

## The Weekly British Colonist

Wednesday April 13, 1870.

## Responsible vs. Representative.

The difference between responsible government and representative government would still appear to be but indifferently understood. In some minds the subject is regarded from a standpoint which scarcely permits of clear vision. The question is viewed through all the mist exhaled by self-interest and class-prejudice. Upon such we have no intention of spending words, knowing well that

"A man proved wrong against his will is of the same opinion still."

But we are led to think that there are others who are honestly in the fog,—who are accustomed to regard responsible government and representative government as synonymous terms. So very much has already been said and written upon this subject that one almost hesitates to tire the reader; and yet it is one which so deeply concerns this people at the present moment that we are impelled to the task by the iron and inexorable logic of events, and shall, therefore, offer a few homely thoughts. The difference between responsible government and representative government is both great and important. Responsible government, as the word imports, is that system under which those who administer the affairs of the country are made directly responsible to the people. The Ministry is composed of such of the people's representatives as the Governor may call to his aid. These with the Governor constitute the government proper, and whenever they fail to command the confidence of the Legislative branch, or, in other words, whenever they encounter an adverse vote upon any government measure of public policy, one of two things is supposed to take place: The Ministers, presumably having lost the confidence of the people as represented in the Legislative branch, place their resignation in the hands of the Governor, who commonly invites the leader of the Opposition to form a new Ministry; or, if the Ministry conceive that the Legislature does not truly represent the views of the people upon the question at issue they advise the Governor to dissolve the House and appeal to the country. A general election follows, and should the new House or a majority of its members be of the same way of thinking as the old, the Ministers accept it as conclusive evidence that their policy runs counter to public opinion, and there is no alternative but to give place to the Opposition. This latter course is very rarely adopted. As a rule when a Cabinet sustains decided defeat upon any cardinal measure of public policy, it gracefully retires. Even this is not of frequent occurrence. A change of Ministry involves consequences of a sufficiently serious character to make the Legislature tolerably conservative; while, on the other hand, the direct responsibility to the people and the immediate consequences of that responsibility cause a Ministry to be exceedingly careful to frame its policy conformably to the well understood wishes of the people. There is in the system every possible inducement to consult and conform to public opinion; and public opinion, being thus consulted and conformed to, becomes established and assumes a tone of healthy vitality. There are various forms of representative government; but it will, perhaps, be more convenient to deal with the question in the form presented under the Constitution proposed to be immediately conferred upon this colony. The Legislative branch will be composed of a majority of members elected by the people; the remainder by members of the government corresponding to Cabinet Ministers, but yet holding office by appointment, being neither elected by nor in any way responsible to the people. These appointees constitute, in conjunction with the Governor, the Government proper. There is a special element composed of the elected members who are invited by the Governor to take seats in the Executive Council, but merely to give advice. The objections to this form of government must be apparent. The very absence of responsibility to the people will naturally lead the Government to be less solicitous to administer in accordance with the wishes of the people. They can with impunity disregard the people's representatives. An adverse vote, even a distinct and formal vote of want of confidence, may only serve to excite their sneers or provoke their resentment. No matter how largely the representative element may predominate in the Legislature, the Government can render it utterly powerless for good. Nineteen-twentieths may vote for a measure; yet it will be perfectly competent for the Executive to defeat it. In truth the acts of the Legislature may be presumed only to be carried out when they happen to accord with the views of an

irresponsible Executive. It will thus be evident that the people may have representation without power. The present is a representative form of government. To increase the representative element is not to give the people power. They will have a louder voice in the management of their affairs; but it by no means follows that it will be more potent. Under the proposed constitution, therefore, the Government will possess the power to nullify, even if they may not always be able to control, the votes and acts of the Legislature. Besides, such a condition is calculated to alienate the people from the government. One frequently hears the objection raised to responsible government that it will open the door for political demagogues to get power. The we hold to be a palpable fallacy. An unpopular, irresponsible form of government constitutes the real secret of the power of that class so much dreaded by some people. With responsible government their occupation would be gone. To oppose and abuse the government would cease to be popular, because the government would cease to be unpopular. The worst class of politicians will thrive most under such an unpopular system as we have now. Give us responsible government and the demagogues will soon find the bottom! In sober truth, there is no intermediate system between absolute, one-man government and responsible, people's government. The former may be dressed up in a popular guise. It may put on representative habiliments. But the principle remains the same. The popular guise may deceive the eye, but it cannot change the principle; the system is all the more dangerous for it—a sugar-coated pill to deceive superficial minds. Mere numbers will not change the principle. There are, after all, but the two systems: Responsible government, and irresponsible government.

