government. I make this statement from conviction. I am perfectly free to take any course I like, notwithstanding I am an Executive Councillor. My position has not in any way curtailed my views. I could have advised responsible government if I had thought proper, and would have done so if I had thought it desirable for this colony. If anyone believes that the Organic Act does not allow responsible government to be obtained at any time let him move to make clause 19 specially applicable to this colony.

Hon Dr Hincksen—It is in the terms already, only it is not specially named

Hon Dr General—Well, name it specially and put it in; I will support it if anyone proposes it. We know what His Excellency's intention is with regard to giving representation in the new Council, but we do not know the measure of it. If there is an overwhelming majority for responsible government in all districts, electors will take care to send responsible government members to the next Council, if the people are determined to have this priceless boon, let them send men who will say they will have it. I feel impelled to administer a soft and gentle rebuke to the hon member for New Westminster, who has, I must confess, won my esteem by his manly, straightforward support of these resolutions; but I must take exception to his language, it has been too emphatic—unintentionally of course—in some of his remarks on the subject. He has used inflammatory language which had better not have uttered. Language which was not exactly in accordance with what I conceive to be correct. That clause in the Governor's speech which speaks of our not being fit to govern ourselves, the minor Musgrave has never said so; if he had I should have taken it as a personal insult. I say, as a British Columbian, I am capable of governing myself, and if we are individually governed ourselves it is far to suppose that the colony as a whole can govern itself. If you had the whole population of one tribe altogether, so that they could be parallel like an army, and you could make them give expression to their views, and out of that get a government, it might be practicable; but instead of that, there we have with a scattered population, isolated centres separated from each other; the majority are here for the sole purpose of making money, and they don't feel that anxiety that has been represented about responsible government; they want to be governed cheaply as possible. If I am wrong, if it turns out at the polls that even a trifling majority are in favor of responsible government, they can have it, the iron need of Canada is all nonsense, Governor Musgrave is the man we have to deal with, and I say that responsible government is a relief to any Governor, for it comes between him and the people. Governor Musgrave says that it is his (I paraphase) my duty with my experience to give fair and frank advice to the people; to tell them what I think is for their good. If the people decline differently to my advice the fault is with them. Supposing that Governor Musgrave had put responsible Government in our constitution, and had thrust it upon the people, would not the respectable minority who are against it have said, or possibly, and as I think probably have said, His Excellency had acted unwisely. The question has been before the people; they would have been justified in jumping at the gilded bait of responsible Government if the Governor had not proposed a new system; but as he has done so the people will do well to consider before they swallow the barbed hook that lies under the bait. I desire to disclaim speaking in the interest of officials their position would, so far as I believe, not be injured in any way by the introduction of responsible Government. Those among them who were commissioned in England (I mean the heads of Departments) will be rendered so independent that they will be above fighting after their own interests. I think it unlikely that they will remain here. As in the balance of officials, if Canada is as liberal now as of old, or as liberal as Australia, they will be well provided for whether we have responsible Government or not. Probably they will be utilized, since that is the term we are to use. I claim for the system which His Excellency has foreshadowed, that it is more suitable to the present circumstances of this colony than any other system which has been given us. Responsible Government has acted well in large communities, but in small ones I doubt its efficiency. It is like a painted ship on a painted ocean. If it were obtained in a small colony like this, there would be a constant game of battledore and shuttle cock going on—in to day, out to morrow. Fancy the honorable member for Victoria City presiding at the Lands and Works Department one day, and I, having just run all the gauntlets I could, come over another day to have an interview with the Chief and find that there has been a change of Ministry, there is another man in. My advice may be wrong, it may, they can be corrected at the polls. If I were a man of property, with a large stake in the colony, I should doubtedly object to responsible Government. I have given my opinion candidly and honestly. I may never sit at this Council Board again. I have given my advice to this Council, to this Board, and to my constituents conscientiously. If I am wrong the people will correct me. I speak from conviction. No doubt there is talent in British Columbia, no doubt there is plenty of administrative ability; there are many better men than myself, I am very sure, and that is one reason that I oppose responsible Government. (Laughter.) But the main difficulty is that the best men won't come here; the chaff is blown here, the wheat remains behind.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Drake the debate was adjourned to Monday.

MONDAY, March 21st, 1870.

Hon Mr Rose rose to resume the debate, and said; Mr Chairman, I feel assured that the House will accord me leave to say a few words. Three have been submitted for the consideration of this House two amendments, and in the observations of the mover two points of argument have been adduced, the first founded on supposed reasoning, and the second in the way of threats and military arguments, grounded on the possibility of the Government refusing to insert this condition. I desire to disengage myself from this latter argument. When I hear anything tantamount to a threat from the people against the Executive I desire to repudiate it. Hon members who put such a picture of warfare before us talk bunkum. I address my humble petition to His Excellency, but if his judgment is against us, I say to him stand to your point and do not give way to threats; listen to no arguments as to what may happen in the nature of threats; stand to your points. I say to Executive members, don't yield to threats, don't be moved by them. I support the principle of responsible government, but I do so constitutionally. I say to Executive members, I trust you will yield to reason and argument but not to threats. I say we can ask for responsible government without the force of the Organic Act; but I say let us repudiate all connection with Canada until we have secured responsible government; let us not wait till we are surrounded by Canadians. With regard to the railway, I say that in the life of the youngest amongst us we shall not get it; but we must make it the main resolution. Without responsible government let us have no Confederation. Better lose the life we have than fly to others that we know not of. Let us not run the risk of having to ask Canada for responsible government. Make it the emphatic sine qua non that we must have responsible government or no Confederation.

