

struck out when we come to consider the Address. As well might they attempt to interfere with the clauses of a bill that has not been frigidly passed. I may be mistaken, but this is my opinion—and upon this point, if so disposed, I think we might make our stand. But we have a broader path open before us. They say they will do no business till this resolution is rescinded—to withdraw one would be to apologise, to deny its truth—that I will never do. Let us rescind the whole—appoint a committee to prepare an Address, and then the whole matter will be intelligible to the Government and to the country. It is not for me to say what will be in the Address, I may not be on the committee, but I trust, when reported, it will speak the truth, and be as unacceptable, to the Council, and the minority here, as if it were founded on the original resolutions.

Mr Doyle said, that on the first hearing of the Message, he had felt disposed to go the whole length—in vindication of the Resolutions which had been passed. They did not contain one word which he had not believed, or when he did not at that moment believe; and with such a feeling, anxious as he was to go with the hon. leader of these Resolutions, he could not but feel the full force of the arguments, used by the learned Gentleman from Cape Breton. The only course, said he, which is now left to us appears to me to be, that, as the Council have refused to do business with us—we, in our turn, should refuse to do business with them. What is the position in which the House now stands? The Commons of the Province have been for three weeks making up their mind upon the character of an Address to be sent to the Throne, & the gentlemen at the other end of the building, after half an hour's discussion end down and tell us we had better alter our determination. Are this house in such a state of degradation, as to be made the sport of their caprice? Are we to resolve and determine, just so far as they may please to let us, and whenever we have advanced an inch beyond the line of their pleasure, retreat at their command? Sir, if I could think that this House had arrived at such a pitch of degradation, glad would I be, if the opportunity of leaving this body, which it was the object of the Bill brought in by the learned gent. from Sydney to afford, were open to me. Had I the power, I should resign my seat before three days. So help me God. I should go back to the people and say to them you sent me to protect your liberties and interests, but it is in vain, they must bend before the dominant power at whose feet the whole Province is prostrate.

Sir I believe that it is the large minorities of this house which induces the other Branch to take such unwarrantable steps—I believe that the warning voice which the learned gentleman from Cape Breton tells you that he raised here, has been heard beyond these walls, or the Council would never have acted as they have done. Since I left this house last evening, I have been turning this matter over anxiously in my own mind, to find out what course we ought in consistency with our dignity and duty to adopt—I can see but one, and I would do injustice to my own feelings did I not say to the hon. gentlemen from Cape Breton and Windsor that I wish them to second the amendment which I now propose, to the effect that the house will adhere to their resolutions.

Mr Fairbanks said, that there was no gentleman to whom he listened with more pleasure than to the hon. member from the County of Halifax. There was generally so much straight forwardness in his plans, that those who were inclined to go as far as he did could follow him with safety. But, said Mr F. If it were not in this proceeding the same ingenueness which usually distinguishes that gentleman.

It has been stated that the minority on this question have been the decided opponents of the measure. That, Sir, I take the liberty to contradict. The minority have not been opposed to the principle of any one of the Resolutions, except the last; but they have been opposed, and I think justly, to the warm and unmoderate language in which most of those Resolutions are couched. Had the Resolutions been expressed differently, (and they might have been so expressed, without at all affecting their essence,) I should have given them my decided support. As it was, I was compelled to vote against many of them. I thought the language unparliamentary and improper; but, Sir, when this Message reached the House last evening, I was determined, though I voted in the minority on many of the Resolutions not to be one of a majority now to compel them to be rescinded. The subject now presents quite a different aspect; formerly I was supporting my private opinion on the expediency of the separate resolutions, now it is my duty to support the dignity and independence of the House.

As to the generalship which has been spoken of, I see no reason why the same straightforwardness which actuates a man in private life, should not be his guide in public life. I understand no distinction.

I have always acted, and am determined to act, from no other impulse than my own sense of right and I shall not deviate from the plain path of duty to accomplish any end by management or stratagem.

