject the pastoral tenants to further taxation. Now, he thought it would have been wise of the honorable mover of the present motion to have got the other notice discharged from the paper before bringing this one forward. However, as he was one of those whose capital was embarked in that industry, upon the produce of which it was now proposed to impose an export duty, he would oppose the motion, for he looked upon an export duty on wool as simply a tax on industry. The honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Brookes, wished to lead the House to believe that the squatters would be exempted from the *ad valorem* duty, but it was most absurd to argue that any one, merely because he belonged to a certain class of the community, would be exempt from it, for it was impossible that any one could be exempt from it. He would not be exempt from it. Although he was unfortunate enough to be a squatter, he had to wear a hat, and coat, and trowsers.

The COLONIAL TREASURER: I hope so. (Laughter.)

Mr. MILES: Well, it was a fact—(renewed laughter)—and he would have to pay the *ad valorem* duty upon those articles of clothing, and every other imported commodity he required. Then, there was also the stamp

duty, for he supposed the Bill would become law. The squatters would have to pay a pretty heavy share of that; but, at the same time, he must say he considered it was one of the fairest and most equitable kind of taxes that could be imposed. He looked upon it as altogether a property tax, and as a tax that would only fall upon those who were able to pay it. But he also objected to the motion, on the ground that it made no distinction between wool brought from the Darling Downs and wool brought from the Barcoo. The squatter who had to bring his wool six hundred miles to a port was to be taxed as much on his produce as the squatter who was nearest the coast. He could not help thinking that the honorable member for Toowoomba, who brought forward the motion, never believed he would carry it, and that his only object was to please his constituents—and the honorable member, he must say, brought some extraordinary motions before the House. They had the honorable member occasionally rushing down from Toowoomba and moving the adjournment of the House, for the purpose of being able to state that something extraordinary had taken place at Toowoomba, or that he expected something extraordinary to take place there. But the honorable member, he believed, only did all that sort of thing to please his constituents. The honorable member for North Brisbane, when he quoted from a return to shew the capabilities of certain runs, and the rent and assessment paid by the occupiers, took good care to withhold another and a very important piece of information, in dealing with the question in the way he did. The honorable member told the House nothing about the other side of the account. He never mentioned how much had been expended for the purpose of establishing and securing the runs—how much had been expended in fencing, making dams, and other improvements, by which they were rendered capable of carrying a larger number of sheep and cattle than they were when the land was first taken up. Now, it was an old saying, that the man who could make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before was a public benefactor; and so, also, he considered, was the man who could provide for two sheep where only one could live before. Now, it was most unjust in argument that the honorable member, when shewing the increase that had taken place in the depasturing capabilities of runs, should make no mention of the expense by which such increased capability was effected. According to the honorable member's own shewing, the squatters had contributed more to the colony than any other class, in having doubled, at least, the quantity of the produce that formed its principal article of export. If two hundred bales of wool were now exported for every hundred that was formerly exported, how could it, in the face of such a fact, be said

that the squatters had not contributed anything to the advancement of the colony, but that, on the contrary, they had been a hindrance to it? Then, again, he would like to know why the House should impose an export duty on wool, tallow, and hides, while there was a bonus paid upon the production of cotton. It appeared to him to be contrary to all the principles of political economy to tax the products of a country; and he would therefore oppose the motion, which he had no doubt whatever would be defeated by a very large majority. The honorable member for North Brisbane, in the course of his speech, made some slight allusion to a duty being imposed on opium; but in making that quotation, the honorable member, he thought, went a little too far; he shewed the House that the duty was imposed for the purpose of preventing the use of opium as far as possible. Now, there certainly could not be the same reason advanced in favor of a duty on wool—that a duty should be imposed to prevent its use; and legislation, he maintained, should rather be directed towards encouraging the growth of wool, and increasing its use. As he believed that to place an export duty on wool, tallow, and hides would be highly injurious to the colony, he would oppose the motion.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS said he thought the motion before the House ought to have been brought forward by the Government. Of course, it was quite competent for a private member to bring forward such a motion, but it would have been better that the Government had brought it forward, and had allowed the question to be discussed upon its merits. If there should be a large deficiency in the revenue, he thought it would be wise to take some action in this matter, but he did not think it would be wise for the House to tax the products of the colony. It would, however, rest with the House to say whether it would be wise to do so or not. As honorable members would see, he had a notice of motion on the paper for the discontinuance of the export duty on gold—the only other colonial product besides pastoral produce, that deserved the notice of the House. He must say that he did not really know whether or not he should oppose the motion before the House; but not from any consideration as to the ability or inability of the squatters to pay it, but on the ground of the justice or injustice of such a tax. He looked upon this as an exceptionable tax; and if it was so, it was an objectionable tax, for anything that was exceptionable was objectionable. Now, he did not think that any honorable member would be found, who would attempt to justify a tax of that kind. Of course, some excuse must be made for the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Brookes, and other honorable members who attended public meetings, and got worked up to a certain degree of excitement, which they

could not easily rid themselves of; for, when they came into the House in a heated state of feeling they delivered speeches which, in their cooler moments, they would no doubt be glad if they could forget. If he thought it would be for the prosperity of the colony that such a tax should be imposed, he would vote for the motion, but if he thought it would be adverse to the interests of the colony, he would vote against it; and here he could not avoid remarking that, in his opinion, almost every measure that had been passed by the House this session had a tendency, in a greater or less degree, to discourage the introduction of capital into the colony, and seriously to injure the colony. Whether such would be the effect of this motion also, was a matter for the House to consider. His own opinion was, that it would not be wise to pass a motion of this kind; and he maintained that if it would be wise to pass such a motion, it would also be wise to retain the export duty on gold—a duty which, strangely enough, was opposed by those honorable members who supported the motion before the House. In Victoria, the export duty on gold was condemned, and next year it would be altogether abolished. As he had said, he had a motion on the paper for the abolition of the gold export duty in this colony, and so long as a policy of that kind was in contemplation, he thought it would be unjust and unwise to entertain this motion.

