

Queensland



Parliamentary Debates
[Hansard]

Legislative Assembly

TUESDAY, 11 NOVEMBER 1884

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ASSENT TO BILLS.

The SPEAKER announced that he had received messages from His Excellency the Governor, assenting to the following Bills:—A Bill to amend the Immigration Act of 1882, and a Bill to amend the laws relating to the administration of oaths in courts of justice.

DIVISIONAL BOARDS AGRICULTURAL DRAINAGE BILL—THIRD READING.

On the motion of Mr. DONALDSON, this Bill was read a third time, passed, and ordered to be transmitted to the Legislative Council by message in the usual form.

MARYBOROUGH AND URANGAN RAILWAY BILL—THIRD READING.

On the motion of Mr. FOXTON, this Bill was read a third time, passed, and ordered to be transmitted to the Legislative Council for their concurrence, by message in the usual form.

DEFENCE BILL—COMMITTEE.

On the motion of the PREMIER (Hon. S. W. Griffith), the Speaker left the chair, and the House went into Committee to consider this Bill in detail.

On clause 1, as follows:—

“The Volunteer Act of 1873, hereinafter called the said repeated Act, is hereby rescinded”—

The PREMIER said that in rising to move the 1st clause of the Bill he might say that, as a considerable time had elapsed since the Bill was read a second time, he would revert again to the circumstances under which it had been introduced, and the object that it was intended to serve. He might mention that there had been excited in many parts of the colony an unreasoning prejudice against the provisions of the Bill, founded, not upon the actual provisions of the Bill, but upon some provisions which the critics had thought fit to assume were contained in it. It was a very easy method to set up ninepins and throw stones to knock them down again. There was no doubt that for many years past, when the annual estimates for the Volunteer Force had come on, a great deal of criticism had been directed against the system. It must be admitted that the Volunteer Force was not in a satisfactory condition; and last session there was something like opposition to the vote altogether. On that occasion he had stated that the Government would take the matter into their serious consideration during the recess, and that, with the advantage of the assistance of the eminent officer who had been recently placed in command of that force, they would endeavour to place the force on a footing which would be really worthy of the country's money expended upon it. He thought there was no disguising the fact that at the present time the force was not worth the money expended on it. As to the reasons for its inefficiency and unsatisfactory condition there might be many differences of opinion, but they were bound, he thought, to recognise the fact that the present force was not in a satisfactory condition. He did not propose to go exhaustively into the reasons for its inefficiency, but he would revert to some matters which were admitted to be unsatisfactory. In the first place, the term of enlistment under the present system was only for one year. It was quite impossible for any man, with the number of drills he received during that term, to become efficient; and moreover there were no means of making him do anything during the year. The men could attend drill or stay away if they liked; practically there was no control whatever over them. He was very loth indeed to see actual compulsion resorted to, but the term

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 11 November, 1884.

Crown Lands Bill—third reading.—Assent to Bills.—Divisional Boards Agricultural Drainage Bill—third reading.—Maryborough and Urangan Railway Bill—third reading.—Defence Bill—committee.—Highfields Branch Railway.—Adjournment.

The SPEAKER took the chair at half-past 3 o'clock.

CROWN LANDS BILL—THIRD READING.

On the motion of the MINISTER FOR LANDS (Hon. C. B. Dutton), this Bill was read a third time, passed, and ordered to be transmitted to the Legislative Council by message in the usual form.

of enlistment was so short, and the inducements to place the force on a satisfactory footing so slight, that the force had gradually got into the condition he had described. Another matter which some might consider to be of minor importance, but which he believed was not by any means a small matter, was that when a recruit joined he was supplied with clothing, and if he only stayed in the force for a short time, when he left his clothes were given to somebody else; so that the same clothes were actually worn by many men. That had been the practice, and he thought it had had a great deal to do with the dislike of men to join the force. Where such a thing as that could happen there must be something radically wrong in the organisation. But at the present time, in view of the short term of enlistment and other circumstances, they had not been able to afford the supply of clothing required. Those were two matters connected with the unsatisfactory condition of the present system. There were great complaints also of the manner in which the Brigade Office was administered. There was no doubt that there had been a great many complaints in that respect. He did not profess to be able to say exactly what were the reasons of those complaints, although he was prepared to admit that where there was such general dissatisfaction there must be some ground for it. Unfortunately, however, the complaints which had been made had not been formulated, but only made in a vague kind of way. If any definite complaints had been brought under his notice, he would have been only too glad to hear them and inquire into the circumstances, and ascertain whether there was anything wrong in the *personnel* of the officers or in their mode of carrying out their duties. But that opportunity had never been afforded him since he had had the honour to be in charge of that branch of the service. The difficulties that had arisen here had not been peculiar to Queensland. Similar difficulties had been experienced in the other colonies, where very similar complaints had been made. Under the present system there was really no practical mode of instructing the men; they had nothing to teach them how their work should be done. He did not suppose anyone thought the art of soldiering could be learned out of a book; the men must have a copy. That had been found to be necessary in every country where there was anything like an efficient force of volunteers, or a defence force—whatever it might be called. It was recognised in the other colonies—at least he believed so, and he hoped it was recognised in Queensland—that there must be some small permanent force as a nucleus to which officers and men could occasionally be attached for the purpose of learning the military art. By that means officers would be better able to instruct their men both by precept and example, and there would be proper supervision over the ammunition and other things which were now becoming of considerable value to the State, and which must be looked after. He enlarged on that point when moving the second reading of the Bill, and he did not think it necessary, unless he was called upon, to go any further into the matter on that occasion. He would at once mention a supposed case of great injustice, which occurred in the Brigade Office a good many months ago—namely, that of an officer whose salary it was said was voted on the Estimates at £200 a year as clerk and storekeeper. The complaint was that the officer was receiving £120 per annum, and that his salary was increased to £200, but that he was never allowed to receive the increase, and that it was divided among other persons.

At first sight that looked very bad, and that was how it was represented to him in May last. He inquired at once what was the history of the matter, and found that during the time Mr. Drury was in charge of the Volunteer Force he recommended that an officer should be appointed clerk and storekeeper, at a salary of £200 a year. It was not intended that the office should be held by anybody then in the force, but that another officer should be appointed. The salary was voted as recommended, but no officer was appointed to fill the office. The officer who was previously clerk and storekeeper was receiving £120 a year, and on Mr. Drury's recommendation he was given an increase of £40, the other £40 being applied to raising the salary of other non-commissioned officers who were considered deserving of an increase. That was done, he (the Premier) presumed, with the approval of the Colonial Secretary at the time. No injustice was done to any officer. Of course the arrangement recommended by Mr. Drury was entirely irregular, as the salaries of the officers whose remuneration was increased should have been voted on the Estimates. As he (the Premier) had said, his attention was called to the matter in May last, and his directions were that the arrangement was very unsatisfactory, and must not be continued, whereupon it was altered in the Estimates then being prepared, and the old arrangement was only continued to the end of June. The arrangement was certainly very unsatisfactory, but it arose from a technical violation of the rule as to the expenditure of money voted on the Estimates. No injustice was done to anyone, but, as a matter of fact, promotion was given to a man for whom it was not intended originally. That was the typical case, he thought, and the one which had always been brought forward. Now he would call attention briefly to some parts of a report which had been laid on the table of that House—a special report made by Colonel French to the Colonial Secretary on the 10th March last:—

"The force in general seems to suffer on account of lack of interest on the part of the public. It appears to be fair game not alone for the big and little wits, but for all the Government departments. The 1st Regiment is now, and has been for months past, without a drill-shed; the Railway authorities having taken their shed and armoury for offices.

"The Police hold the Military Barracks, though they have only a few men there.

"The Immigration Department takes the tents and drill-sheds of the volunteers.

"The Post Office Department takes the torpedo cable.

"The Lands Office sells or hands over our rifle ranges.

"The Queen's Wharf and storehouses are taken possession of by the Colonial Secretary's Department, and the ammunition and stores of the force have to be carted at great expense to the gaol or other place of refuge.

"To the above may be added the fact that the utterances of some of our public men are not of a nature to encourage volunteering; were it not that the Press has usually a kind word for the force, I believe it would have disappeared altogether ere this.

"I think the manner in which the force has been administered has much to answer for. The public at large are doubtless sick of hearing men called volunteers for whom they have to pay the full market value of any time given by them (skilled labour excepted). I understand that at the last camp, at Lytton, men received 7s. per diem pay, and 3s. per head was paid to a contractor to feed them (a system of dry nursing which I hope will not again be resorted to). Each man thus cost 10s. per diem, Sunday included. Officers, instead of trying to stimulate *esprit de corps* and martial feeling, appear to have had no remedy for small musters but 'more pay.' It is this system of pandering to the money-grubbing members of the force that appoints every public holiday throughout the year as the fit and proper time for drill. It is scarcely to be wondered at if the wives and sweethearts of members of the force (actors not to be ignored) set themselves against it. I feel sure that most of the men would prefer to have their well-earned holidays with their friends and neighbours,

and that the earnings of a few shillings' pay is, in comparison, a small matter to men who work hard and earn good wages throughout the rest of the year."

Then Colonel French referred to the report of the Military Committee of Inquiry—

"The Military Committee of Inquiry (above referred to), consisting of officers eminently well qualified for the work, after showing in detail the unsatisfactory state of the force, recommend:—

Page 12.—"That the present plan of appointing officers, after election by the men, be abolished."

Page 13.—"In order that the officers may be properly educated, the committee strongly recommend the establishment of a school of instruction."

"The New South Wales Military Defences Inquiry Commission also recommend:—That a school of instruction, with the necessary instructors, be formed, in order that officers may attain a defined standard of military knowledge; and again, 'That the nomination or elective principle for the appointment of commissioned officers be abolished.'"

"I draw attention to these extracts, because I feel assured that they hit the two main blots in our volunteer system; but in my opinion the school of instruction should be for all ranks."

"To have officers dependent on the votes of their men for appointment and promotion is most objectionable. It would be scarcely possible to obtain the services of the best qualified under such a system; and it must be evident that it is fatal to military discipline. Amongst its other disadvantages is this: that a good officer, removing from one place to another (a matter of constant occurrence), has no chance of being elected by men to whom he is a complete stranger."

"As regards the instruction of officers and non-commissioned officers, it will suffice to say that, as there have been no regular troops in Queensland for nearly twenty years and no military schools, there has really been no system whereby those desirous of learning their military duties could do so."

"The force seems to have suffered in the past from a vacillating policy regarding its administration. It will be a great gain if a definite system can be adopted and adhered to. The necessity for a definite system appears to be now fully appreciated in Victoria, where the very unusual step has been taken of voting the supplies in advance to the year 1889. With the above view it may not be inappropriate to consider here the opinions held by certain prominent representatives of public opinion, and if possible devise a scheme which will commend itself to whatever political party may be in power."

"I have gathered the following views from official sources:—

1. That a defence force is simply humbug in the colonies.
2. That a permanent force should be formed, as in Victoria and New South Wales.
3. That the colony should have a militia, and every man should be called upon to defend his country if necessary.

"With regard to 1, I may remark that the matter has been settled for us. The other Australian colonies are expending large sums in securing themselves from attack, though having few points open to attack as compared to this colony. If Queensland does not take similar steps she will obviously have to bear the whole brunt of attack when it does come, and her defenceless state would almost invite it."

"Si cœs pacem parat bellum."

I should hope that the above view is held by very few, as it is not consonant with the traditions of our race—the fact that this country was not 'taken by the sword' is no argument against its being 'kept by the sword.'

"2. A permanent force of any size would be out of the question for a young colony where wages are high, and where all available revenue is required for the development of its resources; further, it is a great mistake to assume that either Victoria or New South Wales depend wholly or even mainly on their permanent force, the defensive forces of those colonies being as follows:—

Land Forces.

	Total.
Victoria—permanent ... 139 ... Militia ... 2,873 ... 3,012	
New South Wales—ditto 322 ... Volunteers 1,803 ... 2,125	

"This question has been very plainly dealt with by Lieutenant-Colonel Sargood, an officer whose reputation extends beyond Australia, and who, as Minister

for Victoria, may be assumed to thoroughly understand the political aspect of the question. He states as follows in his report of May, 1883:—

"2. We are therefore compelled to decide upon one of the following plans:—

- (a) Continue to waste money on the present inefficient Volunteer Force;
- (b) Establish a permanent paid force sufficient to meet all requirements;
- (c) Form a defence force, partly permanent and partly militia."

The first proposal (a) must be at once dismissed as being a suicidal policy; while the second (b) would involve an expenditure far in excess of the power of Victoria to face, and thus we are forced to fall back upon the third (c), namely—a defence force partly permanent and partly militia."

Now, he adopted Colonel Sargood's statement, with one exception. He thought the defence force should be partly permanent and partly volunteer, but he did not think it was necessary at the present time to establish anything like a militia force in the colony. Still he did think it was desirable that they should have upon the Statute-book the means of defending themselves if they were suddenly called upon to do so. What would be more humiliating or more disgraceful to a British community than, when there was danger of war, to be obliged to summon Parliament together, and legislate in a panic for the purpose of getting men to bear arms for the defence of their country? Such a condition of affairs would make Queensland not only a laughing-stock to the world but a disgrace to their race, and he hoped they would never find themselves in that position. Colonel French went on to refer to the Canadian system, and recommended—

"1. The formation of a battery of artillery as a school of instruction for the force at large. The average strength of this battery to be about 100 men, of whom about 75 would be permanent; the balance—non-commissioned officers and men, for short courses of instruction. Of the 75 it would be well to have about 10 submarine miners, and about as many artillery drivers. If to this establishment was added some 20 horses, we should be in a position to afford good instruction to every branch of the force, besides providing thoroughly efficient men for the forts and torpedoes, now dependent on ever-changing and possibly inefficient volunteers. This force could also, if necessary, provide detachments of marine artillerymen for gunboats."

"2. I would recommend that for the existing volunteer force a volunteer militia be substituted, as has recently been done in Victoria; and that in the Act necessary for the purpose power be also taken for the formation of a reserve militia, on lines somewhat similar to the Canadian Act above quoted."

"3. That encouragement be given by Government for the formation of rifle corps or clubs on the purely volunteer principle in those places where there are no militia corps—arms, ammunition, and stores required, to be furnished by Government at cost price."

"4. That steps be taken with the view of enrolling as many as possible of the present members of the Police Force and pensioners as a first reserve for the militia, in case their services should be required, and that all future recruits for the police shall sign an engagement binding themselves as above."

"5. That the Government provide all clothing, accoutrements, etc., required, the capitation grant of corps being proportionately reduced."

"6. That indirect assistance be given to the force by reserving appointments in the Police, Railway Department, and non-clerical branches of the Civil Service for properly qualified members of the volunteer militia."

"The adoption of 2 to 6 will involve no extra cost, but will give us a system of defence superior to that of any other colony, and made up of the best parts of each. It presents the following advantages almost free of cost:—

- (a) The first line of defence may be reinforced at once by our excellent Police Force;
- (b) Create an immense reserve;
- (c) Give confidence to the people in general;
- (d) Let the enemy understand from the outset that he has the whole male population of the country to deal with, and that he cannot count on striking a fatal blow, while Parliament is being called together to confer the requisite powers on the Executive."

The matter had been subjected to very careful consideration by the Government, and they came to the conclusion that the system recommended was in the main a good one. The Bill introduced did not exactly conform in all respects to that suggested; it did not propose to go so far as to create a complete militia force in the colony—in fact, it did not propose anything of the kind. It proposed to make men liable in a certain order to be called upon to serve—from young unmarried men up to older men, and so on; so that if it were necessary suddenly to make provision for the defence of the colony, they might take steps at once, without waiting three or four weeks, or even months, when perhaps it would be too late, and they would have to submit to the humiliation of paying a large indemnity, and disgracing themselves in the eyes of the world. But although it was not proposed that that provision should be put in force at the present time, it was desirable that they should have power, in case of imminent danger, to take the necessary steps to ward off the danger; and he believed there was no man in the community who would seriously object to that being done. No one desired that the colony should be defenceless, or that they should lie down and submit tamely to an invasion. Lest there should be any risk of misunderstanding with respect to the intentions of the Government on that point—and it had been suggested that the terms of the Bill were not sufficiently definitely expressed—he might say at once that he proposed to alter the 16th clause of the Bill which dealt with the question of everyone being liable to serve in the colony, and insert a provision that that clause should not come into operation except in case of war or invasion or imminent danger of either. With respect to the permanent force, he had given the reason why it was necessary. At the present time there was no means of instructing either the volunteer officers or men; and no force could be efficient without some provision being made for instruction. There was a fort at the mouth of the river, but he should like to know how such a place was to be manned. What men had they now in the colony who were capable of manning that battery and working it efficiently? Although the men had done their best, they had never had an opportunity of learning the use of the means of defence in the battery, or at least had never learnt enough to enable them to make the best use of such means of defence in time of danger. In fact, the system had been starved. He passed on now to the naval defences. They had lately incurred large expenditure in buying two gunboats. One was to be used in the survey of the coast and would be available for defence when necessary, and the other, under the existing law, would practically not be a gunboat, but simply be an ordinary merchant vessel belonging to the Government, with arms on board, but with no power to maintain discipline and no authority to act beyond three miles of their shores. She would be in almost the same position as the steamer "Kate," except that she would be a sea-going vessel, and would cost a great amount of money. Now, although the Government had those means of defence, they had no law on the Statute-book to enable them to make any effective use of the vessels. With reference to the gunboat "Gayundah," which would be shortly coming out here, the Government had come to the conclusion that it would be desirable that she should be employed in active service; that she should not be allowed to lie in the river with her machinery rusting and her men idle, but that she should be commissioned and enabled to perform the functions of a ship of war. That arrangement he thought would be much better for the

boat itself, better for the officers, and far better for the colony when the vessel was required in active service. But that could only be done by placing the boat at the disposal of Her Majesty. The Government, therefore, concluded that it would be desirable, for the reasons he had named, to place the services of the "Gayundah" at the disposal of Her Majesty, under the provisions of the Naval Defence Act, which was passed in 1865. That Act provided that it should be lawful for Her Majesty in Council, from time to time as occasion required, to authorise the Admiralty to accept any offer made by any Government of a colony to place at Her Majesty's disposal any vessel of war; and it also provided in the 3rd section that—

"It shall be lawful for the proper legislative authority to make provision for effecting, at the expense of the colony, all or any of the following purposes:—

- "1. For providing, maintaining, and using a vessel or vessels of war.
- "2. For raising and maintaining seamen and others.
- "3. For raising and maintaining a body of volunteers.
- "4. For appointing commissioned, warrant, and other officers, to train, command, or serve as officers.
- "5. For enforcing good order and discipline among the men and officers."