Sunday April 10  
Legislative Council.

FRIDAY, April 8.

## ROAD TOLLS.

Mr. Humphreys moved: That after having had His Excellency's message, No. 14, respecting road tolls under consideration, this Council is of opinion that it is desirable to have a conference with His Excellency the Governor respecting the necessity for the abolition of certain road tolls at Clifton; the deputation to consist of elected members. Mr. Humphreys urged as a reason why a conference should be had that he thought His Excellency had been misled by his advisers. He dwelt at some length on the inequality of tax assessed by this toll, retreating the ground of arguments gone over in former debates on the question. Mr. DeCosmos said the mode proposed to meet the question was a very proper one. He was satisfied that unless communication was had with His Excellency a wrong impression would go abroad, and it would be proper to place the responsibility on the right shoulders. He did not see any good reasons in the message why the resolution of the Council should not be adopted by the Government. There was one point in the message which he thought most remarkable. He could see no connection between the resolution regarding Confederation and the one relating to the road tolls. Such a sentence in the message seems like printer's type in "pl" or a paragraph misplaced. The Collector of Customs said that the remarks which had been made implying that the Governor had been misled were neither parliamentary nor constitutional. No allusion to the doings of the Executive Council were proper or parliamentary.

Mr. Robson said the hon. Collector of Customs was one of those who claimed that this was a representative government. If such were the case we had a right to criticize the acts of the Executive. He would support the resolution for a conference.

The Chief Commissioner said it was quite proper for the Council to criticize and pronounce their opinions on the acts of the Executive as a body; but it was decidedly improper to select a single member of that body as a subject of remark.

The question of road tolls and the unequal bearing of the tax was discussed at length by several members, embracing no new arguments beyond those already advanced in former debates.

Mr. Barnard said—Hon gentlemen will recognize in me one who has persistently opposed the tax known as road tolls. I have opposed them because I regard them as burdensome, vexatious and unequal in their bearing. I regret exceedingly that the question after all our labor, has taken the shape it has. I regret it, sir, because last week news was taken to the Mainland that by a vote of 17 to 3 the Council had recommended that the trouble to a great extent be removed. To-day the steamer conveys the intelligence that notwithstanding that large vote, the recommendation of the Council had gone for naught—that the petty annoyances and grievances in connection with the collection of tolls would be continued another year. I say I regret all this. Better by far if no such resolutions had been permitted to pass. We found it our duty some days ago to advance arguments in favor of responsible government. We were met in reply by the government members that there was no occasion for any action in the matter—the next Council would be composed of a majority of elected members. Some said a majority; others said a large majority. I ask, sir, what is the use of a majority—say one of two-thirds or three-fourths or even nine-tenths—if the resolutions of this Council are to be treated as this Message indicates? The whole grievance of road tolls was explained to twenty gentlemen, and it was acknowledged that injustice was being done, and that a remedy ought to be found. Seventeen of those gentlemen, comprising the magistracy, nominated and selected portions of the House, voted for the remedy; and the

vote is disregarded! The government to-day, sir, have afforded us the best possible argument against responsible government, and given us a weapon which we will not fail to use in arguing for responsible government. Sir, I would gladly have gone back to my constituency and said that the government had gracefully yielded to the representations of the people and granted relief. I can only say it's of no use to send members there, for should they succeed it means only defeat. Again, sir, I regret that the question has assumed the shape it has. I will only add that I shall not support the resolution favoring a conference. I regard the matter as ended now, and accept the situation.

## Return of the Otter—The Skeena River Route—Anthracite Coal, &amp;c.

The steamer Otter arrived from the North yesterday morning. On the way up, after calling at Nanaimo and Port Rupert, she arrived at the Queen Charlotte coal mine on the 21st March, landed the workmen and freight, and left the mine on the 22d, reached Melakalah on the 23d, where the miners for Peace River went ashore. The Otter then left for Port Simpson and Naas River and returned to Melakalah on the 26th. Some of the miners had been down to the mouth of the Skeena, but found the river so full of ice that they were unable to get up. They got back to Melakalah on Sunday the 27th, where they intended refitting their canoes and preparing for another start in about 10 or 12 days, when they thought the river would be clear of ice.