Hon Mr Humbertsen—Out of deference to the amendment offered by the hon member for New Westminster, (Mr Robson,) I ask the leave of the House to withdraw my motion so that the amendment, the latter part of which I like better than my own, may stand.

Hon Attorney General—I regret very much that a discussion so long, so, I may add, unnecessary, should have been forced on by the other side of the House at a time so inopportune. I am glad that the hon member for Lillooet has withdrawn his motion; it leaves the Council to deal with the amendment of the hon member for New Westminster, and I deeply regret that the hon gentleman did not accept the invitation to give up a special field day to the discussion of responsible government, as suggested by myself after we had pass d clause 19 of the Terms. This I stated at the time the House was quite competent to do. Then members on this side of the House might have freely joined in the discussion, perhaps some might have supported the principle, but not I. The hon proposer of the amendment, with the light of battle in his eye, had refused every suggestion; and afterwards, when he began to find out his mistake, it was too late, there was nothing for it but to go on. The melee had begun; the glove is down; the visors are closed, and the lists barred. It cannot be put off. If the hon member for New Westminster had been opposed to responsible government he could not have devised a course more adroit than mixing up the question with terms, for shelving responsible government for the session. One point which requires a social notice and correction is that nearly all speakers during the debate seem to think that the Governor alone could grant any alteration in the Constitution that may be required, merely for the asking, but this is a mistake; he cannot. The constitution can only be changed by the same power that created it—the Imperial Parliament and the Queen in Council. The Governor can only recommend. It is for the Home Government to say what that change shall be. As to the able speech of the hon member for New Westminster, the eloquence of which I was forced to admire and I spite of myself, it was an argument which I have upon instinctive principles combatted, asserting that we should only have a representative majority of one, which could only lead to a false concession, and I take it that the hon member is in favor of responsible government as a sine qua non, and, while waving all the tall talking of bell, and, waiting knee deep in blood, why this encouragement of rebellion, in defence of our rights and the like, and yet I understood the hon member for New Westminster to say that he does not make responsible government a sine qua non for Confederation.

Hon Mr Robson—I said no thing of the kind. I do not choose to state whether or not I would make it a sine qua non.

Hon Attorney General—I have an accurate recollection, and have a note of it, and I ask the hon member to state whether he will make it a sine qua non.

Hon Chief Commissioner—I understood the hon member for New Westminster to say that Confederation would not be satisfactory to the people without responsible government, but that he would not pledge himself to make it a sine qua non.

Hon Mr Robson—I said further that I did not pledge myself that the people would not.

Hon Attorney General—I then understand that the honorable member for New Westminster puts it not as a sine qua non.

Hon Mr Robson—No, Mr. Chairman, I never said that. I will not be placed in such a position. I refuse to have such an issue forced upon me.

Attorney General—Either the honorable member puts it one way or the other; one of two opposites must be true. I can quite understand, and must prefer the direct and simple issue of the honorable member for Victoria District, for immediate responsible Government in any case, either with or without confederation. I say, sir, that the question is in no way connected with the discussion of this clause.

I said that responsible Government ought not to be considered until after the Council is reconstituted with an increased representation, as shadowed forth in his Excellency's speech. I have said that we shall have the sole control of the matter in our own hands if we have confederation. I say we, because I identify myself with this country. I speak on this matter as a citizen. I say that if we have confederation we shall have an opportunity of getting responsible Government. If we have not Confederation then we shall have increased representation, and under that we can get responsible Government if the country as a unit goes for it. Honorable members are complicating this question. I cannot imagine that it was the intention of the honorable member for New Westminster to complicate the question. I have too much respect for him to allow myself to suppose so, it is impossible, and that he wished to force a negative, is equally impossible. It was error of judgment in my opinion. If it had been left to the Council separately it would have left honorable members more at liberty to consider the question freely. I was, in common with other members carried away in admiration of the outburst of oratory of the honorable member. But there was an allusion—a warning. It is said that it was not a threat; but there was talk of shouldering muskets, and of blood and bloodshed, as if that was the proper way to get civil rights. I protest against these threats, these fiery speeches which impress the ears of those who wish to listen to argument and reason. As to the opposition of the Government members it arises from no dislike to the system on the part of the head of the Executive. Responsible Government interposes a barrier between the people and the Governor, which is not useful to the Governor. I say that we are not in a position to take advantage of responsible Government. If the country thinks it necessary or desirable what is there to prevent our getting it when we choose to ask for it. The honorable member for New Westminster himself told us that the Imperial Government were always ready to step in, and yet he hints at violence and disturbance. When the honorable Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works proposed a resolution last session, which was seconded by myself, with respect to a change in the Constitution, asking for a Council with a majority of one of representative members, honorable members said we don't want the change, and voted it down. If we had secured this we should have been a step further in advance than we are in constitutional progress. I say we must hesitate before any body constituted as this Council is, can pass the full and deliberate opinions of the country. As to the special merits of responsible Government itself, it is hardly necessary to argue it here at such an inopportune time. I shall therefore merely