Now, the proposition the Government made was that that vessel should be placed at the service of Her Majesty, on the condition that she should be available for colonial service when required; that she should, in reality, be attached to the Australian Squadron, with an understanding that she should be detached from that service as occasion required to perform other duties for the colony. The formal letter making that offer could not yet have reached London, but in the meantime the offer had reached England by telegraph, which was followed by an immediate reply, that until the colony had passed a statute under the provisions of the Naval Defences Act the offer could not be entertained. The colony was in this position: They had one war vessel on its way out to be engaged in survey work, another war vessel was coming out shortly, and a torpedo boat was here already; yet there was absolutely no means whatever of enforcing any discipline on those vessels or making any use whatever of them. They would be practically useless to the colony for the purposes for which they were obtained. It was therefore essential that some expenditure should be incurred in making those vessels of some use, but the mere expenditure of money alone would not serve the purpose. A change of the law was required, and the Government now proposed that change. The Bill provided for registering the different men in the different classes; it provided for the raising of a defence force—not a militia, as it had been termed—and of a permanent force, and for making the men liable for service for a period of three years instead of one, which would enable them to become competent to do their duty and serve the colony efficiently. The Bill also gave a preference to those who had served three years in the force to employment in the Public Service. To that he proposed to add that if men in the Police Force had served in the defence force it would be counted in the period entitling them to a retiring allowance. There were also provisions for drafting men out of the permanent force into the reserve, and that all members of the Police Force should be volunteers. Those were substantially the main provisions of the Bill, excepting one for the formation of rifle or drill associations, which would be purely volunteer bodies for the purposes of drill and shooting in order that the members might become marksmen. The other parts of the Bill, which were to a great extent formal, he did not think it necessary to explain further at present. He thought he had shown the necessity for

a change in the law. The present force was unsatisfactory, for reasons, some of which he had pointed out, while others might be found elsewhere. Sometimes it was said, "Why do you not remodel your force before you ask for a new law?" But what was the use of remodeling the force on a basis which was admittedly unsatisfactory? A satisfactory basis was what they all wished for, but so long as the basis was all wrong how could they expect to build upon it anything like a satisfactory superstructure? It was not necessary for him to say more until he heard what observations might be made with respect to it. He was confident that, whatever objections hon. members might have against a "Militia Bill," they would not allow an epithet to deceive them as to the real nature of the thing. He was also sure that the Government might count upon an earnest desire on the part of the Committee to provide for defending the colony against invasion. It was idle to say that the colony was not exposed to invasion. Who could tell at what moment the old country might be at war? He hoped it would be many years hence; but there could be no doubt that, whenever that occurred, the first place to be attacked by a powerful enemy would be the colonies. Would anyone, then, say that it was not their duty to make the best provision they could to defend the colony against possible invasion? The principle of the Bill was accepted on the second reading, and he regretted not to have been able to go on further with it at the time. He need only, in addition, draw attention to the amendments which had been prepared and circulated amongst hon. members some time ago, which dealt specially with the naval branch of the force. As he had pointed out, it was absolutely essential, unless their ships were to be useless for defence purposes, that some provision of that kind should be added. They would then be made of some use, at any rate. He moved that clause 1, as read, stand part of the Bill.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said he could quite understand the Premier finding it necessary to make a speech of the kind usually expected on a second reading now that the Bill had got into committee. Indeed, he never expected to see the Bill in committee at all, for if the necessity for the Bill existed it certainly should not have been deferred to so late a period of the session, when it could only be got through by every hon. member giving up a great part of his own private opinions in order to enable it to pass. The hon. gentleman had referred to a special report of the Commandant, written on the 10th March. He was sorry the Premier did not refer to that report in his speech on the second reading, and make the quotations from it then which he had made now; for if he had it would have had the same effect on a good many hon. members that it had had upon him, and that was that the Commandant had expressed an opinion on the Volunteer Force of the colony before he had properly considered the then existing state of things. He (Sir T. McIlwraith) was far from being satisfied with the report. He did not know of its existence when he spoke on the second reading of the Bill; had he known of it, he should have gone in direct opposition to the Bill. The Commandant used strong language, which was not exactly in accordance with the facts, when he spoke of the Volunteer Force as a force which was victimised by almost every other department in the State. It was nonsense to say, as a proof of that, that—

"The Police hold the Military Barracks, though they have only a few men there.

"The Immigration Department takes the tents and drill sheds of the volunteers.

"The Post Office Department takes the torpedo cable.

"The Lands Office sells or hands over our rifle ranges.

"The Queen's Wharf and storehouses are taken possession of by the Colonial Secretary's Department, and the ammunition and stores of the force have to be carted at great expense to the gaol or other place of refuge."

Everybody who knew the facts was aware that, whenever the Volunteer Force wanted anything, every department was placed at their disposal, and it was got for them if it could be procured for money. It was nonsense for a new man to talk about grievances that had existed for years as if they had just happened for the first time; and those were simply imaginary grievances. A little further on the Commandant wrote:—

"I think the manner in which the force has been administered has much to answer for. The public at large are doubtless sick of hearing men called volunteers for whom they have to pay the full market value of any time given by them (skilled labour excepted). I understand that at the last camp, at Lytton, men received 7s. per diem pay, and 3s. per head was paid to a contractor to feed them—a system of dry-nursing which I hope will not again be resorted to. Each man thus cost 10s. per diem, Sunday included."

The Commandant appeared to think that ridiculous, but the theory they had gone upon for the last two years was that if they expected efficiency they must pay for it. That satisfied him that, whatever the valuable qualifications of Colonel French were, he had certainly not taken into consideration the situation of the colony, and did not understand what they had been doing in years past. He would briefly recall attention to what had actually taken place. No doubt the force was now at a very low ebb. He did not blame the force for that. It had been the fault of the administrators of the force; and very likely members of Parliament had contributed as much to it as anybody else. But in 1878 the force got into such a low position and became so unpopular that Parliament tried to do everything in its power to resuscitate it. So unpopular was it that the then Premier, Mr. John Douglas, did not care to introduce the Bill himself, and got the then leader of the Opposition, Mr. Palmer, to bring it in, he supporting it from the Government side. By that means they were enabled to stave off a certain amount of opposition which it would otherwise have met with, and what was considered a fairly good Volunteer Act was passed. The force then went on till 1882, when it was found that things had certainly not improved. It was believed that the Act would put the force on a much better standing, and a considerable sum of money was spent in pursuance of that object. But in 1882 the state of the force was just as bad as before, and the colony was minus the money spent upon it. Looking at the reports of the various Commandants, hon. members would see the standard of efficiency to which the volunteers had been reduced. In January, 1882, the then Commandant, Colonel Blaxland, wrote:—

"The condition of the force is not so good as last year. There appears to be an under-current of discontent in consequence of the abolition of—

(a) The land-order system;

(b) The payment system.

"Some men, whose trades happen to be very brisk, cannot afford to lose money, and perhaps their situation, by attending the drills, etc., which they had no difficulty in attending last year.

"Others, who have not been lucky enough to get employment at the localities where they became volunteers, have been compelled to go up-country in search of work, and so have been unable to attend.

"A third class seem unwilling to work for nothing; and as they see no recompense for their services offering in any shape, do not trouble to join the force; or else, having joined it, they leave it."

Of course those objections applied in every state of society such had existed since Queensland became a colony. The answer to them was that we ought to have an efficient body of volunteers. For those reasons, a military commission

was appointed, and that report was written about the same time. That commission was composed of the best military authorities that could be got here. One was Colonel Scratchley, who was the best authority who had been out here, except Sir William Jervois. Then there were some of the local military men—Lieutenant-Colonel Drury, Colonel McDonnell, and a lot of others, who deliberated for a long time and got what information they could. The conclusion they came to was that the volunteer system was dying of starvation—that it was starving for want of money; that the colony expected men in blacksmiths' shops, in foundries, in carpenters' and other shops, to leave their work and go for half-a-day's volunteering without being paid for it; that, while those men had a spirit of patriotism, which it was desirable to encourage in them, yet that being volunteers was absolutely a loss to them. In fact, from the commencement to the end of that report, which was signed by Colonel Scratchley, there was the same opinion—"Pay the men, and you will have an efficient force." He (Sir T. McIlwraith) was one of those who, while not enthusiastically believing all that was said in the report, thought there was an immense deal of common sense in the suggestion, and he came to the conclusion to give it a fair trial. Colonel Scratchley recommended that, in order to remedy the evils, a sum of £12,000 or £13,000 should be put on the Estimates. It was unfortunate that one of the recommendations of the commission was unfair. They recommended that the Brisbane volunteers should be paid, but that the country volunteers should not. He did not see the justice of that; and he decided that the system of payment, if it was to be a remedy for all the evils, ought to be applied to all volunteers. That system was accordingly adopted throughout the colony. They had by that time heard a good deal about what ought to be a proper system of volunteering; and every one of the recommendations was carried into effect; the amount put on the Estimates being increased from £13,000 to £19,000. He thought then that things would go on well. The system got every possible encouragement. Everything put in the report that could in all fairness be granted was granted by the McIlwraith Ministry; and he believed that the force had had the same consideration from the present Government. The McIlwraith Ministry saw the position the force had drifted into, and they actually spent £20,000 a year on what had been a very useless weapon for the colony. They approved of the remedy that was recommended for the evils of the force, and for giving an efficient body of men. They agreed to pay the men. Another thing wanted was an efficient man from home; and Colonel French came. He, soon after he came, virtually condemned the whole system. He laughed at the notion that men should be paid as highly as the volunteers were paid. They might certainly have been paid too high; but that was not just the point. The position he (Sir T. McIlwraith) took up at present was that they were actually ignorant of the reason for the present position of the force. The Government followed the recommendations of the military authorities who reported in 1882. They paid the men; they got the money, but the country did not get the force. Colonel French now came and suggested a new system, and they were asked to increase the expense by at least one-half. The amount put on the Estimates now was nearly £30,000, against £19,000, which was proposed in 1882. That amount had been advanced to £23,000, which was the expense last year. The proposed expenditure of the present Government was £30,000 a year; and for what? To carry out only a small part of

the system of defence that had been recommended by the highest military authorities, including Sir William Jervois. He (Sir T. McIlwraith) was very anxious to see everything done that could possibly be done for the defence of the colony; but he did not believe that all the money that had been spent had added one single bit to its safety. He was perfectly satisfied that if an enemy were to attack the colony the Volunteer Force would not have the slightest effect in hindering that enemy from doing what they liked; and he did not expect that anything better would be obtained from the suggestions that had been made. What were the suggestions in the Bill? The Premier thought the colony had been frightened by his idea of conscription. He (Sir T. McIlwraith) had never been frightened, because, as the hon. gentleman admitted, conscription would never be put into force. If so, what was the use of the Bill? The hon. gentleman, in flowing and eloquent terms, depicted the consequences to the colony, supposing they were unable to compel every able-bodied man to turn out for its defence; and he was going to do that by bringing in that Volunteer Bill. It was very easy to pass a Bill; but it would take much longer to muster the volunteers at the present time. He could not see how they were going to get a better and a more efficient force than they had had before. Even if they went to greater expense, what was it going to lead to? He did not believe the force would be any more efficient. He had no great reason to disbelieve anything said by Colonel French, except the disbelief engendered by the fact that notwithstanding all the expense they had gone to everything had turned out wrong up to the present time. He did not say that Colonel French did not anticipate that what he recommended would turn out right; but he would be constantly thwarted, and consequently his views would not bring about any improvement. The fact was that a long series of mistakes had got the force into its present position, and it would be very much better if they knew what the causes were. The Premier mentioned some causes, and he (Sir T. McIlwraith) took them down as he referred to them. There could not be very much in any of them. The military authorities, only two years ago, actually said there was not the slightest occasion for a new Act at all. He expressed the opinion to Colonel Scratchley and other members of the commission—he did not remember whether Mr. Mein was one of them—that the change in the system they contemplated, of paying all men for work done, should be followed by an Act enforcing those duties; and they assured him that the Act of 1878 would be sufficient if its provisions were carried out. Why had not that been done? Upon that point the Premier had given no information whatever. Why had the failure taken place notwithstanding the fact—and Colonel Scratchley agreed with it—that all that was required, as the Premier said, to carry out the system—and Colonel French's system was the same—was to pay the men? The evil had existed for many years. The only difference between the systems was that Colonel French wanted to pay the men a great deal more. The matter of clothing was also referred to by the hon. gentleman. It was ridiculous to fancy that that was a grievance. It was said that a man joined the force for a day or two, and then left the badly worn clothing to some fellow who came after him to wear; but that grievance could have been met by getting a couple of hundred new suits, which would not have made a very serious hole in the Volunteer vote. Then came the maladministration at the Brigade Office, and the matter of the storekeeper was referred to. He had been voted £200 a year;

but by departmental arrangements he only received £160. That grievance was not worth while considering, because if only petty things of that sort could be brought forward it said little for the argument that a great portion of that £19,000 had been swallowed up by maladministration. The hon. gentleman talked about maladministration in the Brigade Office. Did that mean that Major Moore pocketed the money that should be in the possession of the volunteers, or intercepted money, or anything of that sort? There was nothing of the sort: the money was all duly audited by the officer who audited every other department. He put down that charge of maladministration at the Brigade Office as simply a sort of expression of unpopularity. He had read every letter about volunteers that had appeared in the *Courier*, and he saw that was referred to in general terms. Another grievance was that they had no criterion of efficiency. That was an argument for a paid force which he admitted. It was their duty to delay until they found one. Colonel French said that the men were starved; but if a man received 7s. a day, and 3s. a day for rations, they would all be getting too fat. There had been no starving since 1882; everything that money could do to coax the force into efficiency had been done, and they found it as inefficient as ever. In fact, Colonel French's report made out—he would not refer to the particular terms—but the effect was this: that the Volunteer Force was as bad as it possibly could be. What they should do would be to find out the cause of that. The Ministry had not referred to that. They ought to ascertain the cause before they plunged into a greater expenditure. In the name of common sense, why should they expend £30,000 for what was admitted to be no defence of the colony at all? They could go on spending money in ships to guard their coast, and as long as they had those efficient they could experiment on their Volunteer Force. He believed they must get a Volunteer Force that would supplement them as a second army. The question was, would that £30,000 a year provide for the defence of the colony? It possibly might do something for the defence of Brisbane, but he questioned it very much; in fact, for defence against any actual enemy, such as France or Germany, it would be useless, and money thrown away. Possibly, there might be a scheme developed by which £30,000 could be profitably spent; but they had to find that out and have it intelligently put before them. They had not had sufficient reasons put before them, either by Colonel French or the Premier, for the decay of the Volunteer Force. It would not improve it to spend more money upon it; at all events, before they proposed to spend that £30,000 which was on the Estimates—and the debate would be renewed when the Estimates came on—they ought to have very sound reasons for passing a Bill of that kind. He did not really think the Government contemplated passing the Bill, and to speak about it as a non-contentious matter was simply absurd. He did not mean to say that it was a party measure, because he did not see any party reasons against it at all, for all members in the Committee were determined that they would have the best kind of defences they could. The question of compelling men to come forward in case of emergency had very little to do with the grievances of the volunteers against the country at present, or the grievances of the country against the volunteers. The Government would have to postpone the measure. How could they ask the Committee to sanction the expenditure of £30,000 on so ill-digested a scheme as that before them? On the second reading of the Bill he had not read Colonel French's special report, and he believed

that that report was the strongest condemnation of the system advocated in the Bill. If Co'onel French fancied he was going to get volunteers without paying them it was a mistake. Possibly the time might come when they would be in the shadow of some great danger—when a national spirit might arise, and all the population would take greater interest in volunteering than at present; but that time had not arrived, and they were in the melancholy position at present of paying for work and seeing that that work was not done.