Mr. TAYLOR said he thought it must be quite clear that the bringing forward of this motion was merely an attempt to set class against class. It was only an attempt by the town members to tax the squatters, and he felt confident that the division that would take place to-night would prove that. He, for one, would be perfectly prepared to vote for a tax on wool, when it could be shewn to him that a duty had been imposed upon every article of import; but, so long as there was an import left untaxed, he would not vote for a tax upon exports. It was proposed, he saw, by the notice paper, to bring in a Bill for the relief of the pastoral interest, and yet they had now before them a proposition to further tax the squatters. He had no doubt that the motion was brought forward under the belief that the squatters were making rapid fortunes; but, he could assure the House that the squatters, as a body, were totally unable to bear any further taxation. The prosperity that was always trumpeted forth was confined to a few squatters on the Darling Downs; but he maintained that ninety-five out of every hundred squatters in the colony were unable to bear any further taxation, either direct or indirect. They were all so involved at present, that it would be impossible for them to pay the tax proposed in this motion. The rents of squatters were now increased by something like a hundred or two hundred per cent., and they would also have to bear



their full share of the taxation under the new tariff. He had heard some people say that the squatters would be exempt from the operation of the Stamp Duties Act, but it was very stupid of them to say that; and he denied that it would be the case. From the time that a man went into squatting pursuits, the Stamp Act would reach him, and he would be subject to it till he died, if he continued a squatter. He would have to pay a stamp duty when he bought a station; he would have to pay it on the mortgage; he would have to pay it on the release; he would have to pay it on every purchase and every sale that he made. Last of all, the squatter died, and was buried, and he had to pay the stamp duty still.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER: How?

Mr. TAYLOR: He had to pay a stamp duty on his will; so it would be seen that the squatter was taxed from the day he entered the world, till the day he left it. He must say, that he did not think a private member had any right to bring forward a proposition for taxation—no matter what it was on—whether on wool or tallow, or anything else. There were certain gentlemen, he believed, appointed to provide for, and carry on, the Government of the country; and so long as they had the confidence of the House and the country, no private member had any right to interfere with their arrangements. If there was a majority of members in the House, who did not trust the Government, let them bring forward a motion of want of confidence, and turn them out. For a private member to bring forward a motion of this kind, was altogether contrary to his notions of responsible government. He was sure there were many articles better able to bear taxation than the pastoral produce of the colony; and further taxation, if necessary, might be imposed in a way that would fall equally upon every class of the community.

Mr. SANDEMAN said he believed that a section of the public entertained, in some cases, very unsettled—in others, very erroneous, opinions on this subject. It was stated by the honorable member for East Moreton, Mr. Cribb, in the course of the debate, that this motion was not likely to be decided in the proper way, but would be defeated by the physical force of numbers; but he thought that such was not likely to be the case, for it seemed to him that all the argument was on the other side of the question. He must say, that he was glad of the opportunity now offered of discussing this question, because a great deal had been said upon it outside of the House; and he believed that many erroneous views had been put forth on the question of taxing exports. It was opposed to all right principle to tax production. The popular feeling was to decry all taxation as oppressive and unjust. Now, he believed, that this proposition, if carried, would be oppressive and unjust in the highest degree. It would be unjust, because it would

be unequal, and it would be oppressive, because unjust. Would they, he would ask, as had already been asked in the course of the debate, tax the producer in the far interior who was subject to the numerous and trying disadvantages, which it was unnecessary for him to recapitulate—would they tax the outside squatter in the same proportion as they would tax the producer who was comparatively near a market, and had easy access to the seaboard, and who had those facilities of procuring labor and supplies, which all the producers in the more settled districts enjoyed, but which the producers in the remote districts of the colony were deprived of, except at ruinous rates? Would it be just to tax all qualities of wool alike, or washed wool and unwashed wool at the same rate? Would they put all producers on an equality with respect to this tax? and, to waive the inequality of the question, would they tax the labor and productive power of the country? If they did so, they would do more to injure the industry of the country than they would by a hundred times the taxation imposed by all the customs and stamp duties they could enact. By taxing the industry of the country in the way proposed, they would do more to shut out capital from the country, which was so much needed, than by any other means they could devise. The honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Brookes, had indulged in a tirade against the stamp duties and other modes of taxation proposed; but the honorable member admitted, at the same time, that additional taxation was necessary; and he would ask him, if he considered additional taxation to be absolutely necessary, to shew how such taxation was to be raised in a just and equitable manner? and all taxation, the honorable member must admit, should be raised by equitable and legitimate means. The honorable member had often, in the House, quoted extracts from the works of political economists, but he could not produce any sound modern authority to justify a tax upon exports. Now he (Mr. Sandeman) did not himself wish to tire the House unnecessarily with extracts, but he would quote one extract from an authority, which he believed the honorable member, Mr. Brookes, himself would not, and could not, ignore. It was from a well-known publication, written under the auspices of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association—a work full of the most extreme liberal sentiments on taxation and political economy that could be adduced; and the first sentence of the passage he would quote had reference to an authority which had been quoted very frequently in the House, and by the honorable member. It said—

“It has been laid down by Adam Smith, that every nation derives its supplies of the necessities and conveniences of life from its labor, either in the immediate produce of that labor, or from other nations, purchased with that produce.

“The protection and encouragement of productive labor and skill, by every means, is one of

the first duties of every nation, on the ground of policy, as well as justice.

"If, then, it be one of the primary rules, in fixing and regulating taxation, to give the utmost possible protection and encouragement to productive labor and skill, it seems to follow that it is the first duty of every State to leave all persons, as much as possible, in quiet possession and free enjoyment of the fruits of their own labor and skill. This seems to be dictated as well by policy as justice.