Sir, if those Resolutions are now rescinded, it will show that those who voted against their original adoption were in the right. In taking the step which is now proposed, the majority feel that they are inconsistent, that they are rejecting what they have declared themselves to believe; but they are desirous that we also should be involved in the inconsistency, and have put the question in such a shape that we must either vote that resolutions to which we were opposed should stand, or retract our recorded opinions on many which received our support. Sir, I am not so awake to the tactics of the house as some other gentlemen in it, and I look at the position in which we are placed with the eyes of plain common sense. When the address has finally passed the House, embodying, as we are told it will, the sense of the Resolutions which we are now asked to rescind, and has been brought under the consideration of the proper authorities, what evidence will the pages of our Journals afford? That the House did at one time come to the decision that the facts stated in the Resolutions were true, but afterwards by their solemn act retracted their opinions. Think you that this inconsistency will add weight to our representations? Or that an address can be depended upon which proceeds from a body with such changing sentiments.

But Sir, suppose the address should contain the language of the offensive Resolution, would it be likely to forward our ends? We charge certain individuals with corrupt legislation, and then ask for a reconstruction of the body to which they belong.—Were the Government to act as we ask them, they would violate every principle of British liberty. They would convict without a hearing, without a shadow of proof, those who are seated at that board, and fix upon their characters and their names the indelible stigma of corrupt legislation. No sir, if we wish to accomplish our desires, that is not the way. Let us show, from the principles of political economy, and of common sense, that the constitution of our Government is wrong, but let us not avail ourselves of the opportunity to aim a shaft at the private feelings and reputation of individuals.

It has been asked whether any of the minority would have brought forward this measure, if it had not been introduced by some of those who voted in the majority. Many of the grievances contained in these Resolutions have long been the subject of complaint, and, with respect to the Crown Lands, I had intended to introduce that matter myself, and have now in my pocket a Resolution framed before I left home, to obtain an alteration in the system by which those lands are managed; but, when I saw the same subject introduced into the Resolutions of the hon. gentleman from the County of Halifax, I was willing to leave the matter to better and abler hands. The measure which that gentleman brought forward was introduced at the earliest possible period of the session, and I feel assured that, if he had not done so, there are many on these benches who have voted in the minority on a number of his Resolutions, who are as anxious as himself to get rid of our real grievances, and who would have originated measures for that purpose.

Mr John Young rose, he said, to address the House on this occasion, deeply sensible of the difficulty with which the question was beset. Before he had determined to speak, and while he was musing on his seat, his mind involuntarily turned in all directions to discover some safe course, which he could approve himself and recommend to others. The House was in a situation the most perplexing, and every one felt that we had approached a crisis, which summoned and called for, in behalf of the Country, the greatest prudence and circumspection. This embarrassment was fully exemplified in the speech of the learned member for Cape Breton; for, after exhausting every topic the debate suggested—after amusing us with some strokes of wit—after condemning in unmeasured terms the proposed Resolution, he concluded that he could see no way to shape his course—not even proposed any amendment, for the adoption of the House. His learned friend from Isle Madame was equally oppressed with the subject. It had disturbed his rest; and tossing on his pillow, he had turned every way for some mode of escape, from our delicate and perplexed situation, and finding none to satisfy his mind, he had resolved on firm and determined resistance. Mr. Young frankly acknowledged, that he himself had also passed the night in uneasy slumbers, in watchings and anxieties, and considered himself as if drawn within the circle of the magician's spell, where every object around dazzled and confounded the understanding, and disturbed and threw into disarrangement, all the ordinary trains of thinking.

In this dilemma he would cast behind him all that he had heard in the course of the debate, would try

to forget alike its arguments and its eloquence, and appeal at once to the known principles of common sense. He would introduce no refined or labored reasoning to the notice of the House, but simply surveying our position, ask himself and others, in what way we would best surmount our present difficulties. The breakers lay before us and we must take care not to make Shipwreck of the peace of the Country.