The PREMIER said that the hon. member had in fact admitted the necessity for the Bill when he admitted that the present system was inefficient. The hon. gentleman did not believe in volunteering, but when the Act of 1878 was brought in by Sir Arthur Palmer, he would do him the credit of saying that while he had the administration of it he gave it every opportunity. He certainly did not try to starve the force or endeavour to obstruct its success. But the result was that it was not successful now. Year after year when the matter came before them on the Estimates, hon. members said, "The force is inefficient; why continue to vote £20,000 or £30,000 a year for nothing?"

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: Then strike it out.

The PREMIER: Strike it out. That was the other alternative—strike it out—or improve it. Those were the two alternatives. The Government were not prepared to strike it out. He thought it would be a disgraceful thing for the colony if they were suddenly to put a stop to the whole of the defences of the colony. The other alternative was to try to improve it. What were they to do? At the present time it was said that the system they had was neither one thing nor the other—neither a volunteer force or a paid force. Some persons considered that the volunteers were entitled to pay, and others said they were not, and if they were paid they could not be called volunteers. The result was that the force was not regarded by the public with either the respect or sympathy which they ought to command. He thought they should let it be understood to be a part of the constitutional law of the colony that they ought to defend themselves, and that they should keep up an efficient defence force. To enable them to do that as proposed, it was proposed that men serve for a period of three years and then to pass into a reserve, so that by degrees they would provide an efficient defence force, to be called out when emergency arose. He hoped that after such a system had continued in operation for three or four years they might look for the same satisfactory results which a similar system had led to elsewhere. They knew that in Canada the system—upon which the proposed system was founded, but compared to which it was not so rigid—had brought about the most satisfactory results. They had there perhaps a better volunteer defence force than any country in the world, and an enormous reserve. The present system in this colony was unsuccessful, and complaints as to its inefficiency were numerous. It was useless to keep it on as it was, and they had to look elsewhere for a system that had been attended with satisfactory results and try the experiment. The hon. member said they should not change until they found out what was wrong; but how long would that take them?

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: Find out what is wrong before you go on!

The PREMIER: Find out what is wrong before we go on; but that was what they had been trying to find out for a great many years. They knew the present system was wrong; but what was wrong in it? What was wrong in it in

one sense was, that under the present system men would not come forward to serve in the force. There was no want of military ardour in the colony, as during the last six months he had received a great many applications from men in different parts of the colony, who undertook to learn drill, who were anxious to form rifle corps, and who would like to be recognised as a branch of the military force of the colony. But, he asked, how could the Government, after the condemnation which the present system received, accept the services of fresh corps? There was military ardour enough in the colony, and only waiting to be developed into a satisfactory nucleus, at any rate, for defence. What could the Government do under circumstances of that kind, but endeavour to improve the law? The hon. member said the Bill could not be considered as a non-contentious Bill. He was afraid not now; but he might say that at an earlier period of the session he believed it met with general assent. He knew it had met with general assent out of the colony wherever it had been discussed; and he was quite certain that, if the system proposed was adopted in this colony, the other colonies would in less than three years be only too glad to remodel their forces upon it. The present system was unsatisfactory; and up to the present time they could not get an efficient force. What, therefore, were they to do? They had but the two alternatives—either to amend the law, and adopt a different system, which they knew had given satisfaction, and worked successfully in other parts of the world; or to do nothing. It would be unworthy of them to do nothing. They should face the difficulty like men, and he was quite sure that if they faced the difficulty they would get out of it.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said that if the hon. gent eman desired them simply to pass the Bill, very likely in the absence of all facts that would guide them, they might perhaps take his guidance in a matter of that sort and pass the Bill; but the hon. gentleman quite forgot that he was asking them to increase the expenditure upon the Volunteer Force, without any evidence at all as to its present efficiency, to the extent of 50 per cent. The cost of the proposed system was estimated at £33,000 a year, and the Premier said he thought he could do it for £30,000. He (Sir T. McIlwraith) had grave doubts about that—in fact that amount would not do it. That amount would be increased, in the same way as his £19,000 had increased to £23,000, before the system was in operation for a couple of years. They were asked to go into a big expenditure, and they wanted to know why they should do so. The hon. gentleman said the proposed system had been a great success in Canada. They had to accept Colonel French's statement for that—and what the Premier had said—second-hand. But, agreeing that the system was successful in Canada, were not the conditions here very different? He considered himself that they could get good volunteers or militia—whatever they liked to call them—splendid volunteers who would be willing to work throughout the year, provided they had something like a stimulus in the way of an enemy in an adjoining country. But they had not got that yet. They could not force a thing of that sort, and they had been obliged to recognise and face the fact that if they wanted military work done in the colony they must pay for it in the same way as they paid for pick-and-shovel work. Men would not give them one single hour of labour in a defence force or volunteer force, or anything else, unless they received payment in the same way as pick-and-shovel men on their railways. With that fact staring them in the

face, how could they be compared to Canada, where for month after month they did not know when they might have to fight for their lives? He admitted there was a possibility of danger here, but the men in the colony had not the slightest uneasiness on that point, and not one man in a thousand in the Volunteer Force joined it with any idea that he would be called on to defend his country at all. The real discussion of the matter would of course be in Committee of Supply, when they came to consider the amount to be expended. The Bill itself—now that the sting had been taken out of it—for the hon. gentleman had given the intimation that he was going to take out the clause making service compulsory, except in cases of emergency—was harmless enough. It was not now the ferocious-looking Bill it was when it first came into that Chamber. But he asked if it was the proper thing to do—to go on with a Bill like that at the end of a session? If it could be shown that the absence of clauses such as were in the Bill had been the means of the present deterioration of the force, there might be some reason in asking them to go on with it; but he had not the slightest doubt that, next year, they would find the force just as bad as it was before, and that an additional amount would be required. What he objected to was the payment of the money. No doubt it would be said, if the amount set down was not voted, that that would be the cause of the failure of the proposed system.

The PREMIER: Of course it will.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said, then why in the name of common sense were they to be asked to pay £30,000 for a defence force that would not defend them, and that would not have the slightest chance of defending them in case of war?

Mr. MACFARLANE said he had very little to say in favour of the Bill on the second reading, and, having further considered the Bill, he had still less to say in favour of it now—in fact, he was opposed to it entirely. A stranger looking over the Bill, and not knowing what Queensland was, would say that Queensland must be a very important place indeed; he would not dream that it was a colony of only 250,000 people, for whom such a scheme of defence was proposed. He agreed with the leader of the Opposition that they should not be asked to go into so much additional expense for the Volunteer Force. Just fancy for a moment every householder in the colony being taxed to the amount of 10s. a year for an institution like that—for the maintenance of a few men who were anxious to play at soldiers, and who would never be a defence force! The 28th clause of the Bill provided that, in addition to 2,000 volunteers, the Governor might raise a permanent force of 150 men; so that actually the full strength of the force would be but a very little over 2,000. Fancy an army like that going forth to meet an enemy who were determined to do some damage to Queensland! Very likely they would fly to the first tree for protection on the approach of the foe. As to the Bill not being a contentious measure, he thought it contained a good deal of contentious matter; and, in his opinion, if the Premier did what was right, now that they were so near the end of the session, he would withdraw it and introduce another measure next session after the subject had been further considered by the Government. There were a great number of clauses in the Bill which he (Mr. Macfarlane) would do his best to alter if they were submitted to the Committee. Notwithstanding the promise that had been given not to make service compulsory, he thought they should go a little further and amend the exemption clause in such a way that

anyone who did not want to serve should be exempt. He could assure the Committee that, so far as his knowledge went, there was great dissatisfaction among the privates of the force; they seemed to think that the object of the Bill was to provide large salaries for the officers; while the privates who had a great deal of hard work to do were to receive very little remuneration. Much harm would be done to the country if they compelled young men to serve three years as soldiers, as was proposed in the Bill. Soldiering was a lazy life, and yet after young men had served in the force, after leading a lazy life for three years, they were to have a preferential claim over other colonists for appointments in the Civil Service. He did not like the Bill, and would oppose it clause by clause. He thought the Premier would do well to withdraw it, and reconsider the whole question during the recess, with the view of introducing next session a simpler measure, and one better adapted to the colony.

Mr. FOXTON said he could not let the sneers of the hon. member for Ipswich pass without some comment.

Mr. MACFARLANE: I did not expect you would.

Mr. FOXTON said he confessed that, if the volunteers were like the hon. gentleman, they would all seek refuge in trees when danger was at hand, or behind big rocks. The hon. gentleman professed to know something about the feeling of volunteers; but he (Mr. Foxton) could tell him that he knew nothing about it. Possibly, the hon. member had got hold of some men in Ipswich who had been volunteers, and who had for very good reasons been compelled to resign and leave the force. Those men very likely had their grievances, and the hon. member listened to them and then came to the conclusion that there was dissatisfaction among the volunteers generally. Those grievances appeared to be that the big salaries were drawn by the officers of the staff, whilst the privates wanted to get the big pay. That was the burden of their complaint. Now, as a matter of fact, officers' expenses were always much in excess of their pay, so that the privates practically received more actual emoluments than any volunteer officer, with the exception of those who were staff officers, and the latter had to give the whole of their time to the service. They could not engage in any other business; they were salaried officers just like any officer in the Civil Service, and the whole of their time was at the disposal of the State. That they had not had very much to do was due, perhaps, to the fact that the present system—he said it advisedly—was abortive. The hon. member for Mulgrave said they ought to have found out why it was a failure before they proposed any other scheme. But he (Mr. Foxton) contended that there was no necessity to inquire into that. The fact was there, that the system was a failure. He would point out to the hon. gentleman that, notwithstanding his great flourish of trumpets about the recommendations of the Military Commission of 1882, the Volunteer Force was in a more languishing and inefficient state now than it was before the sitting of that commission. He said that advisedly.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: On account of the pay.

Mr. FOXTON: No; notwithstanding the pay. The force was better when the members of it received no pay at all. The pay had very little to do with it. The best men in the force—he spoke from experience—were those who regarded pay the least; they were the men who stuck to the force the longest. The men who joined simply for the mere pittance—for

£6 was only a small pittance—did not prove the most efficient by any means. He did not hesitate to say that the men who did the best work in the force were those who had the least anxiety about the amount of money they were to receive for their services. When there was no pay given, the men who formed the bulk and main body of the force were a better and more intelligent class of men than they had afterwards. He did not say that with any desire to disparage the men in the force at the present, because there were very good men among them; but the best men, as he said before, were the men who thought nothing about the pay. The so-called commission of 1882 entirely missed the mark. It was pointed out to them at the time that they might have done better if they had followed the opinions expressed by some very old volunteers, who had been volunteers perhaps as long as any member of the commission. He would also point out that all the gentlemen who formed that commission, with the exception of Colonel Scratchley, were, he thought, volunteers. They appeared to have come to the conclusion that it was not necessary to have a new Act; but subsequent experience had shown that it was absolutely necessary to have a new Act. The force to-day, notwithstanding the pay, was worse than when the commission reported, and the principal reason for that, as had been pointed out by the Premier, was that there was no power over the men at the present time. They joined, they got their clothes—and he knew, as a volunteer, that the question of clothes was a very serious one—and then, if a man got an order he did not care about obeying, he would say, "I am not going to do that; I shall send in my clothes to-morrow." And the uniform would come in the next day with a resignation. What could be done in a case of that kind? Those men had perhaps been in the force three months, and had just gone through their recruit drill, and thought they knew a great deal—something like the friends of the hon. member for Ipswich. They became dissatisfied and sent in their uniforms and resignations before they had been imbued with any idea of discipline. That was the sort of thing that went on every day. General orders would come from the Brigade Office, when twenty or thirty men would be struck off the roll of one corps simply because they did not attend, and there was no means of compelling them. They had some paltry petty grievance: some sergeant, perhaps, had said something to them gruffly, and they would say, "Oh, we'll jack up the whole thing; we're not bound to stay." That was the fault of the present Act. It was pointed out to the commission by volunteer officers of twenty years' experience that a new Act was necessary, but the commission thought differently. No doubt they did their best in the matter, and it would have been rashness on his part to criticise their action at the time; but the result had proved that those gentlemen did not realise the position of the force, and did not make proper provision for efficiently carrying it on. A great deal had been said about its being too late in the session, and the advisableness of postponing the Bill; but if they did postpone it he would say, "Do not vote a solitary shilling for volunteers for this year." All volunteers knew that a change must be made, and, as long as it was seen that a change was imminent, things would continue to go from bad to worse. He had stated, without the slightest desire to disparage the members of the military commission, that they were all volunteer officers with the exception of Colonel Scratchley. Now that they had from the old country an officer who had proved himself thoroughly capable of organising a volunteer force, and who had come here simply to bring the Volunteer Force of the colony to

a state of perfection, or as near perfection as possible, were they to adopt his system, or was he to be called upon to work a system which had been proved to be a failure? Colonel French had had more experience in the organisation of a military force in a colony than the whole of the members of the military commission who reported in 1882 put together, notwithstanding that there was amongst them an officer of such eminence as Colonel Scratchley. If they employed a professional man, a doctor, it was usually supposed to be an unwise thing not to take his advice. He (Mr. Foxton) knew that his clients sometimes did not take his advice, and as a rule they did not come off best. Colonel French had recommended that certain steps should be taken for the purpose of completely reorganising the Volunteer Force, and the idea was now promulgated that he should be asked to work an obsolete system which had been shown to be unworkable, notwithstanding increased pay. If the pay under the present system were doubled, it would not make the force a bit better. Roughly speaking, he thought the largely increased expenditure which had been referred to—with the exception perhaps of the provision for the gunboats—was mainly proposed for the purpose of establishing a permanent force. Nobody would deny that that would be an excellent provision, or that if they did get a permanent force it would be worth the money. The hon. member for Ipswich said that the permanent force would probably consist of lazy drones; but there were many duties now performed by the Police Force and others which could quite as well be performed by the members of a permanent force, and they would have just as much to do as those who now performed those duties. In his remarks on the Bill on a previous occasion, he had referred to the efforts made in the other colonies to reorganise their forces, and he had referred especially to Colonel Sargood, whose opinion must be taken as that of a gentleman with almost as much experience as any man in Australia in the organisation of defence forces. He had it from private sources that since the present Bill had been in print Colonel Sargood had expressed the opinion that it was very much superior to the one they had in Victoria, where the expenditure was vastly in excess of that proposed by the Bill they were now considering.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: Per head of population?

Mr. FOXTON said he ventured to say even per head of population, and certainly per head of the Volunteer Force. It was not fair to make a comparison per head of population, because in Victoria they had a very small territory to defend, while in Queensland they had the Volunteer Force scattered all along the coast-line. If 3,000 or 4,000 men were deemed sufficient in Victoria, he thought 2,000 men at least were necessary here; and per head of the force there was not the slightest doubt the expenditure in Victoria was very much in excess of the expenditure as proposed in the Bill. What he said was that it was an absurd thing to bring a high-salaried officer like Colonel French out here, and at the same time ask him to work a system which had been a failure and which was a failure at the present moment, and under which the force was becoming more and more disorganised.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the hon. gentleman was an authority on military matters, and his opinion was of some weight when discussing the value of the recommendations of the military commission, but he had failed to grasp his (Sir T. McIlwraith's) argument. The military commission was composed of gentlemen who were considered to be, and who were at that time, the most suitable men to

make inquiry into the subject. The very best men were employed. Every other consideration was thrown aside, and the then Government took into consideration who were the best men to report on a matter of that sort.

Mr. FOXTON: I admit that.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the advice of those gentlemen was followed; and, after an expenditure of three times the original amount of money, they had now got a less efficient force, according to the hon. member for Carnarvon. They had no more reason to follow Colonel French now than Colonel Scratchley three years ago. Colonel Scratchley was acknowledged at that time to be the best authority in the colony on volunteering, and his recommendations were considered and his authority acknowledged by every colony he had been in. He held the very highest character as a soldier, and as a volunteer organising officer; but there was a difference between putting a bolus before a person and making him swallow it. Why should they take the nostrum of any man when it was going to cost the colony 50 per cent. more than the previous system? They had a young volunteer officer, who happened to be a member of the House, saying it was wrong to follow the advice of the military commission, and who recommended now that the advice of Colonel French should be taken; but there was nothing to show that the new system would be better than the last. The hon. member for Carnarvon said that the present Act did not give the volunteer authorities sufficient power over the force. Well, he (Sir T. McIlwraith) did not think it had taken the experience of the last two or three years to find that out, at all events; he was commencing to realise it for the first time, because it was only since the hon. member had spoken that that fact had been brought forward as a reason for a change. The present system, he maintained, did not require such a radical change, nor should such a drastic remedy as proposed. He had not the slightest doubt that the conscription idea had fascinated Colonel Sargood, because as soon as a volunteer officer became a lieutenant-colonel he became bent upon making every man liable to military service. Of what value was the opinion of men like Colonel Sargood? They had to look at the fact that they were asked to pay £30,000 a year for a military force; and he wanted to know why they should pay that immense sum, simply because Colonel French thought the new system would be an improvement. Colonel Scratchley had told them they had a splendid system, and now they were told it was altogether wrong. The hon. member for Carnarvon said they should not call in a doctor unless they were prepared to take his advice; but, speaking for himself, he could only say that he had always felt rather "funky" as to whose advice he should take, and for the last twenty years had not always swallowed the bolus that had been prescribed. He did not like the bolus Colonel French wanted them to swallow; that officer wanted them to disgorge £30,000, and they had not been given any good reason why they should do so.

