

ment they were first founded by the struggles of the people, and cemented by their labour or their blood."

His Lordship after referring to the great events of English History, thus concludes—

"These are such passages in the history of our Government as may well teach us to distrust all mere statutory securities; to remember that Judges, Parliament and Ministers, as well as Kings, are frail men, the sport of sordid propensities, or vain fears, or factious passions; and that the people never can be safe without a constant determination to resist, unto the death, as often as their rights are invaded."

"The history we have been reviewing," says Lord John Russell, "is pregnant with examples of the encroachment of power and the decline of virtue in those who are appointed to govern; and that it is the great duty of a free people—the only safeguard of their liberties, to assume jealous and active vigilance in guarding the wills of men in power." And as to political excitements he adds:

"In reckoning up the bad effects of party, I have not spoken of the animosities and violent contentions it produces. Mock Philosophers, sentimental women, and effeminate men, are always making lamentations over political divisions and contested elections; men of noble mind know that they are the workshop of national liberty and national prosperity. It is from the heat and hammering of the stihly that freedom receives its form, its temper, and its strength."

In our own Assembly we have already seen the benefit of an active and organized Opposition; for, Sir, a large majority in the House are satisfied that if the Government had not been apprehensive of resistance, they would neither have acted as they have done in the question of the Coal Mines, or in the reform of the Treasury and Excise.

I come now to the proposals made in July, and think the Opposition would have been recreant to the interest they were bound to guard, had they acceded to them. First, Sir, the Councillors, before objected to, remained—had they gone back, while they continued in office, it would have been a virtual condemnation of the stand they before made. Second, we adhered to the opinion, that, in the coalition proposed, we had not an adequate representation. Third, the Council was to be enlarged to 12—a number dangerous in our limited representation, to the necessary powers which the Assembly should ever retain; and as to the Council of nine, I never heard of it till this Session; but these points have already been so ably illustrated, that I will pass to the last and leading objection—the exclusion of Mr Howe—and here, Sir, I most condemn, in language energetic and fearless, the conduct of the Administration in bringing down his Excellency into this conflict denuded of the sanctity of the Royal Rothe, unprotected by the sceptre—by that brilliant and imposing halo, which should ever surround the Sovereign and Her Representatives.

If, in our local affairs, we are to have the British system, we must have British usage—that usage which debarred the Councillors, who surround the Executive, from sheltering themselves from responsibility, or covering the weakness of their own position, by thrusting His Excellency into the foreground. In Parliament, the name of Majesty is never heard; and the Crown is preserved in that lofty and secure position, that the personal feelings of the Sovereign never can be brought to proscribe public men, or to embarrass and clog the Constitutional management of public affairs. Many of the references which I had intended to adduce upon this point, have been urged already by my Hon and learned friend from Halifax, (Mr. Doyle) I am glad they occurred to him, because he was able to dress them with a classic point and elegance which I do not pretend to imitate. There were a few other examples, however, familiar to minds versed in Constitutional history. There is the celebrated example of the Earl of Halifax, who had rendered himself obnoxious in the reign of Charles, to

his successor, James, by voting for the act of exclusion; and though the personal hostility of the latter Sovereign was not concealed, the noble Earl still kept his place in the Cabinet. The prejudices and passions of Queen Anne were all in favor of the Tories; still, she was compelled to sacrifice those feelings—to receive the Whigs—and even to secure the petty tyranny and intillage of the Duchess of Marlborough—and to receive the Duke and Lord Cowper into her confidence because sustained by the majority of the Commons. The feeling of George 3d to Pitt, is a page in history instructive to us, and has been graphically delineated in the two reviews of Mr. Grey of the life of that great statesman. And in answer to that strange and ungenerous argument pressed by the learned Member for Hants—that the antipathy and proscription of Lord Falkland towards Mr. Howe, was to descend, as an executive inheritance, to his successor—indicative of a spirit of revenge, irreconcilable with that generosity which should ever mark the acts of the Crown, I turn the attention of the Committee to one late example in Colonial history—The Hon. Mr. Baldwin retired from the office of Solicitor General during the Administration of Lord Sydenham, at a crisis, in which His Excellency bitterly complained of the embarrassments in which it had involved him. Mr. B. was then accused, by his opponents, of a breach of faith, and attacked with that lost of slanders which a Compact ever deal out to the public man, who, though actuated by a sense of public duty, acts contrary to their interests. Mark the result! The Assembly continued their confidence in Mr Baldwin—and the first act of Sir Charles Bagot was to consign the Administration into his and Mr. Lefontaine's hands.

So much for Constitutional rule; but, Mr. Chairman, as to the reasons stated for that proscription you have heard the witty and eloquent defence of the Hon. Member himself—the people of Nova Scotia will now judge of its merits. The provocations which the Hon. gentleman has received were enough to excite a feeling of intense indignation. I will not defend here 'The Lord of the Bedehammer,' for, Sir, I am not the advocate of newspaper squibs and anonymous attack. No one has been more often or causelessly accused than myself. I will not deny, that on rare occasions, I have wielded my pen in self defence; but I can assert, that I never in my past life, made a gratuitous and unprovoked attack. The causes stated, if they do not excuse altogether, largely palliate the conduct of my Hon. friend; and let it not be forgotten, that the Hon. gentleman defended His Excellency, and protected his feelings, and was ready to make every personal sacrifice to relieve him from embarrassment—until his feelings had been lacerated by a series of slanders, and the publication in the Government Press of the mutilated Despatch from Lord Stanley, accusing him, Mr. Uniacke, and Mr. McNab, of 'pretensions.' I can imagine with what bitterness—nay, with what agony, as a public man, the Hon. and learned Member, the Leader of the Opposition, would read this charge, and feel the position in which it had placed him before the Queen,—he, Sir, who has ably vindicated the change he made in public life; in giving his support to the New instead of the Old System, because the latter was the policy dictated by the Crown; he yielded, in short, to the mandate of his Sovereign.

I can sympathise, also, with my hon. friend from Halifax in his feelings when that despatch appeared, considering the sacrifices he has made for constitutional principles, the honorable position he occupies in this Province and in British America—his anxiety to introduce British institutions, and to preserve a "noble reputation" as a public man. The loss of a limb would have been nothing in comparison to the accusation it contained, of attempting to "usurp the prerogative," of flagrant ignorance of Constitutional principles—aye, of incipient treason. I make here a charge against the Atty. General, and ask if, when reference was made in this House to the publication of this despatch, in last Session, he did not convey the impression, that it had

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