

cally more so than even to the mother country; every day proves it, and no resolution can make it otherwise.

"But if, instead of meaning any of the above-stated impossibilities, you mean that the Government should be administered according to the well-understood wishes and interests of the people; that the Resolutions of September, 1841 should be faithfully adhered to; that it should be competent to the Council to offer advice on all occasions, whether as to patronage or otherwise; and that the Governor should receive it with the attention due to his constitutional advisers, and consult with them in all cases of adequate importance; that there should be a cordial co-operation and sympathy between him and them; that the Council should be responsible to the provincial Parliament and people; and that when the acts of the Governor are such as they do not choose to be responsible for, they should be at liberty to resign; then I entirely agree with you, and see no impracticability in carrying on responsible government in a colony on that footing, provided that the respective parties engaged in the undertaking be guided by moderation, honest purpose, common sense, and equitable minds, devoid of party spirit."

"Therefore resolved, that this House recognize in the above resolutions and documents the true principles of colonial government, as applicable to any future form of constitution which the Imperial Parliament may, in its wisdom cede to Newfoundland."

The amalgamated system having expired, the Imperial Government most unaccountably restored the old form of constitution, placing in the hands of the Governor and a Council of nine gentlemen, executive and legislative authority, and leaving the Assembly, on its original basis, to encounter the influences in a separate chamber, which had well nigh undermined its foundation in the amalgamated Legislature. None of those salutary changes referred to in the foregoing resolutions, and admitted to be essential to the harmonious and useful operation of colonial government were adopted, though the old constitution was so altered as to secure to the Executive the initiation of money votes in the Assembly, which necessarily embarrassed the free action of the popular branch, and has enabled the Executive to refuse its assent to votes of a most useful nature, because sought to be initiated by members opposed to the Government. This power has been thus arbitrarily and corruptly used. The Council retaining the exercise of executive and legislative functions combined, the Government is without an organ in the popular branch, to explain its policy or take the lead in important matters of legislation. So situated, the Executive is without power or influence in the Assembly, and the Government has only worked on by sufferance for the last four years. The public are thus deprived of the great advantages of a well-directed executive influence in the conduct of public affairs, while the result of an exercise of constitutional control on the policy of the Executive, would be to stop the wheels of government altogether.

Such results as these were clearly foreseen, as the natural consequence of such a system, by the late Lord Sydenham, who gave his opinion as follows, in a confidential despatch, dated at Halifax, N. S., in the year 1840 :

"The last, and in my opinion by far the most serious defect in the Government, is the utter absence of power in the Executive, and its total want of energy to occupy the attention of the country upon real improvements, or to lead the Legislature in the preparation and adoption of measures for the benefit of the colony. It does not appear to have occurred to any one that it is one of the first duties of the Government to suggest improvements where they are wanted; that the constitution having placed the power of the Legislature in the hands of an Assembly and a Council, it is only by acting through these bodies that this duty can be performed; and that if these proper and legitimate functions of Government are neglected, the necessary result must be, not only the improvement which the people have a right to expect will be neglected, and the prosperity of the country checked, but that this branch of the Legislature will misuse its power, and the popular mind be easily led into excitement upon mere abstract theories of government, to which their attention is directed as the remedy for the uneasiness they feel."

It was not to be supposed that the people of this colony could be satisfied with such a position of public affairs, and an address to Her Majesty was accordingly adopted by the Assembly in the year 1851, affirming the principles of self-government, and praying for the concession of executive responsibility. No just reason existed why a system of government, which every other British American province repudiated, and which every enlightened British statesman condemns, should be fastened upon that colony. Without the principles of executive responsibility, it was felt that the Government was not deserving the name, and that it was unjust and unmanly to tax the industry of the people for its support.

Acting, as we have good reason to understand, on the misrepresentations of the interested officials of the colony, and those who have invariably opposed an extension of popular rights in this the oldest and most neglected of Her Majesty's British North American colonies, Earl Grey, as Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, declined advising Her Majesty to comply with the prayer of that address, though his Lordship held out some hopes that his views might in some degree be influenced by the result of the general elections which were then shortly to take place in Newfoundland. Upon the communication of his Lordship's views to the Assembly in the Session of 1852, a suite of resolutions, expressing the opinions of the inhabitants being adopted, it was therefore resolved that a renewed application should be made by address not only to Her Majesty, but to both Houses of Parliament. Before the address reached home, the opposition had attained power, and the hopes of the colony