Mr. FOXTON said the increase in the expenditure seemed to be the great objection to the Bill, but he would point out that, roughly speaking, the increased expenditure was attributable to the fact that a permanent force had to be constituted. He believed that the question of a permanent force was brought before the military commission in 1882, and they did not think it was necessary. But the scheme which was propounded by the commission was very similar to the present scheme, with the exception that in the present one there was provision for

considerably more discipline and better organisation, and included a permanent force. The hon. member for Mulgrave said that he had learned for the first time that there was a lack of means of enforcing discipline.

THE HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: I did not not say so in those words. I said it was only for the first time that the lack of discipline had been put before us as a forcible reason for the Bill.

MR. FOXTON said he regretted that the hon. member did not pay attention to what he had said on the second reading of the Bill, because he had said the same thing then. In illustration of what he had said he would ask hon. members to look at the schedule of fines in the regulations, and they would find that 5s. was the highest penalty that could be enforced, and that had to be recovered in an ordinary police court. That was sufficient to condemn the present system as a military or semi-military system. It might be all very well for coaxing men—and the hon. member had said that it had been coaxing the men—but it was that very coaxing that had killed the force. They wanted a good class of men; and they wanted to have the power—which was absolutely essential, if they were to have a military force at all—of enforcing discipline.

MR. BEATTIE said he did not rise with the intention of giving the Bill a very great deal of serious opposition, but at the same time he must acknowledge that he certainly did not like it. He would refer to what the hon. member had said about being unable to enforce discipline, and he would ask the hon. member if it had never struck him that there was a simple reason why it was not possible to enforce discipline. It was simply on account of the want of knowledge of the officers.

MR. FOXTON: No.

MR. BEATTIE: If the officers knew their duty the volunteers would have confidence in them. He had come in contact with volunteers, both officers and men, and that was one of the causes of complaint with the men of the ranks and the officers themselves—that there were some officers in the present Volunteer Force who were incapable of giving proper instructions to the men, and therefore they had no confidence in them.

THE HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: Colonel French says so.

MR. BEATTIE said he had noticed that himself, and knew that it was the case. Of course he must allude to the hon. member for Carnarvon, because he was an authority; but, in speaking of the inefficiency of the officers, the hon. member would understand that he was not referred to, because everyone knew he was most efficient. There was one thing that he wanted to bring before the Committee, and it was this—was it necessary that they should spend such a large amount of money for one arm of volunteers? They had a coastline extending from Brisbane to Cooktown, of something like 800 miles, with a town every few miles, and some of them of very great importance. There were Maryborough, Rockhampton, Mackay, Townsville—Bowen he left out of the question, because there was not a great deal to lose there, although an enemy might possibly land there, and cross the Pioneer River to Mackay, where they could make a forced levy on the large planters. He asked that question, because it appeared that Colonel French had recommended the formation of a permanent force of 107 men, and they were to be called the school of instruction. Was that school of instruction to extend from Brisbane to Cooktown? In looking

over the roll of the volunteers, he found that there were not more than fifty or sixty in Townsville. The corps at Cooktown was, he believed, defunct. There was a corps at Mackay, but he was not aware that half-a-dozen men were left in it. And, as to the corps at Rockhampton, he was told that it was not very strong; in fact, there was not the slightest provision made for defending those ports and harbours. He should have expected that an eminent officer like Colonel French would have recommended a system of coast defences, instead of playing at soldiering inland. Why, without a coast-line defence, in addition to the inland defence, a small frigate could land her men at the Pine River, and have Brisbane at its mercy before the inhabitants knew where they were. A force composed of 107 permanent men, and a few volunteers, would be simply playing at soldiers. That was one of the reasons why he had a serious objection to the Bill. Although provision was made for a company of naval volunteers—and he assumed the company would consist of the ordinary number of 100 men—that was not enough. He would point out that with the same regulations as those which existed in New South Wales they might have a naval reserve of 800 men at an expense of about £12,000 a year. That would be money well spent, for they would be enabled to man the ships, boats, and guns required for the defence of the harbours and rivers of the colony. The Naval Brigade of New South Wales were paid £12 per man a year, and they were bound to turn out every Saturday for drill. Their commander, Captain Hixson, had never to issue an order to them a second time to turn out on Saturdays; and it was a sight to see them. There was no grumbling; the men had confidence in and respect for their officers, and the officers had confidence in and respect for their men. In Brisbane he had heard the men complain that there was a good deal of "stand-off-iness" on the part of the officers, and that they looked upon themselves as something superior to their men. No doubt there must be discipline maintained and obedience to officers; he himself had been too long under discipline ever to forget that; but if the officers would take more interest in their duties they would certainly get the confidence of their men. There were some corps in Brisbane where the officers could get any number of men, where applications to join were received nearly every day. That was because in those corps the officers had the confidence and respect of the men, and they never had any occasion to complain of want of obedience. Those officers were treated with respect without its being made compulsory to give them the proper salute when they passed in the street. He hoped the Premier would give some consideration to the question of coast defences, because it was certain that the adoption of the New South Wales system would enable the Government to place 800 naval reserve men along the coast at an expense of not more than £12,000 a year. That such a body would be of great advantage to the colony needed no argument from him. With regard to the Brigade Office matter, he (Mr. Beattie) was the member who originally brought it before the House, though at an inopportune time, on a motion for adjournment. He had understood the Premier to say that it was a want of discipline on the part of the officer referred to to let the particulars appear in the newspaper. He (Mr. Beattie) could assure the Premier that he did not learn the details from Mr. Sankey; indeed he had not spoken to him more than two or three times prior to the appearance of that letter. In fact, he was assured by the person who compiled that letter, and who gave him the information that he possessed on the subject,

that the individual in question never knew a word about what was being done until the letter appeared in the newspapers. He mentioned that to disabuse the Colonial Secretary's mind of the idea that anyone in the Brigade Office had been the means of making those facts public. Since that time he (Mr. Beattie) had heard some *sotto voce* remarks from volunteer officers as to the want of knowledge on the part of that officer in the Brigade Office. One remark was that the officer was getting too old and very inefficient. He did not know much of that officer, but judging from his general military appearance he seemed a very active and energetic man; and all he could say was that he should not like to be pitted against him to carry a knapsack to Sandgate, because he would leave him half-way behind. The officer was, in fact, a very powerful man. As to his not knowing anything about the Brigade Office, he had heard volunteer officers say that it would never have been a Brigade Office but for Mr. Sankey. He had been at the trouble of getting a record of Mr. Sankey's services, as he did not like to hear volunteer officers of two or three years' standing expressing the opinions they had done on a man who had served his country for nearly fifty years. Mr. Sankey joined the British army in 1838—forty-six years ago—and in the following year he was promoted to sergeant. In 1840 he was promoted to colour-sergeant; in 1850 he was quartermaster-sergeant; in 1853, sergeant-major; and in 1857 he was staff-sergeant major at the Cape of Good Hope. He was pensioned in 1859 after being in the service twenty-two or twenty-three years. During the time that he was sergeant-major he was attached to the commissariat department as storekeeper. With reference to his knowledge of volunteering, he served as instructor to the Staffordshire volunteers from 1860 to 1871. He (Mr. Beattie) would not read the other notes he had made having reference to the salary the man got, and why it was taken away from him, because those matters had not been mentioned; but he asked whether he had not said enough to show that it was unfair for volunteer officers, who had simply for the last two or three years seen the manner in which the volunteers had been managed, to stand up and declare that a man who had served his country forty-six years did not know his duty? It was a well-known fact that on all occasions the volunteers had received immense assistance from that man; and yet the Brigade Office had adopted the extraordinary course of taking off a sum from the man's salary that it was never intended should be taken off. There was no doubt that Lieutenant-Colonel Drury simply acted on the advice of someone under him; and that if he had made inquiry he would never have allowed the money to be appropriated in the way it was. He (Mr. Beattie) had heard how it was appropriated, but he was not going to mention it now. He had already given the matter sufficient prominence, and it had been brought before the public in the newspapers two or three times. He thought that hon. members, when they knew the services of Mr. Sankey, would be satisfied that he had some knowledge of his duties, was quite capable of conducting the business he was engaged in in the Brigade Office, and that he did not deserve the slur that had been cast upon him. He noticed that there was very little provision made on the Estimates for naval volunteers, but he hoped the Premier would see that the coastal defences were placed on a much better footing than they were likely to be under that Bill.

The PREMIER: That is provided for.

Mr. BEATTIE said he saw the Government had provided for naval volunteers.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: Where?

Mr. BEATTIE: It is mentioned in the 2nd clause.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: But where in the Estimates?

Mr. BEATTIE said there was no provision in the Estimates for a naval brigade. He would like to give the Premier some information, to prevent any misunderstanding that might exist as to whether he would be able to get sufficient material to form a naval corps, more particularly in some of the large centres of population on the coast. In 1877 or 1878, hon. members would remember he brought forward a motion that it was desirable to form a naval brigade. Mr. John Douglas, who was then in power, promised to introduce some such scheme, and did so; but it was very defective, and could not have been successful. The scheme set down ten men for Rockhampton, and ten for Maryborough; and as each ten men would have required an instructor, he saw that it would be a most expensive system and was not what was intended at all. With a view of being enabled to tell the Premier that he could get sufficient material to work on, he had advertised for a week in the papers for men willing to join a naval service, and within eight days he had applications from 120 old naval service men, from lieutenants down to the inferior grades; all of whom could produce their certificates. He had no doubt that in every part of the colony—in Rockhampton, Maryborough, Townsville, Cooktown, and other places—the Government could get old naval service men who would form the nucleus of a force, and who would be able to manage the big guns if necessary. He intended to take some part in the discussion of the various clauses of the Bill, and he hoped such amendments would be made as would lead to a successful volunteer system in the colony. He also hoped the Government would see their way clear to accept any suggestions that might be made towards attaining that object.

The PREMIER said he would point out that the Government saw the urgent necessity of dealing with the matter. Hon. members who knew most about it said the House would not be justified in voting money for the system as it existed now. And again it was urged that the Government were not quite sure of the remedies they proposed. How could they be quite sure of any remedies? They must try them before they knew how they would turn out. Seeing that there were numerous defects in the system, and knowing that the matter was urgent, the Government proposed to adopt a scheme that had been tried elsewhere and proved successful. They proposed it not only because it had been tried successfully, but because they were acting on the advice of an officer who had had as much to do as any man alive with the organisation of volunteers.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: Where?

The PREMIER: In Canada, where there was the best volunteer force. If they waited until next year they would be no better off than now; probably the force would be in a worse position then. That was one of the strongest arguments in favour of doing something. He hoped hon. members would set aside small objections to volunteers, or to defences in general, and assist the Government in making the best scheme practicable and putting the force on a really satisfactory basis. They could do that if they tried. The main points of the Bill had not really been attacked at all. The leader of the Opposition asked why they should spend so much money; but if they were to have defences they must pay a reasonable amount for them. The amount proposed in the Bill was £28,000 for an efficient

force, as against £23,000 for an inefficient force. On the one hand the £23,000 would be wasted, and on the other the £28,000 would be well spent, and the increase was not 50 per cent. as the hon. gentleman suggested. They had already incurred a large amount of expenditure; they must keep their forts in order and their gunboats; they had their rifles and ammunition, and they could not afford to throw all that into the sea. They had a volunteer system such as it was; it was inefficient, and they were wasting money on it, and the Government asked the Committee to assist them in making it efficient. If there was any reasonable objection they would be very glad to listen to it, and to modify any objectionable principle. The hon. gentleman who last sat down referred to the importance of a naval force, and expressed his regret that there was not sufficient prominence given to that part of the Bill; but amendments referring to a naval force were circulated months ago. The leader of the Opposition also said it was too late in the session to discuss the Bill, but it was brought on early in the session, and for some reason or other hon. members on the other side objected to sitting on some particular days to deal with it. Consequently it got behind the Land Bill, and when they once got on the Land Bill the Government expressed their intention of going on with it until it was disposed of. But that was no reason why they should not tackle the Defence Bill now, unless they desired that others should be ashamed of them. No adverse criticism had been passed upon it at all. The leader of the Opposition said—"Why should we do anything else? We are all wrong." That was what the Government thought, and therefore they proposed a remedy. If hon. members would point out that the remedy was unsatisfactory there would be good reason for objecting to it; but seeing they were bound to provide some scheme, let them amend the one submitted by the Government as they went along.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said that, if the hon. Premier looked back to the amount of time that had been given by the House to Government business, he would not refer in terms almost of reproach to hon. members for not giving sufficient attention to Government business.

The PREMIER: I did not say so.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the Premier was laying upon hon. members on the Opposition side the fault of the Bill not being brought forward earlier, and said that they were not disposed to meet on a certain day. The proposition was that they should do Government business on Mondays. The Government had had a better attendance of members on Government days than any Government he had ever known. They had had Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays regularly from shortly after the beginning of the session. The Premier gave the wrong reason, and one that was not in accordance with facts, when he said that they refused to find a remedy for a state of things that was perfectly unsatisfactory. That was not the case. They were trying to remedy a certain evil that had existed in the Volunteer Force up to the present time, and of which evil it was difficult to find the cause. At all events, the Government in their Bill had not given the slightest intimation that they had found the cause; but they said that Colonel French considered it would be a remedy. He was not disposed, on the word of Colonel French or any other man in Queensland, to say that they should change their system, and back that up with the vote of a large sum of Govern-

ment money. The cause of the evils had never been referred to, and he did not believe they would be remedied by the Bill at all. The Government ought to prove that before they came upon them to pass a Bill of that sort. Hon. members forgot that, instead of getting out of the slough, they were getting deeper into it every year. Colonel French actually asked them to spend 50 per cent. more on their land volunteers, without providing one single farthing for a naval reserve. He did not say that it would take 50 per cent. more; but supplementing that argument with his experience, he believed it would amount to 50 per cent. £23,000 was the amount spent last year, and Colonel French asked £30,000. Before that scheme was carried out it would be £35,000, and that was a large increase in expenditure that was asked in order to carry out that idea. What was the only tangible evil that had been referred to as likely to be remedied? It was not an evil that involved money at all; it was simply that the Government would have a greater power over the men and make them more efficient. That was all they asked. He had not the slightest objection to a Bill passing to that effect; in fact, he would assist it. He would assist any Bill that would make the volunteers more efficient; but he was determined that he would do what he could to prevent one single farthing being granted to the volunteers unless their efficiency had been proved. They spent too much at present, even on the admission of one of the officers who spoke that afternoon. They had been a great deal too lavish. They were so to a fault, in 1882, when they voted money without any further consideration. It was for the Government to show that their Bill would be productive of good, and they had not shown that; at all events they had not shown what they would get for the money. They would require to vote a large amount of money for their naval force. They had two gunboats, and the Government had certainly not made the best use of them. The first that came out they lent to the English Government for the purpose of assisting in the survey of the coast. He did not believe the English Government found it very much of a concession, because they could easily have got a vessel on their own account. Possibly it was considered a hindrance in the hands of the Government, and they were glad to get rid of it in that way. They ought to have taken it up in a proper way, and seen that an efficient staff was put on board to learn gunnery. They shirked the responsibility when the money was actually spent, and they were commencing to have a tangible naval force on the coast. They had to provide a large amount of money for that, and another £20,000 was required for the volunteers. The Government did not think of what would be required for a naval brigade.

The PREMIER: We cannot have one until the law is passed.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said that was an easy matter. The difficulty was to find the money. The hon. gentleman need not bother himself about the passing of the law; that might be done in an afternoon. The great thing was to find the money. When they found the money, the real debate would come on. £20,000 was quite enough to spend on the volunteers; and the balance ought to go to the naval defence, and it would not be much short of that. To spend £20,000, upon the guarantee of the department that they were going to have a better state of things was simply absurd. The Committee would not be doing its duty if they spent the money of the taxpayers of the country before they had some security that there would be a better state of things than now existed.

Mr. FOXTON said he made some reference in his previous remarks to the Victorian defence scheme and its expense. On looking up the subject, he found that the land force in that colony, including the permanent force, numbered 3,009 men; and the naval force, including 122 men of the permanent force, 426, making a total of 3,435. The annual cost of maintaining that force was £109,955, which was apportioned as follows:—Land force, £77,596; naval force, £28,539; medical department, £900; and ordnance, £2,920. According to those figures, Queensland, he thought, would compare very favourably with Victoria, because it proposed that in this colony the defence force should consist of nearly 2,000 men.

