Item: Rottnest Penal Establishment, £1,707

Items agreed to.

Item: Government Printing Department, 1999 18s.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) pointed out the great increase of work in connection with the Printing Department, and warmly urged the claims of the Government Printer to an augmentation of salary. In the present financial state of the colony, however, the consideration of the question would have to be postponed.

Item agreed to.

Item: Inspectors of Sheep, £1,200.

Mr. LOGUE: moved that the voting on this Item be postponed, and referred to his introduction of a Bill at an earlier sitting to amend the Scab-in-Sheep Ordinance, which, if adopted, would affect the Votes for this service.

Question put and passed.

Item: Education, £6,181.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) moved the postponement of the Votes for educational purposes until the Bill dealing with education, now before the House, had been considered in Committee.

Question put and passed.

Item: Poor House and Charitable Allowances, £3,337.

Item: Immigration, £500.

Item: Pensions, £1,722.

Item: Ecclesiastical, £3,543.

Item: Works and Buildings, £2,550.

Item: Roads and Bridges, £8,000.

Items agreed to.

Progress reported, and leave obtained to sit again.

The Council adjourned at 9.30 p.m.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Tuesday, 1st August, 1871.

Question of Privilege—Electro-Magnetic Telegraph Company Limited—Import Duty on Flour: petition—28th Victoria, No. 2, Amendment Bill: first reading—Estimates: Address to His Excellency the Governor—Import Duty on Flour and Meal: in committee—Rockingham Timber Company Petition: in committee—Superannuation Bill: recommittal: third reading—Juries Amendment Bill: third reading—Public Works: in committee—Exportation of Arms and Munitions of War Bill: Message from the Governor, No. 2.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 12 noon. PRAYERS.

The Minutes were read and confirmed.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) brought under the notice of the House that on a division yesterday strangers were not ordered to withdraw from the body of the House, pursuant to Standing Order No. 9.

The SPEAKER informed the House that for the future he should require all strangers to withdraw, unless otherwise requested by the House.

ELECTRO-MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY LIMITED.

Mr. SHENTON moved that a letter addressed to him relative to the telegraph plant about to be imported into the colony be received and read.

Question put and passed.

Letter read.

IMPORT DUTY ON FLOUR: PETITION.

Mr. LOGUE presented a petition, signed by 52 colonists in the Victoria district, praying that flour be erased from the free list, and be subject to an import duty.

The petition was received and ordered to be read

28th VICTORIA, No. 2, AMENDMENT BILL.

First Reading.

Mr. SHENTON, in accordance with notice, moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the 28th Victoria No. 2.

The Bill was read a first time.

ESTIMATES.

Address to His Excellency the Governor.

Mr. STEERE, in accordance with notice. moved that an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, requesting him to place the following sums on the Estimates for 1872:-

For Volunteers For Agricultural Societies For Queen's Plate	£200	0	0	
	£600	0	_ 0	

Question put and passed.

IMPORT DUTY ON FLOUR AND MEAL. In Committee.

Mr. LOGUE, in accordance with notice, moved that in the opinion of this Council the items flour and meal should be removed from the list of goods imported duty free. He said he had already presented a petition on the subject, and he could add nothing to the force of the arguments contained therein. It was mere clap-trap to talk about taxing the poor man's loaf when all the other necessaries of life were subjected to a duty. He did not believe that a protective duty on flour and meal would increase the price of the loaf, while on the other hand, it would benefit the farmer. and tend to increase the revenue.

Mr. DRUMMOND supported the motion, and the claims of the farming community to protection. Having adverted to the speeches of the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney General at the recent free trade meeting at Perth, he protested against the latter hon. gentleman's views of farming life, which was by no means an easy and indolent existence. The agriculturists of this colony were justly entitled to some protection, and he hoped the motion before the House would be affirmed. and that hon, members would take a liberal view of the question.

