

used the representative of the Sovereign to make his reply to the Warden and councillors of Gore. The classification of public affairs in Lord Durham's Report, as based upon a principle readily comprehended, and capable of a free application, namely, *those which affect the relations of the COLONY with the MOTHER COUNTRY* and those which do not (hear, hear,) over the former of which the control of the Mother Country was to be maintained, and the latter of which was to be conducted by means of *Heads of Departments with precisely that limitation of the respective powers which has been so long and so easily maintained in GREAT BRITAIN.* (Cheers.) But how preposterous to set up such a classification as is attempted in the reply to Gore. The equity administered in the Court of Chancery had once been described by a wag, to be governed by the length of the Lord Chancellor's foot. And the class to which the various public affairs of the Province were to belong, and which is the *fore* to determine whether they are to be submitted for the advice of the constitutional advisers of the Crown, is to be decided by the Governor General's notion of their *"ADEQUATE IMPORTANCE."* (Hear, hear.) One Governor General is a bold man, and he deems few things of *"ADEQUATE IMPORTANCE;"* another Governor General is a cautious man, and he deems a larger portion of *"adequate importance;"* a third is a timid man, he enlarges the bounds the class. Nay, the same Gov. General is in a different mood at different times, and what he deems *ADEQUATE IMPORTANCE* at one moment, he may deem of little or none at another. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) For he believed that even Governor Generals were not wholly free from the frailties which diversify the conduct of us who move in a less elevated sphere. And for his part he did not know whether the gage of the foot had not the advantage of the two. And let it be remembered that during all the time that the head of the Government was thus dealing with the affairs of the country, sometimes without it, his unfortunate ministers were general endorsers of the whole. Not an act of omission, not an appointment from that of a Chief Justice to the humblest one in the gift of the Crown, but what they were liable to be called to account for in Parliament, and in their places there compelled to defend, (Hear, hear.)

Such a classification for such a purpose was in fact one wholly unapplicable to a Government conducted *"by means of competent heads of DEPARTMENTS"* as recommended by Lord Durham, introduced by Lord Sydenham and practised by Sir Charles Bagot and necessarily contemplates but one Department with the Representative of the Sovereign as its head, and in which all the nominal heads of Departments merely play the parts of so many chief clerks, and which it must be confessed is quite in keeping with the declaration to be found in the same reply, that the head of the Government *"is virtually responsible to the people of the Colony, and practically more so than even to the Mother Country."* [Hear, hear.] A declaration which he need not tell them was in direct contradiction to the Resolutions of '41, in which he is declared responsible to the *IMPERIAL AUTHORITY ALONE.* A principle which might be called the very key-stone of the whole arch. [Loud cheers.]

For his [Mr. Baldwin's] part he had taken his stand upon the rock of the British Constitution, and he felt assured that whatever were the difficulties with which they might have to contend, and from whatever quarter they might come, ultimate success was sure to crown their efforts—but they wanted not only the Constitution, but as regards the administration

of their local affairs, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution.