The most obvious remedy would be, to expunge the "offensive words" to which the Council alluded in their message, and along with them the original Resolution that contained them. That had been already tried, and lost by a minority of seven. An overwhelming majority has thus pronounced, that they will not submit to satisfy the Council in that way; for even the learned Gentleman from Cape Breton voted against it. Since the House has determined not to rescind that Resolution by itself, there is nothing left but one of two alternatives, either to abide by the whole string, reckless of consequences, and during the Council to do their worst—or to expunge the whole proceedings, containing many assertions unannouncedly acceded to, and which not a man in the Province would be bold enough to deny. The first of these meets the approval of the learned member for Isle Madame; and I am free to confess, that such was the first impulse of my own mind, said Mr Y. on hearing the Message read, and I declared last night, after the adjournment of the House, and when standing on that figure in the carpet (and he pointed to it with his finger,) that I would not assent to the rescinding of those Resolutions, as being inconsistent with all my ideas of that self respect, which the House should entertain for itself and its acts.

But, Sir, man is a compound being, made up of different sentiments and propensities, which draw him in opposite directions. He has a sense of personal dignity and importance, which gives firmness and decision to his conduct, and prompts him to repel insult and aggression; and he has too a sense of prudence, cautious of looking into futurity. If we obey the first, we would rush into a quarrel with the Council, and maintain our Resolutions at all hazards; if the last, we will weigh consequences, view the evils we entail, and yield to the dictates of reason and judgement. I must tell the House, that I deprecate a collision at this moment, being aware that we are in no condition to bear the mischiefs that are inevitable. When I look back to the unfortunate difference of 1820, and recall the passions which then agitated the Assembly—I recollect that the blood in my veins throbbed much higher than now, and that I placed myself in the foremost ranks of the opposition to His Majesty's Council. But, Sir, at that period they taught me and they taught the Country a dreadful lesson. To uphold their exorbitant power, they were not only willing, but they deliberately proceeded step by step, to throw the Province into confusion. We lost the Revenue Bill, and they refused to pass the Appropriation Bill, although containing nothing to which they had not previously assented. This was their last act, and thus the Road vote of 13,000 was suspended. When the new House came back, they found an empty Treasury, containing little more than they had left in it, so no duties could be enforced or collected; and accordingly the House obtained, in 1831, no additional sum for the Road service, except £1431 for over-expenditures. In 1832, in order to relieve the public embarrassment, and keep up the internal communication of the Country, an issue of Treasury notes to the extent of £25,000 was called for. The Saving Bank then also first came into operation, and under it we have borrowed and expended £15,000, besides other £6000 we obtained by loan in 1834. That last sum is paid off, but it was by borrowing £10,000, of which six thousand was applied to the liquidation of the last loan, and the remainder to paying off £4,000 of the old 6 per cents. The whole of this debt ought not to be attributed to the rupture of the two Branches, but true it is that the last House, from 1832 to 1836, has added £46,000 to the permanent debt of the Province. We issued of Treasury Notes £25,000, of which £20,000 have been since funded at 5 per cent; we have taken and appropriated £15,000 of the saving Bank, and we borrowed £6000, which, although repaid, still stands part of £10,000, borrowed by the Governor. The interest of this debt is crippling our resources; and, as there has been evoked hitherto no disposition to economize in our ordinary expenditures, every additional amount of interest is augmenting our difficulties; and we must be doubly cautious, on a mere point of honor, not to peril on any account, our revenue, and lay ourselves under an injurious necessity, to have recourse either to an issue of Treasury Notes, or to a new loan, by which to carry on the needful business of the Government. If we do not rescind the whole Resolutions a dissolution is inevitable, the consequences of which touch not the Salaries and emoluments of His Majesty's Council, but will deeply affect our Constitution. I am willing therefore, to make concessions, rather than plunge the country into all the mischiefs which hang over it, like a portentous