Mr. NEWMAN opposed the motion, in a forcible speech, of considerable length. His long experience in connection with the flour trade, he contended, entitled his opinion to some weight. He was not going to talk about the poor man's loaf; it mattered not whether a man was rich or poor, the absolute necessaries of life should not be taxed. As soon would be tax the air we breathe, or the water we drink. as impose a duty upon the very staff of life, which was as essential to human existence as the two elements. Much has been said about

ern districts of the colony, in regard to the effect of protection upon the price of flour and wheat. He contended that what would affect one district would, in a like manner, influence the other. In 1870, which was an exceptionally bad season, 23,000 lb. of wheat was imported to the colony, and the greater portion of it went to the eastern districts, of whose agricultural capabilities so much had been said in that House. How could the agriculturists of the colony possibly have been benefited by the imposition of a duty upon that importation? He did not underrate the importance of agriculture; on the contrary, he believed that no country in the world could lay the foundation of prosperity without digging and delving the face of the earth. Mining and agricultural industries were the basis of the success of every new country. He considered that there was sufficient flour in the colony for consumption, and a surplus for exportation. When the quantity of wheat in the market is large, the price is reduced, but when a scarcity occurs, the price is, naturally, enhanced by competition. There was no duty on flour in 1869, and yet the price was higher then than last year because the quantity in the market was less. He contended that the objects which the supporters of the motion before the House had in view would not be achieved if the resolution was adopted.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) said that his views on the question under discussion were so well known, both in and out of the House, that he would not detain hon, members by recapitulating his arguments in favour of free trade at any great length. The hon, member for Toodyay hoped that hon, members would deal with the subject in a liberal spirit. He was prepared to do so, to the utmost extent, but he certainly failed to see any force in the arguments adduced by the supporters of the resolution before the House. One so called powerful argument in favor of the imposition of a duty upon flour was that it would benefit the farmer. If he thought for one moment that a protective duty on breadstuffs would tend to that end, he would cordially support the motion; but he did not believe that it would. while on the other hand, he was sure it would be very detrimental to the interests of the poor man. The only article on the free list at present that could be placed in the category of the absolute necessaries of life was flour, and he protested against its removal from that list. The only section of the community that would benefit by its being expunged would be the traders. Again, not only would a protective duty on breadstuffs injure the poor man, as the eastern in contradistinction to the north- well as the farmer, but it would stop immigration, and in a great measure damn the colony in the eyes of those whose attention was now turned in its direction. We have little or no inducements to offer persons who purposed emigrating. When you said that we were about the only people in the Australian colonies who did not tax the necessaries of life, you mentioned nearly the only thing that could be said in favour of our colony; and now it was proposed to take away this, our only boast. If any industry is found not to pay, it is useless to attempt to foster that industry by taxing the whole community in regard to it. There was yet another argument in favor of the exemption of duty on flour-an argument which he had not urged at any previous debate. A large proportion of the population of the colony belonged to the convicted class. and perhaps the largest purchasers of flour in the colony were the Imperial authorities. Of course, if a duty was placed upon this article, not a single sixpence would the Imperial Government spend in its purchase in this colony, for the tax, to whatever extent it might augment our own revenue, would not benefit them. If the price of flour in our market was raised by the imposition of a duty, depend upon it, purchasers would go elsewhere to buy. Having supported his views by an extract from a letter to the Times newspaper, written by Mr. Laing, for some years Secretary to the Treasury, and during a considerable period Finance Minister in India-a gentleman acknowledged to be of the highest authority upon matters of political authority—the hon. gentleman concluded by protesting in the strongest terms against the resolution before the House.