Mr. MACFARLANE said he did not see any reason why Queensland should spend £30,000 a year on her volunteers, because Victoria spent £109,000. If the Committee did not see that the country would get value for the money proposed to be voted, then the expenditure should not be sanctioned. It had been admitted by the leader of the Government, and by the leader of the Opposition, and by other members of the Committee, that the present volunteer system had been a failure—that the country had not received value for the money expended. The Committee, however, had no guarantee that the Bill now under consideration would prove any better. It was true that it was a new venture, and that it was a copy of a Canadian Act, which it was said had worked very successfully; but it must be remembered that the two countries could not be compared as far as population was concerned. Queensland had only a handful of people, and would be unable to keep out an enemy if that enemy wanted to get into the country. They might teach both young men and old men how to shoot; they might teach them the art of war, and many other things; but, as he said before, the colony had only a handful of people, and it would be impossible for them to do much in the way of keeping out an enemy. He objected to young men who had entered into indentures as apprentices being compelled to serve in the force as volunteers, when they would be liable to be called out whether they liked it or not, or whether their employers liked it or not. It would be a great loss to employers to call those men out. He thought the Government should lay the Bill aside this session, reconsider the question during the recess, and bring in a measure next session that would meet the requirements of the colony better than the present Bill. Why, it contained ninety clauses; it was nearly as long as the Land Bill, and if any attention was given to it there would be great difficulty in getting it through. He did not expect the hon. member for Carnarvon to agree with all he said, but he was glad to find that the hon. gentleman agreed with him that volunteering in the past had been a failure. He (Mr. Macfarlane) did not think it would be any better under the present Bill than under the existing Act.

Mr. ISAMBERT said the arguments which were advanced on the second reading of the Bill, and repeated that evening, reminded him very much of a trip that a party had down to Lytton, at the invitation of Colonel French, to witness target practice. In going down they encountered a champagne lunch.

The Hon. Sir T. McILWRAITH: A what?

Mr. ISAMBERT: A champagne lunch. The leader of the Opposition was not present, and was therefore minus that experience. The party were all agreed about the luncheon; and that Committee were all agreed that the defence force of the colony—or rather the volunteering system of the past—was a comparative failure. Now, in his opinion, volunteers would never make an

effective force. The more hon. members looked into the matter the more they must become convinced that to have an effective force service must be compulsory: it must contain that element which was so repugnant to the English race, who for centuries had estranged themselves from their duties. English people looked on a matter of that kind too much from a commercial point of view, and too much from the point of view from which it was regarded by the hon. member for Ipswich—thinking that money could buy everything. Now, the more experience they had the more it became apparent that money could not buy everything, and that, in the matter of the defence of their country, commercial views and commercial reasons were sometimes out of place. Reverting again to the trip to Lytton, the party witnessed the target practice. That also resembled very much the arguments advanced that evening; as every gun that was fired missed the mark, so none of the arguments that had been used pointed out what was really required. He did not think the proposition to make a sort of volunteer force, and at the same time pay it, would be a success. So long as they could not establish a real defence force, they ought to be satisfied with asserting the principle of compulsory service, if required. To bring that about, they should try and induce the young men to submit to training, so that when the time of danger came there would be certain material ready to be brought forward. He agreed with the principle in clause 27, of giving men who had served in the defence force a preferential claim for appointment in the Civil Service; and he would like to see it carried still further, so that no one who had not served should have any chance of appointment in the Civil Service, so long as suitable persons could be found who had served. In that way he thought they could get a sufficient number of young men to come forward and acquire the military art and make themselves proficient in it. He would like to see a clause providing that no Civil servant should have any chance of promotion unless he joined the Volunteer Force, and qualified himself for the duties of an officer. The real preparation ought to commence in the public schools. The children there got far too much cram; and it would be better to leave a good deal of that out and substitute drill and gymnastic exercises. After they left school the Government should encourage a system similar to that which obtained on the Continent, where a young man became accustomed to the use of arms, and was more than half a soldier when he was required. It would be very inexpensive, and it would be a far better pastime for young men than going crazy over cricket-playing and horse-racing. The hon. member for Ipswich had said that Canada could not be compared to this colony. Canada had been obliged to adopt her military system on account of the danger to which she was exposed; and he thought nothing could be more advantageous to the Australian colonies than a real attack and the ransacking of a few towns. It would waken them up, and show them that they had more sacred duties to perform than mere money-grubbing. The sooner the colonies were brought to their senses the better. He should heartily support the Bill on the grounds he had indicated.

Mr. FOOTE said he could not say he liked the Bill, but he did not say it was not a better one than any previous Bill introduced on the subject. He was inclined to think it was. All the Bills, the passage of which he had witnessed, on the subject of volunteering had simply been utter failures—he might say absolute failures—so far as their intention was concerned. The Government had introduced various systems with the view

of encouraging volunteering, but he contended that the term "volunteer" was inapplicable. Men who were paid were certainly not volunteers. The application of the term, as he was accustomed to read it when reading of matters of that sort in England, was to men who gave their services to the country for nothing. They formed a sort of accessory corps to the standing army of Great Britain, and were a great national good. But a precisely similar system here would utterly fail, because the circumstances of the two countries were so different. In England they had an overcrowded population, comprising all conditions of men, and those who joined the volunteer corps were in a position to give their time to it and become proficient in the drill. What was the case here? They had been playing at soldiers for many years, and what result had they for it? At the present moment, if a filibustering party should enter the port, he very much doubted whether there was any body of men the Government could rely upon to defend the position. He did not believe the volunteers would stand as much in the way of an attacking force as a handful of mosquitoes, so far as anything like real defence was concerned. He looked upon the volunteer system as an absolute waste of money. As the hon. member for Carnarvon said, the men would not obey orders. And how had they served? During the time a previous Act was in force the Government gave land-orders to the volunteers, and with what result? The men served their time and got their land-orders. Many of them sold their land-orders, and, he presumed, got the money, but where were the volunteers now? Some of them must be still living. In fact, he knew many of them himself, but the Government could not lay their hands upon them after all the expense they had gone to in the way of providing instruction and drill, and giving land-orders. What then was the use of pursuing the same course that had been pursued for so many years past with so little benefit? Why, every Government that came into power passed a Volunteer Bill! The present leader of the Opposition passed a Bill and made a very flowery speech about it, but it never came to anything. He had been told that gunboats had been purchased for the colony, and that appeared to be somewhat sensible and tangible. He had no doubt, as far as the boats were concerned, the Government had got the worth of their money; but when they came out here the Government, instead of making use of them for the purpose for which they had been bought, told them off for a survey expedition up the coast. Where was the utility of an expenditure upon gunboats for such a purpose; and were they to go on wasting the taxpayers' money in that way? An hon. gentleman said it was only £30,000 they would expend, but that was a great deal of money to some people. It came out of the taxpayer's pocket; and when they considered the large sums of money wasted annually in other services, they should pause and consider what they were doing. All those little items made up a very large amount in the aggregate at the end of the year. He thought they should be somewhat economical; and unless they saw they were going to have full value for the money, it would be unwise for the House to pass a Bill of that sort at the present time. He believed, and had seen it for some time, that it was impossible to have a volunteer force in Queensland that would be of any utility to the country in the way of defence. If they wanted a defence force let them have it by all means. He had no objection to spending money when they were getting value for it; but he wanted value. He did not want to see money

frittered away, and the Government receiving nothing in return; but what he wanted was a permanent force. In this colony men who were volunteers simply would not obey. They were too independent, because they were men of means. The class of men who joined the ranks were of far too independent a character to obey orders, and he did not see that discipline could be enforced by placing such restrictions upon the men as those contained in the Bill. He repeated, they should have a permanent force, with service extending from six to ten years, as any lesser term was useless. That was the only army that could be relied upon, and they were the forces which defended such countries as Great Britain, France, and Germany. The permanent force was there from year to year; and as the numbers fell off the number could be made up, and the army could be increased to the required proportions. He did not say that in after years, when the colony became populated, they should not have a volunteer force which would be a sort of accessory to the standing army; but to retain the present Volunteer Force was—well, not a sham, but it was the shadow without the substance. He thought, if the question stood over for a couple of years or twelve months, and if members had an opportunity of thinking what they wanted to do, they might be able to frame a Bill that would constitute an effective force for the future; but at the present time he really regarded the whole thing as worse than a waste of money. When the Bill was first introduced he did not consider it very seriously, because he thought they would not see it again during the session, and he was somewhat surprised that it had been brought on again. They had already been in session for six months this year, and the work could not possibly be finished under another month or five weeks. Some of them were getting pretty tired.

The PREMIER: I know one, at any rate, who is.

Mr. FOOTE said he really thought the Bill should stand over for the present session. He should have liked to have been a volunteer himself if he had been thirty years younger, for the exercise must be very good and healthy, but he could afford to wait another year.

The PREMIER said he agreed with a great deal the hon. member had said, but he could not agree that the matter was not urgent. The enemy would not wait for them.

Mr. FOOTE: We will wait for them.

The PREMIER said perhaps they would not have an opportunity of waiting; and the danger to the colony continued so long as they left things undone. A Bill of the kind proposed did not commit the country to any large expenditure of money for useless purposes. In Victoria a scheme was proposed which it was admitted was not nearly as efficient as the present Bill, but they were so determined to give it a fair trial that they actually passed an estimate of £100,000 a year for five years in advance, which was a very remarkable course to take. He did not propose to do that. He proposed they should follow the English practice, and let Parliament every year retain the control over the expenditure for military purposes. If after a fair trial the system was found to be inefficient, the Estimates would always come before Parliament and could be revised. What he asked was this, and it was a fair thing to ask; the present system had been tried with loyal good will by preceding Governments as well as by the present one, and had been found impracticable; a change was necessary, and had been promised year after year, and the Government were now

redeeming their promise by asking for an opportunity to make the change. If it proved ineffectual, they could fall back on something of the kind suggested by the hon. member for Bundamba, although it would be five times as expensive as the system proposed in the Bill.

Mr. FOOTE: But you would have a force then.

The PREMIER said that, if hon. members thought the proposed expenditure was likely to be too great, being entirely under the control of Parliament it could be cut down. No fixed establishment was proposed, but merely that the Volunteer Force might have an opportunity of becoming efficient, for reasons he had urged at an earlier period of the evening. A practical school of instruction, if properly worked, would make an immense difference. The system of enlisting for three years would fill up the roll-books of the different companies, and the colony would be in a position to deal with its naval defences, which at present it was utterly powerless to deal with in any way whatever.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said that what the Premier was urging now agreed very much with what he himself had said earlier in the debate, that, after all, the question would have to be met on the Estimates; because, while debating a Volunteer Bill, they were actually committing the country to a very largely increased expenditure, which would not be justified until they saw that a better system was proposed by the Government. The Premier had said that in Victoria they were so determined to give a fair chance to the volunteer system that they passed a law appropriating to it £110,000 a year for five years. That was so, but one reason was that they wanted to give the new force a fair chance, and another was that they wanted to take the expenditure out of the hands of Parliament, so that the expenditure might not go on increasing gradually year by year. That had always been the case with regard to the Queensland Volunteer Force. The cry was raised every year, "You must give us more, or we cannot make the force efficient"; and although only £30,000 was asked for now, he had no doubt that next year a demand would be made for £40,000 or £50,000. It was said that a much larger sum was spent for that purpose in Victoria than in Queensland. That was doubtful. Victoria, with a population of 800,000, spent £110,000 a year on its military and naval expenses combined, or at the rate of 2s. 9d. per head of population. In Queensland, for a military force alone, without a farthing for a naval force, they were asked for an amount equal to 2s. 2d. per head of the population. But what did that amount actually give them? Did it avert any possible danger that could be at present foreseen? Would it defend the colony against any probable enemy they might have to meet?

The PREMIER: Yes.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: He did not think so, and the money would be infinitely better spent on a first line of defence—namely, a naval force. The present scheme would give a kind of second defence to the town of Brisbane, but it would leave Maryborough, Bundaberg, Rockhampton, Townsville, and Cooktown perfectly helpless; it would not assist them in the slightest degree, although each of them would be liable to attack. So that the £30,000 would be spent to provide a second line of defence for Brisbane, the first line being all the time neglected.

The PREMIER: No.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said there was nothing on the Estimates for the naval defence of the colony. Something must be pro-

vided for that, and something very considerable, and in a way different from that shown by the use to which the gunboat was to be put, or building a shed for the refuge of their only torpedo boat. The Colonial Secretary had put that boat in hospital directly she arrived, and no doubt she would never get into water again. The first line of defence was of much more importance than the second. The only hon. member who had defended the Bill was the hon. member for Rosewood, and he liked it because there was a little bit of Bismarck in it. The British may have been a nation of money-grubbers for generations, because the Channel had been between them and any possible enemies; and these colonies were protected against possible enemies by distance. He did not envy the military system of the Germans or the French; it was a disgrace to the civilisation of the present century. Germany was one of the greatest sinners in that respect. A country that had reached so high a state of civilisation ought to have another thought than how to make every able-bodied man in it a soldier for aggression. Under such a system the loss to the human race was perfectly incalculable. He could quite understand a German—as the hon. member was—coming out with those notions and speaking of the people as money-grubbers, but it would require a great many arguments to induce them to give up those money-grubbing principles, and put in their place those Bismarckian principles by which every able-bodied man would be compelled to waste the best portion of his life in military duties. No doubt they ought, as far as their resources permitted, to provide some kind of defence; but they were commencing at the wrong end. After an expenditure of hundreds of thousands of pounds on their defence force, they had come to the conclusion that they had been going on a bad system; and he did not know whether the proposed new system would be much better. With a naval force, they would be able to aid the other colonies, or to get aid from them, by joining their forces in case of danger. From the capacity of the present Commandant it was very likely that the present Bill would be a much better Act than that under which they had been working, but he failed to see that the Government had discovered the real cause of the failure of the Volunteer Force. The cause was far, far deeper than that measure went; and it would be found that the amount of compulsion that could be given by the Bill, when it was made less Bismarckian than the hon. member for Rosewood would like it to be, was very little more than before. Until a proper volunteer spirit was aroused in the colony, it would be necessary to encourage volunteers by money. The cause was that the people of the colony were too well off, and did not foresee danger. That there was actual danger he believed, but he did not believe that the expenditure of £30,000 as proposed would avert that danger or make it any less. If the Government intended to go on with the Bill, he had no other disposition than to give them every assistance in order to make it so that the force would be likely to work better than under the Act of 1878. The military knowledge of the Committee was confined to a few members, and no doubt they would be able to give some assistance. The real battle, however, that they would be required to fight would be on the Estimates. He believed that the Committee, if they were going to commit themselves to such an expense, ought to see that provision was made for the first line of defence.

Mr. MACFARLANE said that if the real battle was to be fought on the Estimates, it would be better to pass the Estimates first. It would save time, at any rate.

The PREMIER said they were bound to deal with the Bill first. If they attempted to pass the Estimates first, hon. members would at once ask, "What are we to vote this money for? What is it to do?" The Committee was bound first to deal with that proposal, because the Estimates must be on the basis laid on that Bill or on none at all.

Mr. BEATTIE said he thought it would be better to make amendments in the Bill by which the present Act would continue in operation for twelve months, and also add some provisions for the establishment of a naval force. He quite agreed with those who had expressed the opinion that the inland force—the second line of defence—ought to come on for consideration after the first line had been dealt with. Brisbane, he believed, with very little expenditure, could be made almost—he was going to say impregnable—but, at all events, considering the situation of the entrances to the Bay, with a very moderate expense they could make them nearly impassable. It seemed never to have been the intention to prevent an enemy entering the channels in Moreton Bay; the authorities simply recommended the construction of a fort at Lytton. But the fact was that they ought to try to keep an enemy out of the Bay, and also keep them from getting to the towns on the coast. Supposing an enemy got into the Bay, would they not be fools to try and pass Lytton, when they could land at Nudgee Beach, where, after going six miles, they would come on to a good macadamised road? He had heard some hon. members say that, under such circumstances, the volunteers would be found at the Barcoo, but he would not give them that character, because he believed there were some first-class men amongst them. What they wanted was to be well commanded, and to have the confidence of their officers. Let the Government pay more attention to the class of men that they got as officers, and they would get plenty of good material for the force. He should advise the Premier to pay more attention to the first line of defence. There was no provision made in the Estimates for a naval force. The whole expense set down was £2,250 for ammunition and stores; that was simply for the artillery. The Government, he thought, ought to have more money at their disposal for the purpose of buying the necessary warlike implements and material. Why, one torpedo to let off in that handsome little torpedo-boat just brought out would cost £700, which was a third of the money put down. Some of the most qualified men, and who were most respected in the force, were of opinion that under the present Act, if the force was judiciously commanded, and a reorganisation were to take place, plenty of good men could be got, and the force could be placed on a satisfactory footing.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said he believed the element of uncertainty as to the future of the volunteers had been one of the principal causes of the deterioration of the force. Anyone looking at the Estimates would see at once that they were put in such a way as to make them impracticable for that Committee to deal with. The total amount set down was £30,000. Supposing the Committee came to the conclusion that that was an extravagant amount, and that the colony could not afford it, how would they curtail it? They could scarcely do so by taking off a certain number of men. There were so many different items that the information of the Committee would be thoroughly at fault, and they would be entirely at a loss what to do. He thought it would be better to take a lesson from what had been done in Victoria. They should make up

their minds as to how much the colony could afford to spend; then, by putting that fixed amount in the Bill, and saying that that was to be the yearly expenditure for the next five years, they would take away the element of uncertainty, and they would leave the Government and the officers responsible for the way in which it was spent. Let them fix £30,000, or, at all events, so much a year—he would not suggest any particular amount—for military defence, and so much for a naval force, put the amounts separate in the Bill, and leave the details of expenditure to the Government. That, as he had said, would remove the element of uncertainty, and would take work from the Committee that they were really not able to perform. The Premier would see at once how thoroughly unable the Committee were to discuss the defences, except on a general resolution, such as was proposed three or four years ago—that the expenditure be limited to a certain sum.