By that Constitution the ministers of the Crown are responsible to Parliament for appointments to office as well as for every other act of the Government—and was not one of the modes suggested by Lord Durham for carrying out his proposed change in the practical administration of Provincial affairs, though not the only nor the best one, *"that the official acts of the Governor"* should be *"countersigned by some public functionary?"* (Hear, hear.) Does he not expressly deprecate as most injurious to the relations subsisting between the Colony and the Parent State the maintenance of a contest in order that a GOVERNOR or SECRETARY OF STATE may be able to confer Colonial appointments on one RATHER THAN ON ANOTHER SET OF MEN IN THE COLONIES? (Hear.) And do not the Resolutions of 1841 most distinctly point out the express object of Constitutional necessity for the management of our *"LOCAL AFFAIRS,"* (not merely CERTAIN local affairs—not merely such local affairs as the Governor General may deem of *ADEQUATE IMPORTANCE*—but local affairs generally embracing all of whatever class or description.) [Loud cheers.]—being conducted by and with the *"ASSISTANCE, COUNSEL AND INFORMATION"* of a Provincial Administration under the head of the Government, to be for the purpose of affording a guarantee *"that the well-understood wishes and interests of the people, should, on ALL OCCASIONS be faithfully REPRESENTED & ADVOCATED."* [cheers.] How can such wishes and interests be represented or advocated if those who are so to represent and advocate them are not to be consulted, (Hear.) And yet in the face of all this, with the very same breath that it is admitted that *"appointments and proposals to make appointments"* had been made without consulting his Ministers, the head of the Government is advised to declare that he had hitherto pursued the system of Responsible Government *without deviation,* [Hear, hear.] and to profess his concurrence in the Resolutions of 1841.—And a hope appears to be entertained that by a constant repetition of the assertion in the shape of answers to addresses, the people of Canada have so little of intelligence, and so crude a notion of their rights that they will at last be persuaded to believe it. [Hear.] He [Mr. Baldwin] doubted not that the head of the Gov't had practised Responsible Government as he the Governor General was pleased to interpret it—and of course being in his estimation a *"YET UNDEFINED QUESTION,"* we cannot wonder if in preparing a definition for his own particular convenience he left a large margin for the benefit of that Constitution which favoured the exercise of a practically irresponsible and despotic power. But he (Mr. Baldwin) felt convinced that the people of this country were not such a set of children as to be satisfied with a mere bauble because it was called *"RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT;"* they had been contending for a substance, not for a shadow. And the question for the country to decide, was whether they were in effect to go back to the old system under the new name, or whether they were to have Responsible Government in reality as practically acted upon in the Mother Country. [Loud cheers.] A "rose" it was said, "by any other name would smell as sweet," and he would venture to say that the poppy would be equally disagreeable to the sense, and equally deleterious in its effect, though dignified with the name of the Queen of flowers. (enthusiastic Cheers.) If they were to have the old system let them have it under its own name, *"the irresponsible system,"* *"the Company system"* or any

other adapted to its hideous deformities; but let us not be imposed upon by a mere name. We were adjured with reference to this new-fangled Responsible Government in a style and manner borrowed with no small degree of care from that of the eccentric Baronet who once represented the Sovereign in this part of Her Majesty's Dominions, [Sir F. B. Head,] to *"keep it,"* *"cling to it,"* and not to, *"throw it away"!!* [hear, hear.]

They all, no doubt, remembered the story of little Red Ridinghood, and the poor child's astonishment and alarm, as she began to trace the features of the wolf instead of those of her venerable grandmother; and let the people of Canada beware lest when they begin to trace the real outlines of this new-fangled Responsible Government, and are calling out in the simplicity of their hearts, Oh, grandmother, what great big eyes you have! Oh, grandmother, what a great big nose you have! it may not, as in the case of little Red Ridinghood, be too late, and the reply to the exclamation Oh, grandmother, what a great big mouth you have, *"that's to gobble you up the better my child."*—(Cheers and much laughter.)

It had been said that there is no FACT before the country to show that the course taken by the late Ministry was connected with the practical application of this principle. But is it not clearly stated in the note of Mr. Lafontaine, and not pretended to be disputed either in that of the Governor General or in any subsequent document proceeding from that distinguished quarter, *"that appointments and proposals to make appointments"* had been made by the head of the Government without his Council being advised of it. Is not that a FACT—and a fact too at utter variance with the statement that Responsible Government has been hitherto pursued *"WITHOUT DEVIATION"* to be found in His Excellency's note, and that made in the answer which the head of the Government has been advised to make in the Brock address, (hear, hear,) that *"Responsible Government in all its essentials is acknowledged, adopted and faithfully pursued, AND HAS BEEN in full operation THROUGHOUT HIS EXCELLENCY'S ADMINISTRATION."*

Some who have made this objection, seems unable to comprehend the difference between a FACT and a CASE. A case is not stated, because the ministry did not resign upon a CASE, but the FACT of *"APPOINTMENTS AND PROPOSALS TO MAKE APPOINTMENTS"* having been made without reference to them, is stated because it was upon not a case—but CASES of that kind, demonstrating as they did, that the head of the Government was not prepared to act up to the Resolutions of 1841 (hear, hear); and, upon ascertaining, by a conference with him, that so far from there being any prospect of an alteration in the practice referred to, he was resolved to persevere in it, that the ministry felt bound to resign. [Hear, hear.]