Mr. STEERE said he had been charged with inconsistency, inasmuch as, calling himself a free trader, he had at last session voted for the imposition of a duty on flour. He was still a free trader in principle, and he would again vote for a protective tax upon flour. At a meeting held recently in Perth-popularly known as the "loafers" meeting-it was stated that an attempt was being made to tax the poor man's loaf. Not at all. The greater portion of the poorer classes in this colony are dependent upon their employers, and the price of the loaf would affect them but to a very inconsiderable extent. The imposition of a tax of £1 per ton on flour would only increase the price of the 2lb loaf by one-sixteenth of a penny. There was an abundance of wheat in the colony for our own consumption, and the producer should be protected.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott) was astonished to hear that the hon. member who had just sat down asserted him-

declared his intention of voting for protection. It was an illusion, a hallucination for the hon. gentleman to imagine that he was a free trader; he never was. As for the argument that a protective duty would benefit the farmer, he denied it. The money that would come out of the pockets of the consumers would be transferred into the hands of the importers. and not of the local producers. It was a fallacious policy to foster one industry so as to depreciate others. By the imposition of a protective duty on flour, the mechanic would be taxed, the tradesman would be taxed, the lower classes would be taxed, and all-so great was the anxiety of the hon. members for Wellington and Toodyay agriculturists-for the sake of the farmer. If the duty on flour reached 12 per ton, the producer would not receive 5s. more for his flour. Why should the farmers be protected? If the soil of this colony was adapted for agriculture, our farmers ought to be in a position to compete with the producers in the Eastern colonies; if the soil was not suitable for the cultivation of wheat, the sooner the better our farmers ceased to grow it, for their own sake as well as for their creditors'. If agriculture here is not a profitable industry without protection, it will not be rendered so by a protective duty on flour. Let the farmer apply himself to the cultivation of the soil on scientific. and not on 'spontaneous' principles. Let him study the component parts of wheat, and see that those compounds are duly mixed with his soil. If farmers have to borrow money at the rate of 10, 12 or 15 per cent., and an ungrateful, because uncultivated, soil yields them a profit of four or five per cent., how was protection to assist them? Let them rather cease the cultivation of cereals, and direct their attention to some more profitable industry. He did not know, neither did he care, whether it was true, but he was informed that the majority of the farmers in this colony carry on their operations with borrowed capital, having none of their own. If such be the case, they never can and never will compete with men who cultivate the soil with capital of their own. No soil in the world would yield a cultivator any profit if his operations were conducted with capital borrowed at the rate of 10 or 12 per cent., which, with commissions and other extra charges, would probably approach 32 per cent. It was illusionary to imagine that a protective duty on flour would benefit the agricultural community in any way.

Mr. BROWN supported the motion, and felt quite convinced that it would be affirmed. and was equally convinced that it would prove self a free trader, and yet, in the same breath. one of the greatest boons to our farmers that the Council had offered them since its first sitting. If a protective duty would not raise the price of flour, as the opponents of the motion maintained, then, why on earth not impose the duty. The agriculturists of the colony—who were an industrious and hard working class—had been maligned and improperly treated. The settlers of Champion Bay had been represented by the Attorney General as men who never put their thews and sinews in their work.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott): I never said so; what I stated on the occasion alluded to was, that I was informed that it was a characteristic of the northern settlers. Allusion has also been made to the fact that I stated at the free trade meeting in Perth that I believed that all the nominee members would oppose a protective duty. I did not say so; but merely observed that the official nominees were propared to vote for an exemption of tax upon flour.

Mr. BROWN, continuing, said he had considerable experience in the habits and modes of life of the agriculturists of this colony, and he would tell the hon, member, and the Council. that they—the farmers—were a most hard-working, deserving, and struggling class, and the House having it in its power to assist them, he considered it to be the duty of hon. members to do so. Much stress had been laid by the Hon. the Colonial Secretary on the claims of the poor man. The poor man in this colony was not the laborer and the working man, but the farmer and the squatter. (Laughter.) Unquestionably so. (Renewed laughter.) Year after year these men had to find money to pay their laborers, and there was scarcely a farmer or squatter in the colony who was better off at that moment than when he first came into the colony. The Government taxed the farmer's implements of husbandry, and nearly all that he imports, and why not tax what he produces? The Colonial Secretary said it was unsound policy to foster an industry that was not remunerative. Why not apply his axiom to sericulture? Hon. members might believe him or not, but if we wished to keep our heads above water we would have to encourage and agriculture, which was the mainstay of the colony.