"Of the justice there can be no question; for if a tax be paid to the State for the protection of the person, it is only common justice that the person who has paid the tax should be left in the quiet possession and free enjoyment of the fruits of his own labor and skill; and, if it be true that 'the annual labor and skill of every nation is the fund which supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life,' it seems to be equally true, and free from question, that it is the policy of every State to leave the fruits of that labor and skill which is the origin, or source, of every nation's wealth, undiminished by taxation.

"By the continuance of the people's labor and skill, the nation's wealth increases; and out of this increase the people save whatever they may acquire beyond their daily wants, real or imaginary, for the necessities and conveniences of life. These savings, accumulated, then assume the form of *realised* property, or capital, distinguished from income, and this constitutes the strength and power or wealth of the nation.

"It is, therefore, very fit and proper that the State should take from the strength and power, or wealth of the nation, that which is absolutely required for the maintenance, support, and extension of that strength and power, or wealth; but, to take anything more from the strength or power, or wealth, or by any other means to check their production or growth, is not only preventing the extension of that strength and power, or wealth, but is undermining or weakening the foundation of the whole."

Anything he might say, in addition to those apposite opinions, would not add any force to the argument in opposition to the motion, and he should therefore conclude what he had to say by expressing a hope that, in coming to a conclusion on this question, honorable members would, casting aside their prejudices, be guided by reason, and common-sense, and justice.

Mr. ROYDS said that he objected to the motion, principally because of the unequal manner in which the proposed tax would fall on the squatters of the different districts. The difference in the cost of the production of wool near the coast, where carriage was cheap, and in the interior where the cost of carriage swallowed up the whole profit, would be almost incredible to some honorable members. It would be quite impossible to adjust the duties, so as to mete out anything like justice. If this were possible, much as an export duty was to be deprecated, it might have received his support. The stamp duty, on the contrary, met all classes alike, and taxed the squatter as well as the trader. Allusion had been made by the honorable mover to the large increase that had taken place in

the numbers of sheep and cattle, but that increase was more than met by increased encumbrances, for while, since 1863, the sheep had increased only one-sixth, the cattle had decreased one-twentieth, and the liens on wool were nearly doubled, and mortgages more than doubled. The honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Brookes, had alluded to the increased number of sheep and cattle on certain runs on the Darling Downs, but he seemed to be quite ignorant of the large sums that must have been spent to occasion that increase, and he would cite one instance, for the information of the honorable member. It was that of a station which was now carrying a very large number of stock, but which, fifteen or sixteen years ago, was on the point of being abandoned for want of water. He would oppose the motion, as being unfair in every respect.

Mr. FORBES said that, in rising to address the House with reference to the question before it, he must state that, so far as the authority of political economists went, the argument seemed to him to be all in favor of an export duty on wool. He thought, also, that in dealing with this matter, they might look to the case of America, where it had been found necessary to place an export duty on cotton. The Americans argued that, as they were the producers of a particular kind of cotton, which other parts of the world could not do without, if they put an export duty upon it, it would not be they, but the foreign consumer, who would have to pay it. Now, here they were in much the same position in respect to wool, one of the principal products of the colony, which the manufacturing people of England could not do without. An export duty, therefore, placed upon wool sent from the colony, would correspond to the export duty on cotton sent from the United States. The tax upon cotton was imposed to meet the financial emergency occasioned by the war, and a similar reason, for an export duty on wool, though from a different cause, existed here at the present time. They had also an example in the export duty on coal and iron sent from England—a duty which was paid, not by the producer, but by the foreign consumer. All authorities, and all examples, were, he contended, in favor of an export duty on such a staple product of a country as wool was of this colony. If they referred to the greatest authorities in political economy, they would find they were all in favor of the proposition contained in the motion of the honorable member for Drayton and Toowoomba. The duty, if imposed, would not be paid by the producer, but by the consumer. Though it might be paid by the producer in the first instance, it would be returned to him in the increased value of wool in the manufacturing countries of the world—in those countries where it could not be done without. The speech that had most weight with him, on this subject, was that of the honorable member for the Burnett, Mr. Haly. That honorable mem-

ber had clearly shewn that the proposed tax would not fall equitably on the producers of wool; and he could understand that the tax would amount almost to a prohibition on production in the far interior, in the case of the more remote stations. He knew instances where wool, after the expense of conveying it six hundred miles had been defrayed, left to the producer about twopence a pound; and therefore, taking such cases as that into consideration, he must say that he could not support the scheme of the honorable member. He would support an export duty on wool, if he saw a scheme by which the tax would fall on all the producers in an equitable way. He should have no objection to place a tax on those gentlemen squatters on the other side of the Range, if he saw how the money could be got out of them; and if honorable members could shew him how those gentlemen could be got at, he would not object to a tax of a penny a pound being placed on their wool; for he did not think that even that much would be more than a fairly retributive tax for the expense they had entailed upon the colony. As he felt, however, that the tax could not be made exceptional, and that, if it were made general, it would produce injury, and tend to retard the progress of the colony, he could not vote for the motion. As to the stamp duty, he looked upon it as a tax on property. It was a tax that would fall equitably, and would only have to be borne by those who had property to tax. He thought the House might be grateful to the honorable member for Drayton and Toowoomba, for having brought this question forward. The subject was a very fair one for discussion, and no honorable member could say that it had not met with a fair share of discussion. However, for the reason that it would not fall equally on all classes of producers, he must oppose it.