The Otter was detained at Melakalah for two days by heavy gales, and left for Massett Harbor on Wednesday morning, the 30th, and arrived there that afternoon. She left Massett on the evening of the 1st April and arrived at the Queen Charlotte coal mine next morning. The wharf and tramway were completed, but the weather had been very unfavorable and only about 40 tons of coal could be got down and put on board.

The Otter left the mine on the 3rd April, for Port Rupert on the 5th, Comox on the 8th, and Nanaimo the same afternoon. When leaving Port Simpson harbor on the 26th of March a steamer was sighted, bound North, supposed to be the Constantine.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL brought from Skidegate Bay by the Otter yesterday will be landed to-morrow. Captain Lewis visited the works and inspected the seams, and pronounced the supply of coal almost inexhaustible. The Otter would have brought down a full cargo of the coal—1000 tons of which are at the pit's mouth—had not 1200 feet of the tramway been incomplete. The Company are much pleased with the encouraging report of Mr. Fawcett, one of the directors, and Mr. Tronoe, Superintendent of the works, who arrived yesterday. The colliers who were employed all winter were relieved by the men who went up in the Otter. The work will be prosecuted vigorously in Brown's vein, lately discovered, where the coal shows five feet thick.

AN INTERESTING GAME.—It appears there is soon to be another election in Washington Territory. Several of the Republicans have bolted from the ranks, and are not likely to support Garfield, the present delegate. The name of Judge Dennison has been spoken of. In the meantime Garfield is at the seat of power, as the bolters are learning to their cost—for offices are rapidly changing hands. The Custom House at Port Townsend has had a clean sweep, and the officials, down to the pilot of the revenue cutter, removed.

FROM NEW WESTMINSTER.—The steamer Enterprise, Capt. Swanson, arrived from New Westminster yesterday at 5 p. m., with a lower country mail and express. Mrs. Irving, Miss Woods, Messrs. A. McLean, W. J. Armstrong, Green and Moody came as passengers. Mr. Spence is getting his men together for a raid on the Burrard Inlet road. Mr. Pearse will sell the lots at Granville.

NO SLIDE.—The report that a slide had taken place on the wagon road above Yale is incorrect. The Government road-men have removed the crumbling to renew the timbers, and stages above and below the spot exchange passengers and loads. In two weeks' time the break will be closed and travel resumed as usual.

THREE LITTLE DELEGATES a mission went to do; one got a sinouire, then there were but two. Two little Delegates left the thing to run, one was bamboozled, then there was but one. One little Delegate left alone to go, stuck his fingers to his nose and—jumped Jim Crow.

PORT MADRON, W. T.—At these lumber mills there are seven barks waiting to be loaded with lumber. Two new vessels for the company are also upon the stocks.

THIRTY CANOES, filled with Sitwah men and women to the number of 300, are reported on the way in from the Northwest Coast. The natives expect to do a lively stroke of business with the Flying Squadron.

A SLIGHT fire occurred yesterday morning at 2 o'clock at the French Bakery, Johnson street, which was extinguished with little damage.

TACOMA, W. T.—The largest lumber mill on Puget Sound has been established at this place.

LAND SALE.—Mr. Franklin yesterday sold 160 acres of farming land at Cedar Hill for \$12 and \$14 per acre.

AN imitator of Traupmann, living in the South of France, killed a farmer sixty-two years old with a pickaxe, buried him in a grave dug in advance, planted a young walnut tree over it, and added it, so that the distance of the soil might escape notice. On discovering that his victim's purse contained but a franc and forty centimes [about thirty-five cents], he was seized with remorse, delivered himself up to the police, and made a full confession.

## The Patent Combination.

ERRATA BRITISH COLONIST.—The recent debate in the Legislative Council on the question of providing funds to defray the expenses of three delegates to lay the Terms of Confederation before the Canadian Government has attracted a more than ordinary amount of notice.

The fact was pretty plainly elicited that the following is the personnel of the proposed delegation: Messrs. Trutch, Carrall, and Helmecken.

As to the first named gentleman, there can be no question of his fitness, or to the policy of his appointment. In his hands the Government or Imperial and official view will be fairly and ably presented.

In Mr. Carrall we have the representative of the Confederation party, and although a young and comparatively inexperienced politician, yet one of undoubted honesty of purpose, and withal a thoroughly warm friend of Confederation, and one who enjoys the confidence of the party in the districts which he represents, although not sound on Responsible Government.