The SURVEYOR GENERAL (Hon. M. Fraser) opposed the motion, and combated the principles involved therein.

Mr. GULL declared himself in favor of the resolution before the House.

Mr. MARMION would be the last man to oppose the motion if he thought that it would have the beneficial effect which its framers measure.

and supporters believed. He contended that it would not have that effect; on the contrary, it would injure the consumer without adding any corresponding benefit to the producer.

After some further observations from Mr. NEWMAN and Mr. DRUMMOND, there were loud cries for a division.

Question put, "That in the opinion of this Council the items flour and meal should be removed from the list of goods imported duty free," upon which a division was called for, the result being as follows:—

Ayes	9
Noes	
	_
Majority for	1
Ayes.	Noes.
Ar. Steere	The Hon, M. Fraser
dr. Shenton	The Hon, R. J. Walcott
dr. Monger	Mr. Moore
Ar. Gull	Mr. Newman
Иr. Hassell	The Speaker
Ar. Brown	Mr. Bussell
Mr. Drummond	Mr. Marmion
dr. Phillips	The Hon, F. P. Barlee
Ar Lawne (Teller)	(Teller)

Question thus passed.

The result of the division was received with loud cheers by the supporters of the motion.

ROCKINGHAM TIMBER COMPANY PETITION.

In Committee.

Mr. NEWMAN, in accordance with notice, moved that an humble petition be presented to His Excellency the Governor to grant the prayer of Mr. Wanliss.

Question put and negatived.

SUPERANNUATION BILL.

Recommittal.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) moved that the Bill be now read a third time.

Mr. STEERE, as an amendment, moved that the Bill be recommitted. He said he had given further consideration to clause 2, and he looked upon it as a most objectionable provision.

A brief but animated discussion ensued as to whether, the principles and details of the Bill having been affirmed in Committee, it was consistent with parliamentary practice that it should be recommitted.

The SPEAKER ruled that the hon. member for Wellington was in order in moving for the recommittal of the Bill, and therefore the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole for the further consideration of the measure.

In Committee.

Clause 2: Provision for computing amount of superannuation to persons holding professional and other special offices-

Mr. STEERE stated his objections to clause 2. When in Committee on the second reading of the Bill he understood that the section provided that a grantee must have served for a period of 20 years before he could claim the additional 20 in computing the amount of his superannuation. He now discovered that even with a year's service, the boon could be claimed. He would therefore move that the clause be expunged.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) expressed his regret that the debate on this question had been renewed, and entered into a lengthy explanation of the purport and provisions of the clause, reiterating the arguments adduced in Committee on the Bill on Friday. With the view of meeting the objections of the hon. member for Wellington he would move, as an amendment, the insertion in the clause of the following words:--"provided that no superannuation awarded by the Governor in Council to any officer under this section shall be final until confirmed by the Legislative Council."

Mr. STEERE declined to assent to the amendment, which, he contended, imposed an invidious duty upon the members of that Council. The Hon. the Colonial Secretary had stated that the members of the Executive Council were responsible to the House-

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee): I never said so. What I stated was that the members of the Executive now with one exception held seats in the House, and would be there to answer for their actions, and to vindicate their conduct.

Mr. STEERE: The hon, gentleman said that the members of the Executive were responsible to this House. I appeal to hon. members present.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee): I am in the hands of the House.

Mr. LOGUE: The Colonial Secretary clearly stated on the occasion of the debate in the second reading that the Executive Council was responsible to the Legislative Council for their actions in regard to this Bill.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott), addressing the hon, member for Geraldton: You are asserting that on hearsay. I am a member of the Executive, and, as such, I am not responsible to this House.

Mr. LOGUE: I must call your attention, Sir, to the expression used by the hon. and

an assertion on mere hearsay. Such language is unparliamentary, and calls for an apology.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott): I will not apologize to you.

The CHAIRMAN: I must call hon, members to order.

After some further discussion.