Mr. PUGH said he should like to see a duty of this kind imposed, if he could see how it could be equalised. He could not see how it could be imposed so as to bear equitably on the producers near the coast and those in the remote interior districts. However, that was a matter of detail, and might be provided for in the Bill that would be introduced to give effect to the motion, should it be carried. He did not see why the honorable member for Toowoomba should be called to task for introducing this question. The honorable member had not introduced a Bill, but only a motion for the purpose of bringing the matter before the House, and having it fairly discussed. He thought it was the duty of the Government to introduce a Bill to give effect to the motion, should it be carried. He would vote in favor of the motion; but if a Bill was introduced providing for the imposition of the tax, and did not also provide, as far as possible, that the tax should fall equitably—that it should not fall more heavily, all things considered, upon the outside squatters than

upon those nearer the coast, he would vote against it.

Mr. GROOM, in reply, said he was somewhat surprised at several of the arguments advanced against the motion, but by none more so than the one urged to the effect that it was beyond the province of a private member of the House to introduce such a motion. He contended that on all occasions, when the Government shrunk from their clear and obvious duty, it was the duty of individual members of the Assembly not to deviate from their principles, or neglect the interests of the colony at large. He had followed the precise course adopted in the Imperial Parliament on the 8th March, 1850, when, on a motion being made "that Mr. Speaker do leave the chair to resume committee of supply," Mr. Horsman rose and drew attention to the advisability of imposing an export duty of ten shillings per ton on coals. A long discussion ensued, and several well-known statesmen in the House of Commons expressed their approval of the proposed tax. He considered that this was a special case. The honorable the Treasurer had distinctly stated, that in consequence of the reduction of the *ad valorem* duty, he would be compelled to make up the deficiency, amounting, he believed, to £35,000, by the imposition of taxes on flour and sugar, and an increased rate of postage, including postage on newspapers. Those imposts were objected to by honorable members who would support the motion, and who proposed to the Government a mode of raising a revenue, that would fall on a class of persons best able to bear it. The facts and figures of the honorable member for North Brisbane, Mr. Brookes, unquestionably proved that this motion was a correct one, and would yet, he was certain, have to be resorted to. He had further to say that he must decline to receive lessons on political economy from the honorable member for the Maranoa, Mr. Miles; and he considered that before that honorable member presumed to lecture him or the House on the subject, he should pay a few more visits to the library, and not exhibit his ignorance in so naked a manner, and in a manner that reflected no credit either on himself or on the constituency he represented. He should now leave the motion in the hands of the House, but would press it to a division.

The question was then put, and the House divided as follows:—

Ayes, 7.		Noes, 17.	
Mr. Groom		Mr. McLean	
" Brookes		" Taylor	
" E. Cribb		" Watts	
" Stephens		" Bell	
" Edmondstone		" Macalister	
" B. Cribb		" Forbes	
" Pugh,		" Palmer	
		" Miles	
		" Fitzsimmons	
		" Wienholt	
		" Coxen	
		" Sandeman	
		" Royds	
		" Fleming	
		" Haly	
		" Lilley	
		" Walsh.	



# MEDICAL ACT OF 1861 AMENDMENT BILL.

MR. PUGH, on rising to move that "a Bill to amend the Medical Act of 1861" be read a second time, said he supposed that, as honorable members had had the Bill before them for some time, they would be so fully conversant with its provisions, that it would be unnecessary for him to enter upon an explanation of its several clauses. He would, therefore, confine himself to stating a few of his reasons for introducing the Bill, and for thinking that it ought to be passed by the House. Honorable members would recollect that, at an early period of the present session, two petitions were presented to the House, praying for the passing of such a measure—one from Dr. Wuth, of Dalby, and the other from Dr. Smith, of Brisbane. It was in consequence of the course the Medical Board of the colony had taken in respect to those gentlemen, in refusing to register them as medical practitioners, that he had been led to introduce this Bill. It appeared that one of the petitioners he had referred to, Dr. Smith, held a diploma, as a homœopathist, from the medical college of Pennsylvania, and that he had also practised as a doctor of medicine at home, in Oldham, for several years, where he was recognised as a duly qualified medical practitioner, though he had not registered himself in England—and it was, he believed, a not uncommon thing for medical gentlemen in England not to register themselves. Soon after his arrival in this colony, Dr. Smith applied to the Medical Board to be admitted to practice in the colony, and his application was refused, because the college of Pennsylvania was not mentioned in the list of colleges in the schedule attached to the Imperial Act. It might be, that the gentlemen composing the Medical Board here had acted upon the principles laid down in the Imperial Act, and that certificates having been presented to them, which they did not consider to be satisfactory, they refused to grant the application for admission. But it appeared, and, at any rate, it was generally believed, that the principal objection the Board had to registering Dr. Smith was, that he was a practitioner of homœopathy—a system with which certain medical gentlemen were not particularly enamoured. Honorable members would see, by going through the Medical Act of 1861, that by his not being registered, Dr. Smith was placed under certain disabilities that made him, in the language of his petition, a "social outlaw"—that he was liable to prosecution if he gave a certificate of the cause of death, and that he could not recover fees from patients. There were also other disadvantages which he ought not to be subject to. The petitioner having been refused admission by the Medical Board, applied to the late Attorney-General, Mr. Pring, on the subject, and that gentleman brought the case under the consideration of the Executive Council. The result was, that