The PREMIER said the Estimates had been framed on the basis of the provisions of the Bill, which had been introduced before the Estimates came down. He thought the Estimates were framed so as to enable the Committee to deal very conveniently with the question—at any rate they were framed with that object. They wanted a permanent force, but it would be for the Committee to decide whether they wanted 107 men. They would not cut off any of the non-commissioned officers, because they were necessary, but they might reduce the number of men if they thought proper. He need not say anything about the band. In respect to the field artillery, it might be thought that the number was too large—there were two batteries put down at £345 each. Then the garrison artillery might be thought too large, and might be reduced by one-third or two-thirds if necessary. It was not probable that there would be any reduction in regard to the engineers. The Estimates were framed in such a way that the numbers could be reduced by tenths.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH: You cannot take off the tenth of a captain.

The PREMIER said that if the hon. gentleman would examine the Estimates, he would find that they provided for reductions being made conveniently if the numbers were thought too large. He must confess that he did not like to take from Parliament the control of the expenditure; he preferred the system adopted in England, where they voted the army estimates every year.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH: Before the Estimates come on, provision will be made for naval defence?

The PREMIER: Yes. It might be convenient to reduce the number of infantry companies, and substitute for them some marine companies. The reason why they were not provided for was because there was not sufficient information at hand with regard to the gunboats.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said that was not the original reason, because the hon. gentleman only took up that part of the subject lately, and had to move some amendments to get it into the Bill. He was anxious to see a new set of Estimates, including naval defence.

Mr. ANNEN said he was not present during the debate on the second reading, but he thought the Hon. R. B. Sheridan, who held a high and important position in the force, would have said something to explain the Bill more than it had been explained. As the hon. gentleman had not done so, he thought it right, being an old volunteer himself, to say something on behalf of the volunteers, and especially the volunteers of Maryborough. He did not like the Bill at all,

and he was of opinion that its effect had not been sufficiently considered by its author. At present the longest time volunteers were supposed to be at drill was four days, but under the Bill before the Committee volunteers would be compelled to be absent from their employers for eight days. No Government had yet found itself sufficiently strong to enforce the compulsory clauses of the Education Act, and it would be the same with the Bill now under consideration if it should become law. In New South Wales there was a system which might be beneficially adopted in Queensland—a system of military inspectors and drill instructors in connection with the State schools. If the boys at school were taught military drill it would be of more effect than all that had been done up to the present time in regard to volunteering, for all the money spent hitherto had been almost entirely wasted. According to the Estimates, the cost for the first year under the new system would be £30,000. Provision was made for a large staff of ornamental officers, but many more would be required to carry out the provisions of the Bill. By clause 17, if the people of any district did not come forward in sufficient numbers for voluntary enrolment, that district could be proclaimed a military district, in which they could be compelled to serve. He was surprised at the hon. member for Rosewood supporting such a Bill, when he knew that the Germans were slipping away from the conscription laws of Germany, thinking that in Australia there would be no such law enacted; but when they found that the law in Queensland was more stringent than in Germany, they would leave a militia colony—for the Bill was nothing but a militia Bill—and settle elsewhere. During the debate Colonel French had been spoken of very highly. He did not know that gentleman; he had not read his biography; nor was he aware that he was a great soldier. Some hon. gentleman seemed to think that if it were not for Colonel French there would be no volunteers at all in the colony. He did not think so, however, because if Colonel French had not come to the colony they could have got someone else. Reorganisation had taken place in every department; it was most disquietening to the men, and ended in no good. What had been done since that hon. gentleman came into the colony, and since that special report had been published? Why, the volunteers had almost ceased to exist. He saw a corps in Brisbane only mustering nine men which two years ago used to muster nearly two hundred. That did not say much for the success of the gentleman at the head of the Volunteer Force at the present time. The hon. member for Bundamba said there was no grumbling when the land-order system was in force. In Brisbane and in Ipswich the volunteers received their land-orders; but in the Northern towns, as well as Maryborough, they had never received any land-orders. They were ignored because the Brigade Office, in Brisbane, had been so supreme that it was all Brisbane, Ipswich, Toowoomba, and nowhere else. He should like to be in the first town when that patriotic system of the ballot was attempted to be carried out; he was sure it would give rise to a considerable amount of feeling in towns, and would put some of their hotly contested elections quite in the shade. He did not like to give a silent vote; but if the question were to go to the vote he would vote for a postponement until some future time, as suggested by the hon. leader of the Opposition. If they were to pay Colonel French five years' salary and stop the Bill altogether, it would be more beneficial than going on with a measure which would be one of the most objectionable ones ever passed in that Chamber.

The PREMIER said the hon. member was not in the Chamber when he spoke on the matter, or he would not have made the speech he had. He (the Premier) had pointed out that there was nothing in it of the nature of a conscription Bill. That was a delusion some hon. members had.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the hon. member was not wrong; it was a conscription Bill until the hon. gentleman gave notice of the amendment. It was thoroughly and purely a conscription Bill, mitigated by an assurance from the Premier that there would be volunteering sufficient to prevent it from being necessarily so.

Mr. BLACK said he knew that the feeling in the country was very much the same as expressed by the hon. member for Maryborough. There was no doubt that the Premier in deference to the very great opposition that the principles of the Bill had received in the country, now proposed, although retaining the power of making the Bill a conscription Bill, to insert a clause by which the Government would not be able to exert that power except in cases of war or danger. They had heard a great deal about the price of volunteering from hon. members on both sides of the Committee, and it was pretty well understood that the Committee was of opinion that any reasonable expense for the defence of the country was perfectly justifiable. The Bill was not one which would excite any hostile feeling against the Government; but what the Committee really wished to know was, that whatever sum of money was to be devoted for that purpose would be judiciously spent—that it was not going to be squandered away in a reckless manner. He talked about it as a reckless manner, because they had had the opinion expressed freely during the last few years that the Volunteer Force had been going from bad to worse. Whatever it was a few years ago, it was still worse now. It had been pointed out how the force had become demoralised; even the Premier had stated that it could not be in a very much worse state than it was at present. Colonel French had also pointed out that the force was demoralised, and was becoming more and more so. And they must bear in mind that the annual expense had been gradually increasing, and that when they were asked to vote a great deal more money they should have a guarantee that the force would be more efficient than in the past. He had taken the trouble to note down what playing at volunteering had really cost the country up to the present time. It had not cost hundreds of thousands of pounds, as had been said by some hon. members; but it had cost a considerable sum, and it might be interesting to know what they really spent in that playing at soldiers. Up to the year 1879, when there was not much agitation about volunteering, there had been £32,000 spent. In 1880 they had about 1,100 men and 20 cadets; and, considering that volunteering had been deteriorating ever since, they might conclude that the force was then in about as efficient a state as it ever was. At that time they were able to indulge in the playful luxury of their soldiers for £8,705 a year. That was not an excessive amount. When the House was opened there was the same salute fired and the same guard of honour. In the next year, 1881, volunteering had become popular, and in order to meet the requirements of the country there were an additional seventy-five men put on to the army, and a corresponding increase was voted. In the Estimates for that year he found £8,878 was the cost. In the year 1882 a change seemed to have come over the requirements of the colony, for although the numbers were not materially increased, the expenditure suddenly took a

tremendous jump. The force numbered 1,218. He did not know whether the cadets were included in that; but there was a sudden jump from £8,878 for the previous year to £19,667. Notwithstanding that increased expenditure, the *morale* of the force was decreasing; dissatisfaction was creeping in, and he might say that whatever dissatisfaction there had been it had chiefly been felt in the southern portion of the colony. The volunteers in the more northern portions, where they were less liable to the irksome control of the staff officers, had always succeeded better than they had in the South. In 1883 the force still numbered about the same, and the expenditure had increased to £23,000 odd. This year he found that the number of men was increased to 1,512, or about 250 more than last year. 1,512 was supposed to be the total Volunteer Force, and the amount set down on the Estimates was £28,509.

The PREMIER: For a permanent force.

Mr. BLACK said that was the amount set down for the defence force of the colony. What guarantee had the Committee really got that that enormous expenditure—increasing from £8,700 in 1880 to £28,509, in 1884 without any material increase in the number of men—what guarantee had the Committee that the new scheme was going to have any better result than the present one. He believed the first thing to be considered was their naval defence, and in saying so he was only repeating what had been said on both sides of the Committee; and there was this significant fact to be observed, that, notwithstanding the largely increased estimate of £28,000, there was not a single sixpence of that amount to go to the defence of their coast. It was all to go to perpetuate that system of playing at soldiers, which every member who had spoken on the subject that night had admitted was a total failure up to the present time. On those grounds he was not prepared to say what steps the Government should take in the matter. The Premier said they must either pass the Bill or let the whole Volunteer Force slide. He should be sorry to do that, but the Committee had a right to be thoroughly satisfied that the new scheme was going to be better in its results than the scheme which had been carried out so disastrously in past years. He was quite sure that if the Committee were satisfied of that they would cheerfully vote the sum asked for, or any other sum, for the purpose. That had not been shown, however, and hence the lengthy discussion they had had without having passed the first clause of the Bill. If the Committee were not satisfied that the scheme was going to work better than the present system, even if the Bill was passed through committee, when they came to the amount on the Estimates every item would be blocked, and the whole of the time they were spending that night would be practically wasted.

Mr. FOXTON said he agreed with a great deal that had fallen from the hon. member for Mackay; but he would ask what better assurance could they have than that of the gentleman who had been brought out here at great expense, and who was supposed to, and he had not the slightest doubt did, know more about it than anyone else. He was appointed by the late Government, and he (Mr. Foxton) presumed that he was chosen by them for his special qualifications for the position he filled. He had been waiting patiently to find whether anyone could give any better information than that gentleman had given. The hon. member for Fortitude Valley had really used as strong arguments in favour of the proposed scheme as anyone. He knew himself that there was great difficulty in filling the vacancies of officers in the various corps. That

was certainly so round about Brisbane, and it was also the case in the provincial towns with which he was particularly acquainted. One reason for that was that many men who would join as officers, and had the requisite position and means for an officer—for an officer should have some social position, and his corps would work better if he had—had no desire to go into the ranks. That difficulty would be avoided if they could serve in some school of instruction, where they could become acquainted with the duties they would have to perform. The permanent force to be constituted under the Bill would provide that school of instruction, and it was the constitution of that force which caused the main increase in the Estimates. He thought it would be better to vote the odd £3,000 to keep the things they had in good order, and not vote the £20,000 at all, rather than not pass the Bill. If the old system was to be continued let them vote sufficient money to keep the stores and armaments in good order, and have no volunteers. If they did not, and did not pass the Bill, he did not see that they would be in any better position twelve months hence than they were now. A great deal had been said about the naval defence being the first line of defence. He would point out, in reply to the arguments used in that connection, that provided a force such as was proposed in the Bill was constituted, there would, roughly speaking, be a force of about 10,000 men in Australia. And, as from Adelaide to Brisbane would be before long one continuous railway journey, the whole of those men, under a system of federation for the purpose of mutual defence—it would not need federation, but simply an agreement for mutual defence—the whole of those men could be concentrated at any one of the four capitals—Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, or Brisbane—for the purpose of defence, and would form a very respectable force indeed. It was hardly likely two places would be struck at simultaneously, or that the enemy would strike simultaneously at two of the colonies. The enemy would probably choose his time and place and endeavour to strike a heavy blow at that place, and by means of their inter-colonial railway communication a large number of men could be concentrated at that particular point.

Mr. BEATTIE said he thought it was hardly likely that the enemy would tell them where he was going to strike. No doubt he would choose his own time and place. He was very sorry to hear the remarks of the hon. member for Carnarvon with reference to the officers. There could not be much *esprit de corps* on the part of officers who only joined the force simply because they would be made officers. He could tell the hon. member that in some of the most successful corps in Glasgow the privates in the ranks were some of the highest in the land; and they did not think it beneath their dignity to be "full privates." If they were going to carry out the system the hon. member proposed—that they must be men of position, who were made officers—all he could say was that it would be very little encouragement for good non-commissioned officers to be promoted to that position.

Mr. FOXTON said he might have been misunderstood, and he could tell the hon. gentleman that he himself had no such squeamish feelings at all. Fifteen or sixteen years ago he was a private, and had served in the ranks for many years, and he only became an officer a very short time ago. It, however, required men with a certain amount of ability to perform an officer's duties properly, and he said unquestionably also an officer should have some social position. What he said was perfectly correct, whether the hon. gentleman objected to it or not.

Mr. MACFARLANE said he would ask the Premier what honour or value he could attach to the passing of a Bill to which so many hon. members were opposed? It was not only one or two on the Government or Opposition side of the Committee, but three members out of every four who had risen to speak upon the Bill were opposed to it. It would be dragged through every clause if it was continued. There was an old saying that "one never missed the water till the well ran dry": they had had volunteers now for a good many years, and they might try to do without them for twelve months, and see whether they missed them. No doubt by the time the twelve months had passed away, and they missed the volunteers, they could redeem themselves by passing a Bill that would thoroughly meet all their requirements. He hoped the Premier would in the meantime lay the Bill aside.

Mr. JORDAN said he did not intend to oppose the Government on the Bill, as he certainly would not vote against them; but, considering the late period of the session, and that it was a very long measure, he almost hoped the Government would lay it aside until next session. He knew something about volunteers, having been a volunteer himself about twenty-five years ago, just after the colony was separated from New South Wales. He had the honour of serving Her Majesty in that capacity for about three weeks. The colony was very ambitious at that time, and the Government decided to raise a cavalry corps, and invited all those gentlemen who had horses big enough to join it. The corps was formed and went through some evolutions on the hill near the windmill in a manner that somewhat endangered their lives. Having become a member of Parliament, he resigned, and handed his sabre to the Government. He had not obtained his uniform at that time, and thus ended his soldier's career. It was not a very glorious one he must admit, and he knew very little of the subject. As he understood the leader of the Opposition, that hon. gentleman believed that the colony was in danger, and that it should be in a position to defend itself. That was a very great admission to make, and he (Mr. Jordan) was inclined to make that admission himself. Some hon. members argued that the colony could not defend itself, saying that it contained a mere handful of people; and so it did. But other hon. members said they should not try to defend themselves. The hon. member for Bundamba went as far as that.

The PREMIER: Oh, no!

Mr. JORDAN said he meant the hon. member for Ipswich. He (Mr. Jordan) believed they should try. It was not like an Englishman or one of the British race to throw down their arms, and say that if the Russians or anybody else came they could not defend themselves and would not fight. He thought they ought to do something. They had been doing something for some time past, and he was sorry to see that the commencement made twenty-five years ago had ended so disastrously. They had a volunteer force in the colony which cost them about £23,000 last year. It was not in a very efficient state, and they had taken steps from time to time to remedy its defects. There was a military commission, as it was called, appointed a couple of years ago on which Colonel Scratchley with other gentlemen rendered assistance, and they came to the conclusion that volunteers must be paid and that it did not need any Act of Parliament to reorganise the force. Well, they had paid the men, and that had proved a failure. Now the difficulty appeared to be, as it was clearly stated by the member for Carnarvon, who was a military man, that they wanted power to coerce men who joined

the force to serve for a given period, as no such power existed under the present Act. It was stated that men became members of the force, and when they received an order from their officers which they did not like, they resigned and sent in their clothes. In the Bill before the Committee it was proposed that the men should be required to serve for a term of three years; so that in that respect there was a remarkable distinction between that Bill and the existing Act. There was, however, a feeling abroad—and that was one reason why he hoped the Government would abandon the Bill for the present—that it would establish a kind of conscription, as the 16th clause provided that the compulsory clauses of the measure were to be put in force whenever a sufficient number of men did not volunteer to keep up a corps to its proper strength. As the Government did not propose to leave the wording as it stood—

The PREMIER: No.

Mr. JORDAN said, if it was not intended to carry out that provision, the conscription character of the measure would be got rid of, and then he thought the popular objection would cease. They must either make the service a really efficient volunteer force or abandon the attempt to defend themselves altogether. He thought the power to compel a person who joined the force to serve for three years under a penalty established a marked difference between the present law and the proposals of the Government. He was glad that the conscription provision was to be withdrawn.

