

the hon Member referred to, departing from Parliamentary usage, took occasion in his place in Council, to taunt and treat with disrespect, if not ridicule, the opinions which had been advanced here. I and others told the Government that in denouncing a party Government, they were assailing the very first principles—the primary elements of the constitution. We referred to the great events which had been achieved in British history by the action and struggle of party. That learned Councillor, in place of being taught by the instructive wisdom these conveyed, thus treated those constitutional references we were then compelled to make:

"Gentlemen in another place have referred to British principle and practice. Here they are, and they cannot be controverted; and really, Mr President, I could scarcely repress a smile / when I read the grave and elaborate reference to the first principles of our noble constitution—for are they not understood by every schoolboy? Are they not all to be found in Pincock's Catechism?"

Our little learning, of which we made no vain parade, could then be treated slightly by that most erudite Councillor, because the Advisers of the Crown had his Excellency and a majority to back them. How stands it now? Lord Stanley has told them since, in one withering sentence, "that Responsible Government was party Government, of course;" and the Governor's Advisers, of which that hon. gentleman is one, are now ready to fill up their own Council from their own party, to conduct the Government by a party, and to hold office, by repudiating in practice that which we were then compelled to tell them was unsound. The country will judge who now has a right to smile, and who to Lord Ennoek's Catechism in the other.

But in that curious harangue, "governing by a Party," said that Hon. Councillor, "gravely propounded as a judicious principle to be introduced now, or at a future date, into this Colony. And this is indeed an important question. The principle is certainly not English—it is American, and Democratic. In the United States, every officer, from the errand boy to the President, turns out with his Party." And what Member, sir, of the Opposition, pray, ever defended the introduction of such obnoxious Party principles as stated here. I go to the utmost limits in denouncing the rabid principles of Party which prevail in the United States—they are Anti-British, impolitic, and thoroughly vicious. But I must also deny that the combination of public men in the advocacy of sound public principles—a union of talent and character to accomplish great public ends—a Party bound together by such ties as these, is either dangerous in itself, or at variance with British usage and practice. Away with the libel. It is by Party that our Constitution has reached to such perfection and pre-eminence. All the great Constitutional writers, of the last and the present age, speak with one voice in favour of Party union and organization. Let me solicit the attention of the House to a few extracts from Burke and Lord J Russell, as illustrative of the benefits which Party union confers; and again I ask this House to decide whether the hon. Councillors or such inferior men as these are the better authorities upon a question such as this.

"Party is a body of men united, for promoting, by their joint endeavour, the national interest, upon some particular principle, in which they are all agreed. Men thinking freely, will, in particular instances, think differently. But still as the greater part of the measures which arise in the course of public business and in government, a man must be peculiarly unfortunate in the choice of his political company, if he does not agree with them at least nine times in ten."

"The good effects of Party in this country are numerous and weighty. One of the chief of them is, that it gives a substance to the shadowy opinions of politicians, and attaches them permanently to steady and lasting principles."

"The union of many in the same views, enables a Party to carry measures which would not otherwise gain attention."

"One of the great advantages of Party, is, that it arrays in strength against bad rulers, numberless individuals, who, if left alone, are too weak to produce any effect; and that it brings good out of evil, by turning the weaknesses, and even the vices of mankind, to the account of the country's cause."

Does the following apply here?

"In a word, as every Ministry is sure of all the benefits of Party union at all times, he who cries out against faction, only means that there shall be one faction unopposed."

"That connexion and faction are equivalent terms, is in opinion which has been carefully inculcated, at all times, by unconstitutional statesmen. The reason is evident—whilst men are linked together, they easily and speedily communicate the alarm of any evil design. They are able to fathom it with common counsel, and to oppose it with united strength. Whereas, when they lie dispersed, without concert, order, or discipline, communication is uncertain, counsel difficult, and resistance impracticable."

"Certain it is, the best patriots in the greatest Commonwealth, have always commended and promoted such connexions. *Idem sentire de republica* was with them a principle ground of friendship and attachment; nor do I know any other capable of forming a fitter, clearer, more pleasing, more honorable, and more virtuous habitudes."

The action and struggle of Party are essential to the pure working of a Representative system, because it is only in this way that the safe popular check of a Constitutional Opposition can be created. I can understand the tactics of a Governor who wishes to be supreme, to be surrounded by a Council divided upon every measure of policy. He balances the opinion of A against B—in cases of difficulty calls in a third, and thus decides the collision of opinions by his own arbitrary will. But when these Councillors come down to the Assembly to defend the act, the voice of Opposition is hushed, because no Party can attack the Government unless by assailing his own leaders and friends. Such a system destroys the very essence of Responsibility; and has been destructive of popular rights, by supporting a vicious and corrupt Administration, whenever attempted.

But it is said, on the opposite side of the House, the System of Parties is dangerous by creating agitation and enquiry. It was the cry of the good old times, that, whenever a new Member coming into the House began to be curious and inquisitive in public affairs, the compact assailed him as "a dangerous man." Why, Sir, this is the doctrine of Tyrants, and of the enemies of free institutional and constitutional rights in every age of the world. Men in power do not like those who promote investigation; but a vigilance of this kind, even if it lead occasionally to excitement, is as necessary to keep pure the action of a Government, as the play of the electric fluid is indispensable to cleanse and purify the atmosphere. Constitutional writers, so far from deprecating this spirit of enquiry, encourage and commend it; and I beg to read to the Committee a brief extract from Lord Brougham's late work on the British Constitution, in which the duty of a people who deserve to be free, is thus illustrated; for in this, as in everything else, vigilance and diligence reward and inspire the faithful and patriotic, and expose and limit the powers of the corrupt and the indolent:

"The whole history of the Constitution, which have been occupied in tracing from the earliest ages, abounds with proof show easily absolute power may be exercised, and the rights of the people best secured by law may be trampled upon, while the theory of a free Government remains unaltered, and all the institutions framed for the controul of the Executive Government, and all the laws designed for the protection of the subject, continue as entire as the moor