Dr. Smith received a letter, which was embodied in his petition, from the Clerk of the Executive Council, saying that, in the opinion of the Council, he (Dr. Smith) had shewn good grounds to claim to be registered by the Medical Board, and advising him to make a further application. Well, Dr. Smith, as directed in that letter, again applied to the Medical Board, but the second application was attended with the same result as the first. The next step, taken by Dr. Smith was in the shape of an application to the Supreme Court, through the present Attorney-General, Mr. Lilley, for a writ of mandamus to compel the Medical Board to register him as a medical practitioner in the colony, or to shew cause, but the writ was refused. Now, there could be no question, as he had already stated, that in this case it was owing to the particular system of medicine practised by Dr. Smith that the Medical Board were led to refuse his application for admission. With reference to the case of Dr. Wuth, it seemed to him that that gentleman's case was a particularly hard one. Dr. Wuth, it appeared, practised in the colony previous to Separation, in the district of Dalby. He was held in high esteem all through the district, and enjoyed a very large practice. When the Medical Board was constituted here, Dr. Wuth applied to be registered, but was refused, on the ground that he had not what the board called a state certificate, though he produced his diploma, certifying that he had passed his examination at the University of Giessen—the diplomas of which University were recognised in England and in the United States. Now, those were the circumstances of the two cases that had led him to introduce this Bill. But it was not merely because of those two cases that he moved in the matter, but because he considered that great hardship had been occasioned by the conduct of the Medical Board in those two cases, and that like hardship might be inflicted in dozens of other cases in future. It was quite absurd to suppose that the opposition of the medical body in a small colony like Queensland would effect anything to stay the progress of the practice of homœopathy. He knew that it had been suggested that candidates for registration should, if required, undergo an examination; but who were to be the examiners? Some time ago the *Lancet*—which he supposed the Medical Board here would acknowledge as an authority—referring to the clause in the Imperial Act, which had reference to examination, said that the system would never work, and condemned the idea of examination altogether. Many other instances might be cited of high medical authority on that point; and though the *Lancet* did at one time call Hanneemann, the founder of homœopathy, a fool, knave, and madman, it would, he thought, be admitted that Dr. Hanneemann did not prove himself to be either a fool, a knave, or a madman, seeing that in

his native town a statue had been raised to him as a public benefactor. If it were the intention of any honorable member to propose that an examination clause should be introduced into the Bill, he would remind the House that, under the Act of 1861, the Medical Board had not power to examine, but were only empowered to publish annually a list of medical practitioners, and of chemists and druggists, who had been registered during the year. There was no reason, however, why another statute should not give the board the power of examination, but if a clause giving that power should be introduced it would become the duty of the House to say who should examine the examiners; for he took it that a medical man, who arrived from the home country, and who must be acquainted with the latest discoveries made in the science and practice of medicine at home, might put to confusion some of the antiquated theories of the members of the Medical Board of Queensland, and might not consider them to be duly qualified to examine medical men of recent training in the home universities. He now moved that the Bill be read a second time.

Mr. R. CRIBB said he would cordially support the second reading of the Bill, both for the sake of the two practitioners who had been referred to, and also for the sake of securing justice to medical men who might arrive in the colony in future.

Mr. COXEN said he did not mean to oppose the second reading of the Bill, but merely wished to observe that he did not think it would confer much more power, than was given under the existing Act, on the Government to deal with the case of a medical gentleman holding a foreign diploma, and whom the Medical Board of the colony might refuse to register, on the ground that they were not satisfied by the evidence afforded by his diploma of his qualifications to be admitted to practise. The third clause, no doubt, gave power to the Governor in Council, on being satisfied as to the claims of any appellant from the decision of the board refusing him admission, to publish in the *Government Gazette* the name of the appellant, and also provided that such publication should be received as evidence that the person therein specified was registered as a medical practitioner. But even that clause implied that a person practising homœopathy, would be debarred from the usual privileges of a medical practitioner, and, that, although he might have been passed by the Medical Board. As to inserting an examination clause, he thought it would be a most injudicious thing, in a small community like that of Brisbane, to give the board the power of examining applicants for registration.

The motion was then agreed to, and the Bill was read a second time.

#### CIVIL SERVICE ACT REPEAT BILL.

Mr. TAYLOR, in moving that "a Bill for the repeal of the Civil Service Act" be read a

second time, said he had been induced, from various reasons, to bring forward this Bill. He had heard great complaints about the Civil Service Act, both from Ministers and members of the House, as well as from the late Colonial Secretary, Mr. Herbert, who had stated to him that till the Act was repealed, it would be impossible to work the service as it should be worked. The present Ministry, he believed, were of the same opinion; and, further, considered that the sooner the Act was repealed, the better it would be for the members of the service themselves. Perhaps the Ministry did not consider it to be their duty to bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Act; but as he had the opinion of many honorable members in favor of it, he had brought forward the measure. The Civil Service Bill, as honorable members were aware, was brought forward several years ago. On the first occasion it was rejected; but it was again brought down, and passed without due consideration. He believed, himself, that it was a bad day for the colony, and for the civil servants, when it was passed. He was certain that if any honorable member would take the trouble to go through the evidence taken before the Civil Service Committee, they would find sufficient to induce them to vote for the repeal of the Civil Service Act immediately. The first gentleman examined before the select committee appointed to inquire into the working and organisation of the Civil Service of this colony, was Mr. Lamb, the Under Secretary for Lands and Works, and his evidence was very extraordinary. He had marked a few paragraphs in that gentleman's evidence, which he would read to the House, as bearing on the Civil Service Act. They were as follow:—

"What is the highest salary? Mr. Tully's.

"Next to him? Mr. Norris', £375.

"There is none so high as £400 for a clerk in your department? None.

"What is Mr. Norris? Transfer clerk."

And so on—

"The salaries, as fixed by the Civil Service Act, are a maximum of £400 for first class, and £500 for chief clerks. Do you not consider that that is too much? It is according to the duties that the officers have to perform. In some offices, it would be high pay; in others, not.

"Are you aware that Mr. Norris was considered an inefficient clerk? I am aware of it; and, if he had not very much improved within the last twelve months, I should have recommended his removal."

That was definite—

"Indeed, I have *viva voce* recommended his removal—two years ago. But, under Mr. Tully, he has, I find, improved so much, that I recommended his increase."

Now, there was a gentleman who had been recommended for dismissal, also recommended for increase.

"You have not recommended the transfer clerk for an increase for the coming year? Yes; they are all entitled to it under the Act."



