

men, without local knowledge and experience, should have the right to legislate upon all the Roads, Bridges, and peculiar interests, of important sections of the country, which they cannot possibly understand. For the proofs of their incompetence—their ignorance—their local prejudices—I did not think it necessary to turn to the dusty records. The impression were too strong upon my own mind, and I appeal to the older Members of this Assembly to say, whether they want evidence to enable them on this Resolution to come to a conclusion. We may differ as to the mode by which a new Council is to be created; some of us may be in favour of election—others may be anxious that the Governor should select them from the Towns and Counties, but all must agree that such a Body as this ought not for a Session to exist.

Mr H. then read the 3d. Resolution, referring to the mode in which the influence of the Council had been brought against that of the Assembly, in reference to Foreign Trade, the Custom House Salaries, Education and the Judges' fees; and quoted Mr Stewart's declaration on a former occasion, that "some five or six years ago the Council were asked to concur with the House in a request that the *Quit Rents* might be abandoned—they refused, but thought that £2000 ought to be given as a Commutation; and the next thing was a proposition from the Government at home to that effect." Similar language was held by Mr Murdoch, a Gentleman who was an ornament to the profession to which he belonged, and to the House while he was a Member—a Gentleman who, though he could not on principle support him in a recent contest, he regretted was not still upon the Benches. Mr M. had declared in his place that "when sent to ask the Council, to join the House about the Q. Rents, he found that they placed themselves in the gap against the wishes of the House—against the wishes and interests of the People. In 1829 and '30 they pursued the same course—standing aloof from this Branch of the Legislature, and throwing their weight in the opposite scale." Sir, this is the policy which His Majesty's Council have steadily pursued. They have invariably, upon all great questions, hung like a dead weight on the efforts of this Assembly. With the conflicting views of Gentlemen who differed as to this degree of freedom in the prosecution of foreign trade it was expedient to extend to Out Ports, I have nothing to do—we may differ as they did—but the question is, shall the requests and representations of a majority of this House, representing the whole Province, after grave deliberation and debate, be defeated by the secret despatches of a little knot of persons selected from a single town. In this, as in other matters, they did not truly represent the wishes of the People among whom they live. We ask for no monopoly of trade—we wish not to build up our prosperity on the ruin of other sea ports—we believe that all should share in the blessings of commerce, so far as is compatible with the security of all. But, Sir, while His Majesty's Council are desirous to confine all trade to this town, they have never been anxious to lighten its burthens. Did they join this House in endeavouring to remove the fees? to reduce the expenses of the Customs—No—and why not? because the Collector and his friends, and the Controller's friends, had an overpowering influence at the Board; and because it was necessary to protect their interest at the expense of the public. Had that Body joined this House upon this question ten years ago, at least £20,000 might have been saved to the Country. Another mode in which Members of the Council have sought to strengthen & extend their own power and influence, has been by monopolizing the Education of the country. For many

years four fifths of the population were shut out by religious tests from the only Institution at which any thing like a liberal education could be procured; and to which, from its position, and the costly habits encouraged at it, but few except the sons of the Councillors and great officers of the Government could be sent. To protect the interests of this Institution, although of late years the tests have been removed, the most determined hostility has been displayed towards every other establishment which might interfere with its monopoly, and diffuse among the mass of the people the blessings of education. Need I remind gentlemen of the inert condition of the Dalhousie College—of the long and disheartening contests, ending in the partial ruin of the Pietou Academy. Though I have often differed with you, Mr Speaker, and have sometimes abused you—I never can forget your struggles against this baneful influence, for the establishment of a cheap and liberal system of education in the Country. I have often listened with delight to your indignant denunciations of that system—and, when I have felt most disposed to find fault—most anxious to assail your public character, I have felt that your efforts for education might atone for many errors. One consequence of the monopoly which this Church and Council party had for years of the higher Branches of Education, has been, that they have never been without the aid of some of the most brilliant and highly cultivated minds in the Assembly, which, attached to their interests, and educated at the exclusive Seminary at Windsor, have, with few exceptions, been their ablest and most determined defenders. But, Sir, with all their efforts they could not dam up the streams of knowledge—they could not compel all our youth to pass through their narrow portals—they could not keep down the Provincial mind; and, while I am happy to see upon these benches the talented graduates of Windsor, I thank God that the alumni of the fields, the work-shops and the printing offices are springing up over the length and breadth of the land, to divide the intellectual arenas with them.