Again, an attempt had been made to mislead the public into a belief that the disruption turned wholly on a demand by the ministry of a STIPULATION—as it is called, of an unconstitutional character. (Hear, hear.) But he (Mr. Baldwin) thought that his learned friend, Mr. Lafontaine, having seconded Mr. Boulton's addition to the address, was a sufficient proof that all they asked was that mutual understanding which Mr. Boulton's resolution not only recognized, but indeed declared to be absolutely necessary. [Cheers.]

But it was clear from the abstracts he had read, and the undoubted acts to which he had referred, that the practice of the head of the Government, with respect to

the point alluded to, had not been consistent with the principle of Responsible Government as recommended by Lord Durham, and as enunciated in the Resolutions of 1841, and that had the Governor-General, on the conference which ensued upon the Ministers' remonstrance acquiesced in these views as to what ought to be the practice of the Government with respect to appointments, and objected merely to entering into any formal stipulation upon the subject, he would have so explained himself to the Ministers, and have so stated in his note to Mr. Lafontaine, in which it is expressly stated that *"three or more distinct propositions were made to him over and over again"*—[hear, hear]—sufficiently showing the anxiety of Ministers to meet his views as to the mode of arriving at the object, provided that object was substantially attained, viz., the coming to a distinct understanding as to what ought to be the practice of the Government in this particular. [Cheers.] But this was the real difference—the head of the Government was and is of one opinion, they were and are of another. He was and is of opinion, as the answer to the Gore Address distinctly avows, that he need only consult his Ministers on what he deems occasions of adequate importance, they were and are of opinion that his constitutional duty is to consult them on all matters, *"except on points involving strictly Imperial interests."* [Cheers.] But when the cause of the disruption is placed solely on the *"stipulation,"* it is forgotten that this was a difficulty that could only have arisen on the occasion of the remonstrance which took place the day before the resignation, whereas the Governor-General himself has declared that he and his Ministers had been in a state of *"antagonism"* from his first arrival in the Province. [Loud cheers.] How idle it is then to pretend that the question at issue between them, was any other than whether his views or theirs were the most consistent with the real principle of Responsible Government as recommended by Lord Durham and enunciated in the Resolutions of 1841. [Hear, hear.]

Again: it had been said that the Ministry had resigned, because of a difference between them and the head of the Government, upon a mere theoretical question, and this allegation is made in the very face of the statement in Mr. Lafontaine's Note, *"that had the difference of opinion between his Excellency and themselves, and, as they have reason to believe, between his Excellency and the Parliament and the people of Canada generally, been merely theoretical, the members of the late Executive Council might and would have felt it to be their duty to avoid any possibility of collision."* (Cheers.)

Again: it has been said that they had attempted to wrest from the Governor General the royal prerogative—to make him a tool and themselves supreme—though in the same Note to which he had referred, is the (as yet) uncontradicted assertion *"that they repeatedly and distinctly explained to his Excellency that they considered him free to act contrary to their advice, and only claimed an opportunity of giving such advice,"* and of knowing before others his Excellency's intentions. (Hear, hear.) The truth is (said Mr. Baldwin), the views of Responsible Government, developed in the documents proceeding from the head of the Government, would, if acted upon, make the Responsible Ministers of the Crown in the Province the merest tools, and reduce them to a state of degradation the most abject and humiliating; and was such the condition that is henceforth to be annexed to the tenure of the highest offices in the Province? If it is, then no men of char-