Now, he thought that was evidence sufficient to convince any one that the Act should be repealed. That was Mr. Lamb's evidence, and he thought it was as condemnatory of the Act as could be. He would next go to the evidence of Mr. Darvall, the Registrar-General. That gentleman was asked—

"With regard to your clerks, have the increases, according to the Civil Service Act, been given to them all, without distinction, every year? They have been given to them all.

"Were they all worthy of that increase? I made a special report at the commencement of the present year, and in that I pointed out one or two clerks who were hardly worthy of it; but, still, they did their best, as I represented. These were persons of no ability, but, still, who worked hard and were willing; and, under these circumstances, I did not think it was quite right to stop their increase."

Now, what did honorable members think of that sort of thing, which compelled the head of a department to recommend for increase persons of no ability equally with persons of ability. There was also a great deal more evidence that was most condemnatory of the Act—an Act that was a disgrace to the Parliament that passed it. He now came to the evidence of Mr. Manning, the Principal Under Secretary, in the Colonial Secretary's Office.

"Do you consider the salaries in the Civil Service are now sufficient? Well, I think, on the whole, the salaries are not to be complained of. Viewing them in proportion to the revenue of the colony, I think the salaries are sufficiently liberal."

Now, that was a very good way to estimate what amount of salary should be paid to the civil servants.

"Do you find that the Civil Service Act has worked well, and given satisfaction? No; on the contrary, I think it has caused a great deal of dissatisfaction, and many heartburnings and jealousies; and I do not see any good derived from it, except to the few who have got increases under it, and some of these, having got as much as they can, and not being likely to get any more, are dissatisfied with it now."

That was a very selfish and worldly way of viewing the Act. The next witness was Mr. Richards, the acting Colonial Storekeeper, but he did not see that he could make much of that gentleman's evidence. He would next refer to the evidence of Mr. Belbridge, the Government Printer, who, after stating that he had asked for three gentlemen in his department to be placed under the Civil Service Act, had these questions put to him—

"In obedience to the individual men? Yes; precisely. And I, also, thought they ought to have the same privileges as in the other colonies. It gives them a *status* that they don't otherwise possess.

"The Civil Service Act has not given general satisfaction? I know it has not."

Now honorable members would see that all the heads of departments spoke against the Act.

"Why so? One reason has been that, according to the Act, the promotion almost goes by right; and the Government, I believe, have not appointed the civil servants as they expected the appointments would have been made—sometimes, because they were not efficient, I suppose. But, independently of that, I think, if the matter was again brought before the Civil Service, it would not be generally supported. They would not adopt such an Act again, if it came before them." Now, there was a gentleman who had a large office and a great many persons under him, and he stated that, generally, the civil servants were not satisfied with the Act:—

"Would there be a very general regret if the Act was repealed? No; I don't think so.

"But, with regard to the superannuation, they would not like to give that up? No; I don't think so.

"The feeling, on the part of the persons that you have named, arises from a desire to become officers with increasing salaries? No. The placing of those persons I have named on the Civil Service would give them a *status* that they have not at the present time."

In every case the heads of departments that were examined condemned the Act. Mr. John McDonnell, the Immigration agent, was also examined; and his evidence was very material, for it appeared that he gave it in the most straightforward way of any witness that was examined; that gentleman was asked:—

"I believe you had something to do with the initiatory steps for procuring the Civil Service Act;—had you not? I had.

"What is your opinion—of course, I ask this as a private gentleman—now, of the working of that Act? I may state that the Act that is in force is not the original Bill which I drew up. As you are, no doubt, aware, yourself, it is very widely different; and there are many clauses of it that may be acted upon or not, as it pleases any Government. The original Bill drawn up by me was considered to be too imperative;—it was made to appear that if the Civil Service conformed to certain regulations, and performed their duties properly, they could demand as a right a certain thing."

Honorable members would find the sore of the whole thing in that passage—the original Bill would have been too strict a one.

"What, then, is your opinion of the working of the Act in force? The Act contains many clauses that are now inoperative—that are not carried into effect. The second clause is good—the division of the service into classes—and the gradual increase, I think, are very good. The objection to this provision was, that no certificate was given from the heads of the departments that the officers performed their duties badly or well, to merit the increase.

"Does it come within your knowledge that the increases have been given as a matter of course, instead of as a reward for good conduct and efficiency? Yes; they were given as a matter of course, until, I think, the present year. This was the first time the certificates were called for."

It would be seen, by the last answer, that let one officer be ever so good and another

ever so bad, both were entitled under the Act to receive an increase of pay, as a matter of course. A person might be an inefficient officer—one who would idle his time away, yet he would get his increase as a matter of course.

"But, speaking generally, Mr. McDonnell, do you think that the officers of the Civil Service are satisfied with the working of the Act, on the whole? I do not think they are satisfied; for this reason—that the Act is not carried out in its integrity."

It was quite evident, as honorable members would see, by the whole of the evidence, that there was scarcely one officer in the Civil Service who approved of the Act. Mr. Drew, the Under Treasurer, was asked—

"There is a clause in the Act which provides for an annual increase on the salaries of all deserving officers? Yes.

"Is it not the case that all the officers in the service received this increase indiscriminately? Yes; they have.

"Do you think it is fair and just to those who do their duty if, as we naturally suppose, some others who do not are treated in the same way? It is not fair; but those who have to recommend the increase recognise the difficulty—men have to live and to keep up their positions, and it is a very hard case to refuse. I think the Act has been rather misunderstood.

"Don't you think, if there is an increase given as an encouragement for industry and good conduct in an officer, that he is placed in a false position by the salary of another officer, who does not possess those qualities, being raised in the same proportion as his own? Yes; undoubtedly.

"You don't think it is conducive to the well-being of the service?—that is to say, it gives no encouragement to a man to go on? No; but I think, myself, the better thing would be, when an inefficient or idle man is in the service, to report him and get him at once removed;—not to recognise any inefficient men at all.