Mr H. then read and supported the 4th Resolution, that exhibited the relative proportions in which Churchmen and Dissenters were represented in Council. The facts which it stated were not to be denied—it was impossible that these things could be the result of accident. We might be told that a feeling in favour of the old loyalists and their descendants was at the bottom of the system—but there were other motives; and, while in the Council—on the Branch—in the list of Sheriffs—and in almost every Department and little Commission, upon which the influence of His Majesty's Council could be brought to bear, he found an overwhelming preponderance of the Churchmen above Dissenters, he had a right to reason upon the fact, and to charge such a system upon those by whom it was upheld. I am happy, Sir, that I can exempt the great body of Churchmen in this Province, from any wish to perpetuate this system. I do not believe that there is among any large portion of my Countrymen, any desire for political preference founded on religious distinctions. They ask that all shall be free and equal in the eye of the Government and the law—and Churchmen, as well as Dissenters, know that in such a Country as this, their faith can only flourish by the zeal, piety, and self denial of its ministers. They dislike as much as I do this blending of Church and State, to extend the influence and cement the power and patronage of a few.

The fifth Resolution referred to the Bishop's seat at the Council, to which he did not hesitate to attribute many of the evils of which he complained. He was well aware that he would be met by the argument that in Eng-

land the Bishops had seats in the House of Lords. But if they had, what was that to us—if, from peculiar circumstances that did not operate here, the Government in England had become incorporated with the Church—a union that now was felt to be burthensome and impolitic, by a vast majority of the nation—why should we copy the cumbrous machinery and imperfections of the old world which were inapplicable to the new? why should we create invidious distinctions among our population—justified by no necessity of state?—Ought we not rather to ask ourselves, what is suited to our condition—what is right, what is just and expedient, under the circumstances in which we are placed? and having found the answer, act with uprightness and decision.

The 6th Resolution, complaining of the distribution of patronage, read and illustrated by references. The Church had in the Council 8 - Dissenters four—all the Judges of the Supreme, and all of the Inferior Court but one, were Churchmen—so were 8 or 9 out of 12 of the High Sheriffs; and, as Hon. Gentlemen from the Country well knew, nearly the same proportions were preserved in all the little appointments throughout the Towns and Counties. If patronage was distributed according to population, the Church would have in the proportion of 9 1-2 to 25 1-2, whereas it now had 23 to 9, although only embracing 1-5th of the Inhabitants. This was a system that was unfair and unjust—one that he would oppose with all his might, and that the country would never submit to. The evils—the heart burnings and the discontent, which it was calculated to engender, flowing naturally from the faulty structure of the Council, and its extraordinary combination of powers.

By the 7th Resolution, he had stated that "two family connexions embraced five Members of the Council; and that, until recently, when two of them retired from the firm, 5 others were Co-partners in one mercantile concern." To be sure this was not quite so bad as the Council which formerly existed in what was now the State of Maine, composed entirely of one family—or equal to some of the Irish Corporations, constructed on a similar principle. But it was bad enough. It was melancholy to reflect that the views of 50 men, chosen by the People of Nova Scotia, might, after a month's grave deliberation, be defeated whenever the Council was not quite full by a combination of two families. Then, until recently, the old Banking Company had the same power, and exercised it too on more than one occasion. And, Sir, whenever, in private conversation I have supported the application of the elective principle to the Upper Branch—and have been told of the paucity of materials—the want of judgment and discretion on the part of the People, I have pointed to these five Co-partners, and asked triumphantly if the People would ever have committed such a blunder as that? No, Sir; though, if they had the power, they might, as they sometimes do in organizing the Assembly, make a foolish section, they would never be guilty of such absurdities as these. Think you, that they, had they wanted a Legislative body composed of 12, would ever have gone down to the Halifax Bank, and selected 5 out of 8 of its Partners? It is true that, since they quarrelled among themselves, two of them have retired from the firm; but for years the whole 5 sat at the Council Board, and the effect of their legislation on the Currency, and on the repeated decisions of this House, I need not take the trouble to explain. Sir, I do not wish to be personal—it has never been my desire unnecessarily to annoy—I never strike a blow that is not called for by a public necessity; but I do not hesitate to affirm my own belief, that, had it not been for the presence of those