Mr. BROWN proposed, as an amendment upon the Colonial Secretary's amendment, words be substifollowing tuted:-"provided that no part or pension shall be awarded under this section before receiving the sanction of the Legislative Coun-

Amendment on amendment agreed to.

Amendment, as amended, agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 8—

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) moved the substitution of the word 'confirmation" for the word "approval."

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. SHENTON moved the addition of the following words to the clause:- "provided that no grant shall be made under this section before receiving the sanction of the Legislative Council."

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) pointed out that this would render the clause self-contradictory. The first portion of it empowered the Governor in Executive Council to grant allowances subject to the confirmation of the House, while the words proposed to be added left His Excellency no power at all. Such a process of tinkering with enactments was inconsistent with the dignity of the House.

Mr. BROWN was understood to support the amendment of the hon, member for Greenough.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott): Is it possible that there are 15 or 16 men with any brains who can sit down composedly and listen to all this nonsense? (Loud laughter.) I want to know what is the use of having determined meanings to words if they are to be tortured in this way.

Mr. BROWN: The hon, and learned gentleman has great objection to sitting down and listening to nonsense. We have listened so long to him, that, at last, when he offers an explanation on a legal question in this House. we have little or no confidence in his decisions. No hon, member coming down to this Council or having the interests of his country should be liable to discourtesy at the hands of learned gentleman. He accuses me of making I the Attorney General, nor be subject to insults

from the hon, and learned gentleman. I consider his remarks just now as reflecting upon. and insulting to myself, if they had any signification at all.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott): I must deprecate the practice of hon, members asking me to give legal opinions in this House. I am not the legal adviser of this Council, but of the Crown; but when I do offer an opinion, I give it to the best of my ability, skill, and legal knowledge, and, whether my views have been in accordance with law or not, I cannot allow the hon. member to be a judge. My opinions on legal matters in this House are uttered deferentially. and, I trust, with becoming diffidence. I only wish that the hon. member, Mr. Brown, had some diffidence about him. Such unseemly scenes as these would not then occur, and we should not have this young gentleman, who really knows nothing about the subject, taking it upon himself to be my censor on legal matters, and cavilling at my decisions in questions within my own professional province. Sir, I only hope this young gentleman, who says I am incapable of giving a satisfactory explanation of legal points, is as impervious to offensive observations as I am. I may say that I am pachydermatous in one sense of the word, but there is one thing that does irritate me, and that is, a want of modesty in youth.

Mr. BROWN explained that he never, for a moment, intended to cast any slur upon the abilities of the Attorney General. He merely took objection to the hon, and learned gentleman's interpretation of various clauses in several Bills brought under the consideration of the Council, and which were neither in accordance with grammar nor law. If the hon. gentleman wished, he would point out all the clauses referred to.

After some further acrimonious discussion the question was put, "That the words, 'Provided that no grant shall be made under this section before receiving the sanction of the Legislative Council,' be added at the end of clause 8," upon which a division was called for, the result being as follows:-

Ayes	b
Noes	10
Majority agains	t 4
Ayes.	Noes.
Mr. Bussell	The Hon, M. Fraser
Mr. Moore	The Han, R. J. Walcott
Mr. Hassell	Mr. Phillips
Mr. Steere	Mr. Monger
Mr. Lague	Mr. Newman
Mr. Shenton (Teller.)	Mr. Gull
	Mr. Marmion

Mr. Drummond

Amendment thus negatived.

Clause, as previously amended, agreed to. with again reported. further amendments.

Third Reading.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) moved that the Bill be now read a third time.

The Bill was read a third time and passed.

JURIES AMENDMENT BILL.

Third Reading.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott) moved that the Bill be now read a third time.

The Bill was read a third time and passed.

PUBLIC WORKS.

In Committee.