In Dr. Helmecken we have; what? a man who was once a Confederationist, but who has fallen from grace; who once was a warm supporter of Responsible Government, but who is now an opponent; one who was once a very loud advocate of retrenchment, but who now throws retrenchment to the dogs—tells the people that it is all bunkum and claptrap, and that he made use of it to fool the public, and may have to do so again, "but there was nothing in it." This, sir, is in short the political position of the third named delegate.

Let us suppose that such a trio were sent to Canada, and that the two former gentlemen differed with the Canadian authorities upon some vital point in the Terms, with Mr. Helmecken to decide, how is he likely to go? Can anyone tell? Has anyone the slightest idea how he would decide? Can anyone (even Mrs. Titmuss) afford anybody the faintest glimmering of a notion as to how he would likely throw his weight? If anyone can tell, he knows the Doctor better than the Doctor knows himself.

If we are to judge of his sneers at Canadians and everything Canadian, of his known hatred to Confederation and everything and everybody connected with it, of his oft repeated determination to defeat it if he can, we can only say that he will throw the weight of his influence on the side most likely to prejudice the cause we all have at heart.

How is such an appointment likely to be regarded by the country? How will it be regarded by those who have stood by Confederation through good report and evil report? How will the Confederation party, composed as it is of eight-tenths of the British population of the colony, regard it? It will be condemned beyond a doubt. By what process of reasoning can they be expected to approve of the appointment of a man who makes the very name of Confederation, and makes no secret of it?

To send such a man to inspect the Confederation party, in the country, and to expect that he will not honestly in the cause is to expect a moral impossibility.

## Dominion Mail Summary.

THE TORONTO GLOBE ON RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA.

We have received Dominion exchanges to the 28th ult. Our files containing the proposed Terms of Confederation having reached Canada a few days before the mail left, it is chiefly interesting to note the opinions of the press thereupon. The Ottawa Citizen, a Ministerial paper, publishes the Terms, with lengthy comments, and it is gratifying to observe that they are upon the whole not unfavorable. "Whilst most of the demands thus put forth," says our contemporary, "are such as would be expected by Canada, others need to be modified upon further consideration, and no doubt they would be when negotiations on the subject were actually undertaken between the colony and the Dominion. As to the financial Terms, strictly speaking, they are fair and reasonable, and will cause no difficulty. The chief difficulty, it thinks, lies in the overland railway item, respecting which it says:—'That there is an urgent and pressing need for a railway to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Provinces is generally, or we might say, universally admitted; yet it may be questioned whether it would be wise policy to limit the time for its commencement or its completion, or the amount that should be annually expended upon it. The work is a political as well as commercial necessity; as such it ought to and will be commenced and finished as soon as the finances of the Dominion will permit. To limit the time, and the annual expenditure upon it, would not expedite the work, but would rather tend to retard it. After pointing out one or two matters regarding which it does not possess sufficient information to feel justified in pronouncing an opinion, our contemporary says:—'With these exceptions the other points are simple enough and easy of arrangement, with the exception, perhaps, of the last—the pensioning off of the old British Columbian officials. It is rather opposed to Canadian practice to grant pensions; but we have little doubt that this point could be satisfactorily arranged by negotiations between that colony and the British and Canadian Governments. On a general view of the propositions, we see no reason to doubt that a satisfactory determination can be reached.' The Toronto Globe, the leading Reform paper, also publishes the terms and takes ground not materially different from the above. Regarding the railway it says, 'The railway will be commenced as soon as circumstances will permit. The desire of Canada to see this work accomplished is as great as that of British Columbia—but the fact of a time being stated for its commencement will not ensure that object, and it is desirable to avoid promises which it may be impossible to fulfil. On the other hand, the inauguration of the road will not be delayed because of the absence of the stipulating clause.' The following is the conclusion of the Globe's article: 'Confederation has been more than once held out by the Press of British Columbia as a means of obtaining a purely representative government; and the omission of any remark about this in the list of terms, and the opinion given by the Governor in his speech, is a mistake. British Columbia must be the same in this respect as all the other Provinces of the Dominion. The idea of treating the people of one Province as if they were children by telling them that they are 'too young' to be trusted with self-

government is absurd. The people of British Columbia are just as capable of regulating their own local affairs as the people of any other Province; and the proposition to constitute the colony a portion of the Dominion at the same time to rule its people by means of impossible officials and government nominees, is too ridiculous to be entertained for a moment. The Dominion accounts for 1869 have been published. The receipts total up \$36,866,647, and the expenditure; \$29,913,266, thus leaving a balance in the public treasury of \$6,953,381.