"Have you noticed, in your experience here, a general desire among the clerks to do their duty—an *esprit de corps*—a spirit of emulation? My knowledge is confined to the Treasury, and I never saw men who were more anxious to do their duty; if it were their own private business they were engaged in, they could not be more anxious and assiduous. I have felt personally obliged to them.

"The service generally? I am not aware outside my own office. I may say, however, that I can speak in high terms of the officers in the Audit Office, which is the only other office of which I know much."

Now, he thought those extracts were sufficient to shew there was ample evidence in this volume to convince anyone that the sooner the Civil Service Act was repealed the better—both for the sake of the Government and the sake of the civil servants themselves. If the Act were repealed, it would be possible to give the officers promotion and remuneration according to their merits, instead of their being all treated alike, as at present. He trusted the Bill would be passed, although it had been brought forward at a late period of

the session. He would have no objection to the insertion of a superannuation clause by the Government, if it were thought wise by the House to have such a clause inserted. The second clause of the Bill provided that those members of the Civil Service who had paid any money into the superannuation fund, should have it repaid to them out of the consolidated revenue; and he was prepared to pay them interest also, for he thought they were entitled to that. For his part, he did not wish to injure any officer to the extent of a single farthing. He thought, however, it was high time the useless members of the service were drafted off—and the useful ones, let them be well paid. He felt that, till the Act was repealed, it would be impossible to pay any efficient and industrious officer as he was entitled to be paid. With those remarks, he begged to move that the Bill be read a second time.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY said he had the honor, on the previous day, of presenting a petition from the officers of the Civil Service against the passing of this Bill. That petition did not contain any statement or reasons for objecting to the repeal of the Act; nor had he had any communication with the officers of the Civil Service since, to enable him at the present time to make any observations to the House, so far as they were concerned, with reference to the Bill. But he must say that it did seem to him that the honorable member for the Western Downs had taken a somewhat unusual course in introducing this Bill to the House, without even consulting any member of the Government; and without making provision, which he ought to have made, for the useful officers of the service. The honorable member arrived very rapidly at the conclusion that all moneys that had been paid into the superannuation fund should be paid out of the consolidated revenue of the colony; but he should like to know why the consolidated revenue should be charged with any such payment. The honorable member had assigned no reason for this proposition; and it would have been well had the honorable member made inquiries into that matter before he took up this Bill at all; for members of the Government, and many members of the Civil Service, knew that the superannuation fund had been largely encroached upon already, to make up the payments authorised under the provisions of the Act, to some of the officers; and he wanted to know why the sum that had been so paid should be made up out of the consolidated revenue. But the honorable member appeared to found his objection to the Civil Service Act, as it stood, upon the testimony of two or three of the officers in the service. He could well understand and appreciate the evidence that had been given by those gentlemen. He could understand why, in their opinion, the Act did not work well. He was not sure that the gentlemen,

whose evidence had been referred to by the honorable member, had anything to do with the superannuation fund at all; but he thought it was too much to arrive at the conclusion that the Act worked badly for a service containing several hundreds of persons upon the evidence of a few gentlemen who were not specially called to give evidence upon, or interested in, the subject. He thought the select committee would have done well if they had examined more witnesses. But, besides that, there was no report from the committee accompanying the evidence; and he thought honorable members would do well to consider seriously whether they had got before them sufficient evidence to warrant the repeal of an Act that had just been passed into law; for the Act which the honorable member now sought to have repealed was only enacted in 1863, and was amended in 1864; and therefore the Act had not had a sufficient trial to enable any one to judge whether it was calculated to work well or otherwise. While he made those observations, he was free to confess that many objections occurred to his own mind with reference to the Civil Service Act. He believed it would take years before officers could be secured who would be capable of forming such a body as would warrant the passing of an Act for their support. There could be no doubt there were officers in the Government service who were receiving high salaries, but who were not worth the money they received; and there could be no doubt, either, that the Civil Service Act, as it stood, was a bar to the Government dealing with the officers at all; because the Act provided that the officers should occupy classes; and according to the fourth clause of the Act, each officer in a particular class must receive a certain salary. The Government, therefore, had no control over the salaries. Unless the Government undertook to abolish the office, it appeared to him that any officer, in a particular class, must have a certain salary paid to him. Now, there was that difficulty; and it was one that presented itself in a most conspicuous view to members of the Government when dealing with the Estimates. It was on account of that provision that the Government felt they could not come down to the House this session with the Estimates cut and ready, but had to submit them as they now stood, and leave them to the House to deal with. But the objection he took to the Bill brought in by the honorable member, was that it did not provide for a superannuation fund. The honorable member, it was true, did provide for returning to each officer the amount of fees paid by him towards the superannuation fund, and that any gentleman could take advantage of this provision. But that was no way to provide for officers going out of the service. A superannuation fund must be produced by a certain deduction from all salaries for the support of officers after a certain period of