Mr. MIDDLEY said he landed in the colony, he thought, in 1870. One of the first objects that excited his curiosity was the windmill to which the hon. gentleman had referred. It was out of gear, and he often wondered why. Since he had heard the member for South Brisbane speak that evening he had wondered whether he had anything to do with its being out of gear. He had heard and read of many noble and useful exploits of the hon. gentleman, but never thought he had been engaged in an expedition of that kind. He (Mr. Midgley) was certain that the hon. member for Ipswich had weakened his case in advocating that they should do away with the Volunteer Force. If that were the alternative for not accepting that Bill, it would be an additional reason to him (Mr. Midgley) to accept the Bill entirely. It would be suicidal to do away with the volunteers; once let it be known in Germany or Russia that they had done such a thing, and they would have to look out. He believed that those powers had only been waiting for such an opportunity as that, and when they got it they would make the best of it. But, seriously speaking, he thought the Bill was a straightforward, honest attempt to grapple with a real difficulty, and to make a system which had been costly and inefficient more costly but efficient. There was nothing of the soldier in him, but he would be prepared to serve his time. He thought he had seen a clause somewhere allowing a man to lend a horse instead of serving personally. He believed there was something about press-ganging a horse, and if that were so he would like to get off by lending a horse. He admired the Government for their consistency in going on with the Bill, because it was a measure that was not popular; they had certainly not consulted the popular feelings and prejudices in the Bill. If they paid deference to the public feeling they would certainly withdraw the Bill for a time, and give the people leisure to discuss it. He did not advise that course; personally, he felt disposed to vote for the Bill and assist in passing it through. Still there seemed to be a very strong feeling against the Bill in the Committee, and

there was certainly a very strong feeling against it outside; and it might be better for the Government, after having honestly and manfully done their best to pass an efficient measure, to leave the people an opportunity of expressing themselves on the subject.

The PREMIER said the Government had not brought the Bill in lightly or without due consideration. They did not bring it in because they thought it would be a pleasing or amusing task to carry through committee, but because they felt impelled to it by a sense of duty. That was the reason the Government had brought in the measure, and he hoped the Committee would deal with it in the same spirit.

Mr. PALMER said he thought that they had better trust their chances to the Bill now before the Committee than to the volunteers as they existed at present, especially as the hon. the Premier had given them an assurance with regard to the conscription clause. As he understood the amendment the hon. member was about to make, the Bill was merely permissive, and no action could be taken under it until there was stern necessity for it. In that case they would be safer with the Bill than with the present volunteers; because it was scarcely to be expected that in time of actual danger the volunteers would submit themselves to the stern discipline of the Army Act and the Queen's Regulations. He would like to know whether the hon. the Premier—who he supposed would be Minister for War—had made provision for arming the forces when they were called out. The sum of £30,000 seemed to be quite inadequate for such a measure as that. No doubt the hon. gentleman had fully considered the question; but he should have thought £50,000 would scarcely be sufficient. Speaking as a Northern member, he could heartily advocate the scheme of the hon. member for Fortitude Valley, referring to naval defence; because they in the North would benefit very little from any military movements taking place down here.

Mr. DONALDSON: What would anyone take from you?

Mr. PALMER said that perhaps they had not much, but they were very anxious to keep what little they had; and they wished to share in any defence scheme for the colony. He certainly looked upon the Bill as a step in the right direction, and thought it might be made still more suitable to the wants of the colony. They would be in a nice pickle if a couple of hundred men landed from the "Elizabeth," or any other foreign man-of-war. A couple of hundred would be quite sufficient to walk through Brisbane, and take the whole colony with it.

Mr. BLACK said that, although the Government had given an intimation of their intention to relieve the Bill of the severity of the conscription clause, he thought they might give some assurance that clause 61 also would be in some way modified. That clause seemed to be quite as repugnant to the principles of a free nation as the 16th clause. The 2nd subsection said—

"Any officer or man charged with any offence committed while serving in the force shall be liable to be tried by court-martial, and if convicted, to be punished therefor, and such liability shall continue during the whole period of his service, and during six months after he is discharged from the force or after the corps to which he belongs or belonged is relieved from active service, notwithstanding that he has been so discharged, or that the corps to which he belonged has been so relieved from active service: and any officer or man of the force may be tried for the crime of desertion at any time without reference to the length of time which has elapsed since his desertion."

The previous subsection provided that he should—

"Be subject to the Army Act, and all other laws then applicable to Her Majesty's troops in Queensland, and not inconsistent with this Act, except that no man shall be subject to any corporal punishment except death or imprisonment for any contravention of such laws, and except also that the regulations may prescribe that any provisions of the said laws or regulations shall not apply to the defence force."

He thought if they were going to subject themselves or their volunteers to martial law and the penalties of death or imprisonment, it was just as well that the Committee should understand it clearly.

The PREMIER: That is only in time of war—or active service.

Mr. BLACK said it was to be six months after discharge. Was that during active service? The volunteers were subject to hanging or imprisonment six months after they had been discharged. He doubted if the people of the country understood that clause. They had been frightened by the provisions of the conscription clause, but that was a great deal worse. If a man did anything wrong he should be handed over to the civil power; he did not believe in handing over the country to military despotism, such as was contemplated by the Bill.

The Hon. Sir T. McILWRAITH said he believed there was to be an amendment moved in the 16th clause, taking out the conscriptive character of the Bill. He supposed the Government would then be prepared to omit the whole of that section. Clauses 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 were useless, if compulsory service was done away with. If clause 16 went, those clauses must also necessarily go. When the character of the Bill was altered, so as to do away with the compulsory service, the exemptions in clause 5 would also have to be done away with. Why should judges of the Supreme and District Courts and ministers of religion be exempt? Surely, if they were not to be liable to serve as volunteers, it was not proposed to exempt them from fighting for their country when the occasion arose. Fancy the judges not being obliged to serve! The exemptions were appropriate enough as applied to service as volunteers, but they were not applicable to cases where everyone would have to turn out.

The PREMIER said he did not think that there was any inconsistency. There must be some exemptions, and no person should be called upon to serve whose absence from ordinary duty would cause a great inconvenience to the public. As to the clause dealing with balloting, he proposed that that should continue to exist to meet cases of urgency. The advantage would be that the lists could be made up and compiled by the clerks of petty sessions—could be kept up without expense—and if there were any danger of invasion, the lists would be ready, and they would not have to wait to do something which might otherwise take twelve months to do.

Question put and passed.

On clause 2—"Interpretation"—after a verbal amendment had been made,

The PREMIER moved the following addition to the clause:—

"The Naval Discipline Act"—The Act of the Imperial Parliament called the Naval Discipline Act, 1866, and any Act or Acts amending or in substitution for it, including the Articles of War made under the authority of such Act or Acts, and for the time being in force."

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

Clause 3—"Governor to be Commander-in-Chief"—passed as printed.

On clause 4, as follows :—

"There shall be a defence force in Queensland, consisting of all the male inhabitants of Queensland, between the ages of eighteen years and sixty years, who are not exempted or disqualified by this Act, and who are British subjects by birth or naturalisation; but the Governor may require all the male inhabitants of the colony capable of bearing arms to serve in case of war or invasion."

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said the latter part of the clause was inconsistent with clause 5. The clause required all the male inhabitants to serve in the force, while the next clause dealt with exemptions. What was the use of exemptions if such a clause existed?

The PREMIER said some exemptions should undoubtedly exist. For instance, it would be inconvenient to stop the courts of justice, or take away the clergy and ministers of religion. The lunatic asylums and gaols also required someone to look after them. There was not a very great deal of advantage to be derived from the proviso, and perhaps it would be as well to let it go. He would move the omission of the words "but the Governor may require all the male inhabitants of the colony capable of bearing arms to serve in case of war or invasion."

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said he would prefer to see the clause remain as it stood, and clause 5 omitted. Why should not the Government have power to require all the male inhabitants of the colony capable of bearing arms to serve in case of war or invasion? And why should judges and police magistrates be exempted, amongst whom were to be found some of the most soldierly men in the country? And why should the clergy and ministers of all religious denominations be exempted? He did not see why they should not fight for their country as well as anybody else. The same remark would apply to the exemption of professors in colleges or universities, and teachers in religious orders. They might exempt gaolers and warders of lunatic asylums, and persons disabled by bodily infirmity; but why should not the only son of a widow go to fight if he wanted to? Then they were asked to exempt half-pay and retired officers from actual service, except during time of war. There should be no exemptions except those which common sense dictated. Clause 4 was right enough as it stood, provided that clause 5 was struck out.

Mr. JORDAN said he was inclined to take the same view as the hon. member for Mulgrave. If the colony were invaded, ministers of religion might most religiously go to defend it. He should not think much of a man's religion if he was not prepared to go forth to defend his own home and country in case of necessity; he could not perform a more religious act. On the same grounds, judges should not be exempted. Some of the best and most successful soldiers during the American war were judges, some of whom, and ministers of religion as well, so distinguished themselves that they rose to be generals.

Mr. MACFARLANE said he noticed in clause 4 that a youth of eighteen might be allowed to serve. He thought that before they gave a man his rights as a citizen, they should not send him out as a soldier. No one could vote for a member of Parliament before he was twenty-one years of age, and he should not become a soldier before he maintained his majority.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH: But he can select when he is eighteen.

Mr. MACFARLANE said he knew that, but he objected to a young man of eighteen being sent out as a soldier, and he should divide the Committee on the question.

The PREMIER said eighteen was the very time when a young man was best fitted to go as a soldier, and that fact was recognised in every country that possessed anything like an army. With respect to the exemptions in the next clause referred to by the hon. member for Mulgrave, it was provided at the end of the clause that exemption should not prevent any person from serving, if he desired it. As to judges, the business of the courts might be stopped; and as to clergy, he did not think there was any country where they were called upon to serve.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH: It is a great mistake if they are not.

The PREMIER: As to the other exemptions, the idea probably was that they would do more service to the country by sticking to their posts than by going into the field. The 2nd paragraph of clause 5, which referred to any time except in case of war, invasion, or insurrection, might be omitted; and it would be also advisable to omit the proviso in clause 4.

Mr. MACFARLANE said that before that amendment was put he had one to propose.

The PREMIER, with the consent of the Committee, withdrew his amendment, to allow that to be done.

Mr. MACFARLANE moved that the word "eighteen" be omitted, with the view of inserting the words "twenty-one."

Question—That the word proposed to be omitted stand part of the question—put.

The Committee divided.

The CHAIRMAN announced that, as there were no tellers for the "Noes," the question was resolved in the affirmative.

On the motion of the PREMIER, the last sentence of the clause was omitted.

Clause, as amended, put and passed.

On clause 5, as follows :—

"1. The following persons, between the ages of eighteen and sixty years, shall be exempt from enrolment, and from actual service at any time :—

The judges of the Supreme and District Courts, and police magistrates;

The clergy and ministers of all religious denominations;

The professors in any college or university, and all teachers in religious orders;

The superintendents, gaolers, and warders of gaols, and the officers, keepers, and warders of all public lunatic asylums;

Persons disabled by bodily infirmity;

The only son of a widow, being her only support.

"2. And the following, though enrolled, shall be exempt from actual service at any time, except in case of war, invasion, or insurrection :—

Half-pay and retired officers of Her Majesty's army or navy;

Seafaring men and sailors actually employed in their calling;

Masters of schools actually engaged in teaching.

"3. Any person otherwise subject to military duty, whom the doctrines of his religion forbid to bear arms or perform military service, shall be exempt from such service when balloted in time of peace or war, upon such conditions as may be prescribed.

"4. No person shall have the benefit of exemption unless he proves his right thereto in manner hereinafter prescribed.

"5. When exemption is claimed, whether on the ground of age or otherwise, the burden of proof shall be upon the claimant.

"6. Exemption shall not prevent any person from serving, if he desires it, and is not disabled by bodily infirmity."

The PREMIER said he did not propose to amend the 1st paragraph, but he would propose an amendment in the 2nd.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said that the character of the exemptions had been affected already. There was no reason now why judges of the Supreme and District Courts, clergy, and

ministers, and professors in colleges, should not serve in case of war, the same as anyone else. He would therefore move that all the words from "the judges" down to "religious orders" be omitted.

Amendment put and passed.

On the motion of the PREMIER, the whole of the 2nd paragraph of the clause was omitted.

The PREMIER said he intended proposing an amendment in paragraph 3, omitting the words "when balloted in time of peace or war."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH moved that paragraph 3 be omitted.

Mr. JORDAN said that if that were done it would compel people who had conscientious scruples against taking up arms to do so. He respected every man's scruples, and he thought it would be cruelty, and not in accordance with the spirit of English legislation, to omit the paragraph. Such scruples were respected by the English nation generally, and they ought to be respected in Queensland.

Mr. MIDGLEY said he hoped the Government would withdraw the paragraph. It might be a thing to be wondered at why war should still exist as a means of settling disputes; but the fact remained that it did exist; and no person in the community should be allowed to escape what was his bounden duty. Whatever a man's religious scruples were he ought to take his part in time of war in resisting an enemy.

Mr. BAILEY said the paragraph ought to be retained, because there were many persons in the colony whose religious convictions precluded them from bearing arms, and to force them to do so would be to make martyrs of them. He did not know whether there were many Quakers in the colony, but from what he heard the other night, it was quite possible the hon. member for Balonne might become one. If all people were real Christians war would not be possible, because if a man were smitten on one cheek he would turn the other to the smiter. But they were more human than Christian, and so long as they were of that nature they would have to fight for their rights. He should be sorry, however, for the sake of forcing a few hundreds of men to bear arms, to institute a system of persecution, which would be the means of causing the colony to be held up to reprobation. The Plymouth Brethren and other sects, from conscientious motives, would not bear arms; and he had been told that they would not even go into a court of law to obtain their rights, but would rather suffer injustice. They were peculiar people and they had peculiar opinions, but they were thoroughly conscientious, and some respect ought to be shown to them.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said he had some sort of regard for a man who had an aversion to law; but he stopped there. Every man should be prepared to do his share of fighting for his country. But there were other ways in which they might make themselves useful—cooking for instance. He thought the people mentioned by the hon. member could fight as well as anybody else when they had an object in doing so.

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

Clause 6—"Classification of the population for purposes of service"—passed as printed.

On clause 7, as follows:—

"The defence force shall be divided into active and reserve force, land and marine.

"The active land force shall be composed of corps raised in the first instance by voluntary enlistment.

"The active marine force shall be composed of corps raised in the same manner and the members of the

service corps shall be seamen, sailors, and persons whose usual occupation is upon any steam or sailing craft, navigating the waters of Queensland.

"The reserve force, land and marine, shall consist of the whole of the men who are not serving in the active force for the time being."

The PREMIER moved the omission of the 2nd paragraph. The same provision was contained in clause 16.

Amendment put and passed.

The PREMIER moved that the words "The members of the marine" be substituted for the words "The active marine force shall be composed of corps raised in the same manner, and the members of the service." The word "service" should have been "several."

Amendment put and passed.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the clause was intended to provide for compulsory service, therefore it was right to limit the marine force to persons engaged in navigating vessels in the waters of Queensland; but now that service was voluntary, there was no reason why it should be limited to those persons.

The PREMIER said the words were not necessary, and he thought the suggestion of the hon. gentleman was a good one. He would move that the word "ship" be substituted for the words "craft navigating the waters of Queensland."

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

On clause 8—"Of what corps the active force shall consist"—

The PREMIER called attention to the 2nd paragraph, which fixed the maximum at 2,000.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said that it might be left out altogether. Why put a limit; if they could get a force of 5,000 men for the same amount why not have it?

The PREMIER said the paragraph was put in to prevent Parliament being frightened by giving the Governor unlimited power; but he would move the omission of the paragraph.

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

On clause 9—"Corps where established"—

Mr. PALMER said the clause was rather conservative. Did it mean that the corps was to belong to one particular place, and there was to be no union?

The PREMIER said it meant that a corps should be raised in a particular place as its local habitation. When it became necessary to fight, the men might be drawn from one district to another. Of course, they would not ordinarily bring men from the Burke to serve in Brisbane.

Clause put and passed.

On clause 10—"Period of service"—

The PREMIER said the latter part of the clause concerning exemptions was unnecessary now. He proposed to omit all the words after "three years."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH asked what was the use of the clause at all? There could be no intention of really limiting the time. If a man wished to serve for ten years he could do so.

The PREMIER said the clause said distinctly that the period of service was three years. A man must serve for three years.

Mr. JORDAN said he looked upon that limitation as one of the advantages of the Bill over the present Act. A man would be compelled to serve three years, because there were certain penalties attached to deserting.

Mr. ISAMBERT asked whether, if a volunteer joined the service and his vocation should take him away to some other town, there would be provision made by which he could fulfil his term in another part of the colony?

The PREMIER: That is provided for.

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

On clause 11, as follows:—

"Every volunteer corps whose services have been accepted under the said repealed Act, shall continue in existence as a corps under the provisions of this Act, in the same manner as if it had been formed under this Act: Provided that any volunteer, being a member of any such corps, may within three months after the passing of this Act, retire from such corps, on giving fourteen days' notice in writing to his commanding officer of his intention so to do.

"The period for which any man has been an efficient member of an existing corps may be counted for or towards the period of three years' service in the defence force entitling a man to exemption from further service."

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said the only object gained by clause 10 was to fix a term of service, and clause 11 provided for the admission of the present Volunteer Force. They would have to provide for what time those men would have to enlist. The clause as it stood did not provide for it. Was it proposed that a volunteer joining under the Bill would have to enlist always for three years?