Mr. NEWMAN, with leave, moved that in the opinion of the Council, any expenditure for the purpose of improving the Port of Fremantle should be on the bar and river. His intention in submitting the resolution to the House was with the view of eliciting an expression of opinion from hon. members upon the subject, which he looked upon as one of paramount importance to the general welfare and prosperity of the colony. He considered that the obstructions of the river could be so removed as to offer no difficulties to navigation; and that, at a cost, insignificant when compared with the inestimable benefit that would accrue from a successful realization of his hopes, the bar itself could be removed so as to afford a passage for vessels of a 1,000 tons burthen, and of safe anchorage within the bar was practicable.

The SURVEYOR GENERAL (Hon. M. Fraser) then reviewed the various schemes of proposed public works included in the memorandum of the Government, all of which he maintained, were of more or less importance. He expatiated at considerable length on the superiority of the proposed plan of jetty at, and railway to Jervoise Bay as offering the most practicable scheme of reproductive public works for the improvement and advancement of the town of Fremantle, and indirectly of the colony at large.

Mr. BUSSELL then moved the notice that stood in his name, to the effect that an humble address be presented to His Excel-Mr. Drum..... Mr. Brown The Hon. F. P. Barlee (Teller.) lency the Governor, requesting that he would place a sum on the Estimates for the purpose of marine surveys at Geographe Bay.

Mr. SHENTON moved that progress be reported, and that leave be obtained to sit again.

Progress reported, and leave obtained to sit again.

EXPORTATION OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR BILL.

Message from the Governor-No. 2.

After some discussion in Committee, the Chairman of Committees reported that the Committee had agreed to the amendments proposed by His Excellency the Governor to the Exportation of Arms and Munitions of War Bill.

The Council adjourned at 4.40 p.m.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Wednesday, 2nd August, 1871.

Thompsons's Road Steamer—Estimates—Toriff Act Amendment Bill: first reading—Library— Elementary Education Bill: in committee.

The SPEAKER took the Chair at 6 p.m. PRAYERS.

The Minutes were read and confirmed.
THOMPSON'S ROAD STEAMER.

Mr. STEERE, in accordance with notice, moved that all correspondence with reference to the purchase of a Thompson's road steamer be laid on the Table of the House.

Question put and passed.

The correspondence was tabled by the Colonial Secretary.

ESTIMATES.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee), by command of His Excellency the Governor, stated that His Excellency had been pleased to accede to the address requesting him to place the sum of £300 for the Volunteer Corps, £200 for horticultural and agricultural societies, and £100 for Queen's plate on the Estimates on the understanding that supplies were voted of a nature that he approved, otherwise he should exercise his discretion in withholding expenditure on such unauthorised items as he thought right, if retrenchment became necessary.

TARIFF ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

First Reading.

Mr. LOGUE, in accordance with notice, moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Tariff Act, 1871.

After some brief discussion.

Ttyto		
Noes 5		
	_	
Majority for	7	
Ayes.	Noes.	
Mr. Brown	The Hon, R. J. Walcott	
Mr. Steere	The Hon. M. Fraser	
Mr. Shenton	Mr. Carr	
Mr. Phillips	Mr. Marmion	
Mr. Hassell	The Hon, F. P. Bartee	
Mr. Gull	(Teller.)	
Mr. Drummond	(Teller))	
Mr. Monger		
Mr. Newman		
Mr. Moore		
Mr. Bussell		
Mr. Logue (Teller.)		

Question thus passed.

The Bill was read a first time.

LIBRARY

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Hon. R. J. Walcott), in accordance with notice, moved that an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor asking that the sum of £50 be placed on the Estimates for the purpose of books for the Library.

Question put and passed.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

In Committee.

Clauses 1 to 3 agreed to.

Clause 4: Powers of central board-

Mr. NEWMAN objected to the words "and a more special direction over purely Government Schools" being introduced into the Bill at this early stage. It involved a principle and indicated a policy to which the House should not be prematurely committed.

The COLONIAL SECRETARY (Hon. F. P. Barlee) replied that the words alluded to by the hon. member were introduced into the Bill after very grave consideration, and he contended that they were based upon sound common sense. It was but reasonable that the central board should exercise a more special direction over schools purely supported by Government aid than over assisted schools, which were not entirely maintained out of public funds. It was essential to the principles