service; otherwise there existed no inducement for men of superior attainments entering the Civil Service of the colony. Now, one of the principal benefits of the Civil Service Act was the benefit derivable from the superannuation fund. That was the fund an officer looked forward to when he had spent the best of his years in the service of the country—and he was justified in doing that. But such an object could not be effected if this Bill were passed. In this Bill it was left optional with officers to take advantage of the clause in the Act providing for a superannuation fund. It left it optional to them to contribute to the fund or not. Now, he put it to honorable members to say if such a superannuation fund, as now existed, should not be maintained. He believed that that portion of the Act had worked well, and would continue to work well. He saw no difficulty in the way of its working satisfactorily; and he thought that, instead of attacking the clause in the Act providing for that fund, the honorable member would have done much better if he had introduced it into this Bill. The honorable member had quoted from the evidence with regard to the mode in which promotion had been carried on in the Civil Service; and he had referred to some of the evidence to shew that promotion had taken place as a matter of course. There was no doubt that such had been the practical working of the Act, and that was one of the great objections he had to the Civil Service Act—though he believed that had all the heads of departments agreed on a principle of promotion and increment of salary, there would have been no difficulty, for it was always in the power of the head of a department to recommend a useful officer for increase of salary, or for promotion. That would no doubt have put him in a somewhat invidious position, but if the interests of the colony and the just claims of the service demanded action at his hands, he (the Colonial Secretary) could not see why he should not follow out what was no doubt the meaning of the Act. If such a course as that had been adopted—if recommendations had been made in favor of those officers only who were competent to discharge their duties, then the Government would have been put also in possession of the names of those who were not fit to remain in the public service; but, as the names of officers were not supplied, all appeared to be equally competent so far as the Government were concerned; the Government had no information to the contrary. There was no doubt that that had been a serious obstruction to the proper working of the Civil Service Act. He would say, while he thought the Act might be altered with very great benefit to the public service, he did think that, in any Civil Service Act that was passed, a clause for the superannuation of officers who had served the colony for a period of years ought, undoubtedly, to be

inserted. He thought the House would do well to consider seriously if they would attack and set aside those rights, already acquired, of the civil servants—those rights that had accrued under the Act as it now stood. He did not wish to offer any objection to the second reading of the Bill, but he only desired to set himself right in the matter. He was not prepared, from his personal experience, to offer any decided opinion as to the Act. He thought it might be very much improved. But those who were best able to judge of the working of the Act were the civil officers themselves, and he regretted that an additional number of them had not been called before the committee. He believed that if the Act were repealed, the House would be enabled better to deal with the Estimates; and the Government would be enabled to put the officers on a better footing than that they now occupied, for at present good and bad were treated alike. But should the House not be disposed to entertain the Bill, should it not think it desirable to repeal the Act, passed at so recent a date, without further consideration, he thought still the House might deal with the Estimates in such a way that would justify the Government in varying and improving the Civil Service, without in any way running counter to the Act as it now stood.

Mr. R. CRIBB said he would vote for the second reading of the Bill, but he hoped there would be some alteration made in it in committee, and that a superannuation clause would be inserted; for he approved of that clause in the present Act, and he might say that that was all of the Act he ever did approve of. Such a provision, he supposed, could be inserted when the Bill was in committee.

Mr. PUGH said that he, too, would vote for the second reading of the Bill; and the honorable member for the Western Downs, he hoped, would not object to the insertion in it of a clause such as had been referred to by the honorable member at the head of the Government. While saying that much, however, he would guard himself against including in it the persons referred to in the Civil Service Act of 1864; because, in the case of those persons, the superannuation clause, he believed, had worked oppressively. It had been the means of reducing their salaries. The only privilege they had acquired under the Act was the having their salaries reduced, without the hope of ever deriving any benefit from it; for not one of them was likely to remain in the service till he arrived at the age of sixty years. He thought the clause might be repealed so far as that class was concerned; and he had no doubt they would rather forego all they had paid into the fund than have their salaries any longer reduced. His reason for agreeing with the Bill now before the House, and for voting for it, might be very simply stated.

He approved of it, because it proposed to give back into the hands of the Government a power that should never have been taken from the Government; and because all increases of salary had taken place till recently as a matter of course, and without any inquiries of the head of the department as to the merits of the officer whose salary was so increased. In fact, the Civil Service Committee had evidence, from the head of one department, that there were officers he had recommended for increase who were not deserving of it, and should not have got it. Now, anything like that could not but produce heartburnings with those in the service who felt they were competent officers. The classification of officers under the Civil Service Act was another reason why he would support the present Bill; for, in some cases—and whether the Government had been aware of it or not he did not know—as appeared by the *Government Gazette*, manifest injustice was done in that way to some officers—because, in some instances, the salaries were lumped, and the recipients appeared in a higher class than they were entitled to. The power of appeal to the Governor had also worked badly; for though a board of appeal was appointed, in some cases no notice whatever was taken of the appeal, and in some cases no inquiry took place at all. So far as the superannuation fund was concerned, he thought the honorable member for the Western Downs would do well to strike out the clause which proposed that the money that had been paid into the fund should be returned, the more especially, as the honorable the Premier had stated that there was no money available for its re-payment. He thought that if the exception to the operation of the superannuation fund which he had referred to were made, the Bill might be made a very good one. He was sure, from what he had heard from members of the Civil Service themselves, that a majority of them would rather trust to the recommendation of the heads of their departments to the members of the Government, and to the treatment they would receive by the House, than trust to the Civil Service Act. It was all very well to talk of vested rights, but he did not think that anything like what might be called vested rights had yet accrued under the Act. He would not detain the House any longer at present, as he would have an opportunity again of expressing his views more fully upon the Bill when it came before the House in committee; but he would support the motion that the Bill be read a second time. He had just had placed in his hand a paper shewing the amounts that had been paid into the superannuation fund, and the amounts that had been paid out of it. By the statement, it appeared that in 1864, the amount paid into the fund was £1,149; that in 1865, there was paid in £2,759; and for the nine months that had elapsed of

the present year, £1,628—making a total of £5,537. That was all that had been paid into the fund under the Act of 1863; and the payments out of the fund were—in 1864, £718; in 1865, £41; and for the nine months of 1866, the sum of £904; making a total of £1,663—so that the excess of receipts over payments was only £3,874. He argued that if the contributions to the fund had to be repaid, it would be necessary for that purpose to come upon the consolidated revenue; but he thought that, from every point of view, it would be wise to retain the superannuation clauses; at any rate, the clause providing that those who chose to remain in the service till they arrived at sixty years of age could take advantage of the fund.

On the motion of Mr. MILES, the debate was adjourned till Tuesday next.