The PREMIER said the amendment he proposed was to omit the words "entitling a man to exemption from further service," with a view of inserting the words "under this Act." He proposed that efficient service under the repealed Act should be equivalent to service under the Bill.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said that that did not provide how long the existing corps enlisted for. There was no time fixed for them, and they could leave as soon as they liked. He understood that if they joined a new corps they would have to serve for three years from that time.

The PREMIER: No.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH asked what became of the men who had actually served three years? From the moment they joined, they could leave at any time.

The PREMIER: They can do that now.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH: I know that.

The PREMIER said they need not come under the Bill unless they liked; and if they did not they might retire three months after the passing of the Bill, on giving fourteen days' notice of their intention to do so. Three years was the period to be served under the Bill; and if a volunteer had served for a year and a-half before he joined under the Bill, he would only have a year and a-half to serve before he would become entitled to the privileges granted to those who served for three years under the Bill.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said the point he wanted to arrive at was, supposing a man had served for three years already, and joined a new corps, for what time would he actually be enlisted? He did not see why, if he joined a new corps, he should not enlist for some definite time. Some time should be fixed during which his services could be commanded.

The PREMIER said he did not see why, if they had served for three years, they should not retire at any time. If they wished to join a new corps they would have, of course, to re-enlist.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said he thought it would lead to a great deal of con-

fusion if they had one class of men in the service who would have to serve for a certain time before they could retire, and another class of men who could retire whenever they liked. There should be some definite time fixed for which they would have to enlist—one, two, or three years—before they would be entitled to the privileges of those who served the three years under the Bill.

Mr. JORDAN said he understood from the clause that persons who had been members of a volunteer corps before the passing of the Bill, and who had served for three years, might retire, if within three months after the passing of the Act they gave fourteen days' notice in writing to their commanding officers that they intended to do so. Supposing they did not give such notice, they would have no right, he took it, under the clause to the privileges conferred upon those who served three years under the Bill. As he read the clause, members of existing corps who had served for three years must, if they wished to retire, give notice of their intention to do so within three months after the passing of the Bill.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said he thought there should have been a clause preceding that under consideration, on the subject of re-enlistment. Many of the men would no doubt be inclined to re-enlist under the Bill, when passed; but they should know upon what conditions they would do so, and it was very undesirable that the conditions should be that they might retire whenever they liked.

The PREMIER said that the clause provided:—

"That every volunteer corps, whose services have been accepted under the repealed Act, shall continue in existence as a corps under the provisions of this Act in the same manner as if it had been formed under this Act, provided that any volunteer, being a member of any such corps, may within three months after the passing of this Act retire from such corps, on giving fourteen days' notice in writing to his commanding officer of his intention to do so."

And so on. He thought, perhaps, that it might be desirable to provide that he should re-enlist for a period of one year.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said that provided for the existing volunteer corps, but it did not provide for the re-enlistment of men who would have served three years under the Bill. There was no provision made for that.

The PREMIER said that if they served for three years, that was the end of their term of service.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH: For what time do they enlist?

The PREMIER: Three years.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH: It does not say so.

The PREMIER: Clause 10 provides for that.

The HON. SIR T. MCILWRAITH said it should have provided that they might enlist for one year.

The PREMIER said he did not agree with the hon. member. He thought the term of three years was important. If a man had served for one year under the present Act, and did not retire, he became liable to serve for two years longer. If he had served for two years and did not retire, he became liable to serve for one year longer. If he had served for three years, that was the full period of enlistment, and he would be free to join or not as he pleased, and if he joined again he would have to re-enlist.

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

Clauses 12 to 14, inclusive, passed as printed.

On clause 15, as follows :—

"When by reason of death or removal vacancies occur in any active corps established under this Act, such vacancies shall be filled by other men to be drawn from the reserve force either by voluntary enlistment or by ballot, as circumstances may require."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said he did not see that there was any necessity for that clause. It might perhaps be necessary in case of war, but he did not see why they should provide that vacancies should be filled by enlistment or ballot under ordinary circumstances.

The PREMIER said that could be done without the clause; vacancies would naturally be filled up. He had no objection to the omission of the clause.

Clause put and negatived.

On clause 16, as follows :—

"Corps shall be raised in the first instance by voluntary enlistment only, and the provisions of this Act relating to compulsory enlistment shall not be put in force except when a sufficient number of men do not volunteer to keep up the respective corps to their proper strength."

The PREMIER moved that the clause be amended by the addition of the words "nor then except in case of war, or invasion, or imminent danger thereof."

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

On clause 17, as follows :—

"1. The enrolment of men shall be made in each district and division by such person (to be called the 'enrolment officer'), and at such time or times, as may be appointed by the Governor in Council, and it shall be the duty of the enrolment officer, by actual inquiry at each house in the district or division, and by every other means in his power, to make and complete, from time to time, a correct roll of the names of all the men of such one or more of the classes hereinbefore defined resident within the district or division, as may be directed, specifying their ages and condition, and distinguishing those who are seamen or sailors, or persons engaged in or upon any steam or sailing craft upon the waters of the colony, those who are *bona fide* enrolled members of any active corps, and those who have completed such a term of service in the defence force or in an existing corps, or both, as will exempt them until they are again required in their turn to serve.

"2. When a roll is to be made out for any district or division the enrolment officer shall advertise the fact in some local newspaper, and any person claiming exemption from service must, within thirty days from the publication of such advertisement, send to the enrolment officer a notice in writing of his claim to exemption, or in default will be liable to be placed on the roll as not exempt. When a claim to exemption has been made out to the satisfaction of the enrolment officer, he shall exclude the name of the exempted person from the roll, or place it on the roll with a note of the exemption according to the class of exemption: Provided that any enrolment officer may exclude the name of any man from the roll upon his own knowledge of the fact that such person is entitled to exemption.

"3. Such roll shall be made out in duplicate, and one copy must be forwarded without delay to the commandant.

"4. The roll shall be *prima facie* evidence of the particulars contained in it; and the persons enrolled shall be liable to serve under the provisions of this Act, unless exempt."

Mr. PALMER said that perhaps the Premier would make the same alteration in the 1st paragraph of that clause as he had made in clause 7 regarding craft sailing upon the waters of the colony.

The PREMIER moved that the words "craft upon waters in the colony," in the 11th line, be omitted with the view of inserting the word "ship."

Amendment agreed to.

The PREMIER moved that the word "and" be inserted after the word "ship."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said he questioned very much the use of those enrolment

officers. Before, they were an integral part of the system and could not be dispensed with, but now that the compulsory part of the measure had been struck out they could very well be dispensed with. The provision could only be applicable in time of war. He thought it would involve an immense amount of unnecessary labour to keep up a roll of men who would be liable to be called out in case of actual warfare, when the chances were that all would be called out.

The PREMIER said if it came to a ballot he did not think the whole population would be called out. Certain classes would be summoned to serve; the first class would be taken first, and if they were not enough then the next class; and that could not be done without a list being made out. It was necessary that there should be a roll so that they might know where the men were whenever there was a probability of their being wanted. Without that the system would be unworkable.

Amendment agreed to.

The PREMIER moved that all the words after the word "corps," in the 13th line, to the end of the 1st paragraph be omitted.

Amendment agreed to.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the 2nd subdivision of the clause was not wanted at all. The only exemptions were superintendents of gaols, warders, and so on. They knew where all those were to be found, and why should they advertise? It would give an immense amount of work to the Brigade Office, and cause an immense amount of expense to the Government.

The PREMIER said the paragraph was certainly superfluous, and he would move its omission.

Amendment agreed to; and clause, as amended, put and passed.

On clause 18, as follows :—

"Whenever any corps is reduced below, or is not formed up to, its proper strength, and has so remained below its proper strength for a period of one month after notice has been given by the Governor in the *Gazette* of his intention to cause a ballot to be held for men to serve in that corps, the following provisions shall have effect :—

1. The necessary number of men to maintain the corps at its proper strength shall be drawn by ballot;
2. The ballot shall be of the men enrolled for the district or division in which the place in which the corps is established is situated;
3. When a ballot is taken for more than one corps at the same time and place, the men taken or accepted and enrolled for service in the active force shall be attached to such of the said corps as the Governor may order;
4. Ballots shall be taken in the prescribed manner."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the clause was altered very much in character by the change in the scope of the Bill. One month's notice in the *Gazette* would be rather ridiculous in case of war.

The PREMIER said he would propose to amend the clause so as to read, "Whenever in case of war or invasion or imminent danger thereof, any corps is found to be reduced below, or not formed up to its proper strength, the following provisions should have effect."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the inference to be drawn from that would be that in case of impending invasion the corps would be reduced.

The PREMIER said that perhaps it would be better to make it read "is found to be reduced." That would indicate something already existing. He would move the insertion after the word "whenever" of the words "in case of war or invasion, or imminent danger thereof."

Amendment agreed to.

The PREMIER said he would propose to insert the words "found to be" between "is" and "reduced."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said it would be better to let the clause read, "Whenever in case of war or invasion or imminent danger thereof, it is found necessary to augment the strength of any corps."

The PREMIER said the Governor was to define what corps were to be formed. Perhaps there would be twenty, and it would be found that ten were completely formed, five formed with insufficient members, and five not formed at all, or only partially formed. The Governor prescribed what the corps were to be, and in what places they were to be raised, and if they were not filled up then the provisions of the clause came in.

Amendment put and passed.

The clause was further amended by the omission of all the words after "strength," in the 2nd line, down to "corps" in the 5th line of the clause.

Clause, as amended, put and passed.

Clause 19—"Ballot when sufficient men do not volunteer"—passed as printed.

On clause 20, as follows:—

"Any man balloted for service may at any time secure exemption, until again required in his turn to serve, by furnishing an acceptable substitute on or before the day fixed for joining the corps for which he is balloted; but if during any period of service any man who is serving in the active force as a substitute for another becomes liable to service in his own person, he shall be taken for such service, and his place as substitute shall be supplied by the man in whose stead he was serving."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH asked why exemptions should be granted at all?

The PREMIER: They are granted in every other country except Germany.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said no substitutes should be allowed. They had made provision for balloting, and why should the man who was drawn not be obliged to serve? The clause would lead to great confusion, because most of the young men, at all events, would be called out.

The PREMIER said in every country, except Germany, substitutes could be provided. A provision of that kind existed in almost every country.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: France?

The PREMIER said the law must have been altered quite lately if no such provision was in force in France. In nearly every country where there was a military system, except Germany, where every single man was compelled to learn the use of arms, such a provision existed. The clause required every man to take his chance of service in case of war, but there was no reason why a substitute should not be accepted.

Mr. BLACK said there was a difficulty about the clause which he hoped some of the military men in the Chamber would solve. He understood that a man who was liable to serve in the army of the future could procure exemption by getting a substitute in time of war. Suppose the substitute was shot, was the man who had procured him still liable to serve?

The PREMIER: Not unless he is balloted again.

Mr. BLACK asked who would be shot—the man or his substitute? It ought to be clearly stated that a man having once got a substitute should be exempt for the future.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said he thought the clause was well worth consideration. They ought not to allow substitutes at all, and the thing should not be reduced to a matter of money. If a man had been balloted he ought to serve. They had defined already the way in which men should be balloted for, and it ought not to be left to the authorities to say what was a substitute. The clause should provide that the substitute must be a man of the same class, if they were to have substitutes at all. If a man were allowed to find a substitute he would naturally choose an old man, for he would then have less chance of being called upon again to find a substitute. But he did not believe in allowing a substitute at all.

The PREMIER said he was disposed to agree with the hon. gentleman so far as finding a substitute of the same class was concerned. He would move, therefore, to omit the words "in his turn," with the view of inserting the words "of the same class" after the words "acceptable substitute."

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said the result of the clause would be that every man would try to get off serving if he could, which a wealthy man would have no difficulty in doing. Every man called upon should take his chance.

Mr. ISAMBERT said he looked upon the question as one of principle. Those who were wealthy could buy a substitute, and it was the duty of the wealthy, above all others, to defend the country when in danger. The clause should be omitted.

The PREMIER said they could scarcely insist upon so severe a system, which was only adopted by the most strictly military nations in the world.

The HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH: But this is in case of invasion only.

The PREMIER said that one man might be chosen who would not be half so good a soldier as another whom he might get to take his place, and who would be quite willing to go; as, for instance, a man who had done three years' volunteering would be much better than a raw recruit.

Mr. LISSNER said he did not think it right to substitute a man to be shot for another. It was not allowed in Germany or France; a man who was drawn at the ballot could not buy another man to be shot for him. Looking at it from a commercial point of view, one man might say to another, "It suits you to be shot better than it suits me; there's going to be a battle to-morrow; here is money: you take my place in front, and I'll get into the rear." The principle of the thing was wrong, for it would enable a wealthy man to buy a poor man to defend his country for him.

The HON. R. B. SHERIDAN said it was quite possible that the substitute might be the better man of the two. He believed he was correct in saying that in France substitutes were allowed.

Mr. MACFARLANE said the clause would lead to class legislation. The rich man would be able to save himself from fighting, while the poor man would not. In that case, it would be most unfortunate for a man that he happened to be poor. There ought to be equality in that respect. The Committee had already decided to compel a youth of eighteen to fight, and they ought also to compel rich men to fight. His opinion was that the clause should be omitted.

Mr. FOXTON said that, if the clause was class legislation, it at the same time opened a

means of earning a livelihood to poor men. While it transferred the rich man's goods to the poor man, the poor man might not get shot, and yet he would get the rich man's money. Taking it all round, the clause was rather a good thing for the poor man.

THE HON. R. B. SHERIDAN : Besides, there is no satisfaction to a rich man in being shot, and there is no reason why he should not buy a man to be shot in his stead.

MR. ISAMBERT said it must be remembered that the clause referred not to times of peace, but to times of danger, when it was the duty of the rich, far more than of the poor, to defend their country.

MR. JORDAN said he should like to see the clause omitted, because it enabled a rich man to shirk the duty of serving his country in time of danger.

Amendment agreed to.

THE PREMIER said he hoped the clause would be allowed to stand as amended. Hon. members had objected to a rich man being able to buy a poor man as a substitute, but that would not make much difference to the country if the substitute happened to be the better soldier of the two.

MR. ISAMBERT said that if they were to have substitutes they ought to introduce a similar power of exemption as existed under Napoleon I., when all married men were exempted.

THE HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said that, of course, the argument that the substitute might be a better man than the man balloted for went for nothing, because he might be a worse man. The clause was a good one when it provided for a substitute to do the actual work of volunteering; but in case of actual danger no substitutes should be allowed. A man who had property was just the man who should not be exempted. There were difficulties of course connected with it. Supposing the substitute was shot, the clause did not say whether the man balloted for was to take his place. Supposing he (Sir T. McIlwraith) was balloted for, and got the hon. member for Kennedy (Mr. Lissner) as substitute, that hon. member would not stand half the chance of getting shot that he himself would. He thought there was a vital principle at stake. It would have a very bad effect if they allowed a man in case of war to get a substitute.

MR. ISAMBERT said he quite agreed with the leader of the Opposition. To allow substitutes would, he believed, have a demoralising effect on the whole community, and therefore the clause ought to be omitted.

MR. MACFARLANE said that, supposing the poor people were against war and the rich people were in favour of it, war would be forced upon people who did not want it. Professional men, such as doctors and lawyers, who made a great deal of money, would find it pay them a great deal better to find substitutes than to go to war.

MR. LISSNER said the question had been asked, how would it be if a substitute were shot? He thought the man balloted for was the principal, and the substitute was his agent; if the substitute was shot, the principal was exempted; he had been shot by proxy.

THE PREMIER said that, if a substitute was disabled or killed, the man drawn for had performed his duties just as if he had been there himself.

THE HON. SIR T. McILWRAITH said it seemed to him, from the reading of the clause, that as soon as a man's substitute was shot the man should take his place.

Question—That the clause as amended stand part of the Bill—put.

The Committee divided :—

AYES, 13.

Messrs. Rutledge, Miles, Griffith, Dickson, Dutton, Sheridan, Foxton, Macdonald-Paterson, Moreton, Black, Jordan, Mellor, and Groom.

NOES, 7.

Sir T. McIlwraith, Messrs. Donaldson, Macfarlane, Grimes, White, Isambert, and Lissner.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Clauses 21 and 22 passed as printed.

THE PREMIER said they had got through the balloting clauses and it was not worth while to go any further that night. He moved that the Chairman leave the chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Question put and passed.

The House resumed; the CHAIRMAN reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow.

HIGHFIELDS BRANCH RAILWAY.

THE SPEAKER read a message from the Legislative Council, intimating that the Council had approved of the plan, section, and book of reference of the proposed extension of the Highfields Branch of the Southern and Western Railway from Cabarlah to Crow's Nest, as received from the Legislative Assembly.

ADJOURNMENT.

THE PREMIER, in moving that the House do now adjourn, said: The paper for to-morrow will be arranged the same as to-day. There will be the further consideration of the Defence Bill, which, I apprehend, will not take very long; and we shall afterwards proceed with the Members Expenses Bill.

Question put and passed; and the House adjourned at fifteen minutes to 11 o'clock.