CARRIER-PIGEONS ON SEA-GOING STEAMERS.—It has been stated that had there been carrier-pigeons on board the steamship City of Boston, the uncertainty of whose fate keeps so many people on both sides of the Atlantic in very painful suspense, we should in all probability have long ago known of the cause of her delay in reaching port.

Audubon relates an instance of carrier-pigeons having reached New York from Carolina, a distance of not less than 850 to 400 miles, in less than six hours. He argues from this that they could visit Europe at this rate under three days. No such length of flight, however, would ever be required, because if all trans-Atlantic passenger steamers were compelled by law to carry them, they would naturally be furnished with birds domiciled on both continents, and in the hour of danger the bird belonging to the nearest land would be loosed.

Over legislation in reference to passenger vessels has continually occupied Congress, and frequently hampered enterprise. Which of our public men will render a real service to the whole community, and earn possibly at no distant date the thanks of a crowd saved by his intervention, by introducing a bill, which will pass and become law at once, making the carrying of these messengers of hope imperative on all sea-going steamers?—Am Paper.

## For Peace River Gold Mines.

## NOTICE.

ON THE OPENING OF NAVIGATION on the Fraser river, the steamers

## VICTORIA and ENTERPRISE

Will commence their trips in connection with Barnard's Express and Mail Line of Stages.

## THE STEAMER VICTORIA

Will run from Soda Creek to the Canon at Cottonwood, connecting with the

## ENTERPRISE

Which will be placed on the route from the Canon to Fort George.

Victoria, B.C., Feb. 16, 1870. Adm. 1622 3mw

## JULES RUEFF.

HAS NOW IN STOCK

The following Goods

Which he offers to the Trade at the

Lowest Market Rates:

200 bbls No 1 S. I. SUGAR  
200 bbls No 2 do do do  
10 Tons No 2 do do in Bags  
200 bbls No 1 MOLASSES  
100 kegs Heavy GOLDEN SYRUP  
20 cases R. & M. YEAST POWDER  
50 chests U. S. TEA  
COFFEES—Rio, Java and Kona  
BUTTER—Oregon and Idaho  
CURRANTS—in tins, boxes and bbls  
SILVERFOOT SALT—Pure and Choice  
CANDLES—Price's, Taylor & German  
SOAP—Castile, California and Victoria  
LOBSTERS  
OYSTERS  
PINEAPPLES  
PEACHES  
PINE-APPLE  
TURKEY  
CHICKEN, &c., &c.  
200 cases SWEET OIL, Plagnoli & Pottel Filz  
30 cases SARDINES, halves and quarters  
MATCHES—Polish, California, and Wax Vests  
FRENCH PRESERVES.

FRENCH VINEGAR

50 kegs Oregon and Eastern DRIED APPLES

California and Eastern Cheese

Pickles, &c., &c., &c.

Pie Fruits, &c., &c., &c.

Oatmeal, &c., &c., &c.

Cornmeal, &c., &c., &c.

Split Peas, &c., &c., &c.

Pearl Barley, &c., &c., &c.

Lard, &c., &c., &c.

And a general assortment of CASE GOODS.

LIQUOR IN BULK.

ALASKA CODFISH, now every week

10 TONS NO. 1 SEED WHEAT.

FLOUR—EXTRA & SUPERFINE.

&c., &c., &c.

JULES RUEFF.

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JUDSON'S

Simple Dyes for

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Anyone can Use them.

Anything can be dyed with them in a few minutes without soiling the hands. In England "Judson's Dyes" are as "Household Words." Articles of clothing that have been put aside as faded and useless, may be as new, equal to new, by merely following the simple directions appended to each bottle of dye.

NAMES OF COLORS.

Magenta, Mauve, Violet, Scarlet, Green, Blue, Pink, Crimson, Brown, Canary, Orange, Black.

PRICE SIXPENCE PER BOTTLE.

May be had of Druggists and Storekeepers throughout the world; or wholesale of

DANIEL JUDSON & SON,

130 Coleman street, London.

N.B.—A small bottle of color will dye 12 yards of Bonnet ribbon.

SEE THAT YOU GET JUDSON'S SIMPLE DYES

the wonderful popularity of which has caused numerous inferior imitations, which are calculated to injure both buyers and sellers.

For our Catalogue of instructions how to use the color twenty different purposes.

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