

progress of corruption, things took a turn; though permanent parties which sprung from fixed principles of government were lost, and the citizens ranged themselves under the standard of particular leaders, being banded into factions, under Marius or Sylla, Cæsar and Pompey; while the Republic stood by without any interest in the dispute, a passive and helpless victim."

4. Nor can the interests of the people be advanced by countenancing party combinations, by advocating extreme measures or by supporting extreme men. By extreme men, I mean, those who are violent and reckless in their conduct, or who push good principles to extreme lengths. Of two men, one may be violent in his manner, but moderate in measures: the other may be very gentle in his manner, but extreme in his application of good principles. Neither is desirable, but the latter is by far the more impracticable and dangerous of the two. He is in politics what the bigot is in religion—a man of one idea, and that idea is all the world to him; and all the world is not too much to be sacrificed for it.—Opinions with him are fundamental principles; and his principles are infallibilities—always equal in magnitude and alike inviolable. By extreme measures I mean, measures or proceedings that destroy the equipoise of our balanced constitution; or that infringe constitutional rights; or that involve hazardous if not dangerous experiments; or that savour more of change than stability; or are founded on party rather than general principles, or are promotive of party more than general objects; or that alter the land marks or loosen the foundations of society. What I mean by party combinations cannot be mistaken. In looking over the statute book of Upper Canada, and in contemplating its history during the last twenty years, I cannot find or recollect a single measure that has been carried into effect or single principle that has been secured by party combination or by extreme proceedings of any kind. It is an instructive though hitherto unnoticed fact, that every advantage which has been acquired, every concession which has been obtained, and every considerable step which has been made in the science of constitutional government in Canada has been effected by moderate men, and in opposition or in the way of no thanks to extreme theorists or partizans; and that extreme parties or extreme party proceedings have formed the most serious obstacles to the progress of just and liberal government. From 1833 to 1840, the only liberalizing measure got through the legislature was the amended King's College Charter Bill—and that was accomplished by moderate men in the spirit of concession between contending parties.—The political association that sprung up in Toronto in 1834, and its township branches, with the extreme men directly or indirectly connected with them, were as inimical to civil reform as they were to public moral and constitutional principles and sowed and nourished a seed which produced a fearful harvest of rebellion in 1837. Opposite party ex-

trems and violence were nearly as baneful during the next 3 years. Lord Sydenham owed all his success, and Upper Canada is indebted for all the benefit, to moderate counsels and the support of moderate men against the opposition of extreme men—especially Mr. Hincks and his followers. In June 1841, the responsibility of ministers of the Crown to the legislature was the first time in the history of Canada, announced first by Mr. Draper and then by Mr. Harrison, when both Messrs. Baldwin and Hincks were in opposition, and when Lord Sydenham's administration was supported by the moderate reformers in Upper Canada. It was while they thus evinced a candid conciliatory feeling, and a manifest desire to co-operate with the Governor-General and the Imperial Government as far as possible, that the British Parliament was induced to guarantee a loan at a reduced rate of interest which secures to the people of Canada many thousand pounds every year. And the Home Government have since been pressing fixed measures highly beneficial to the agricultural and commercial interests of Canada.

When Mr. Baldwin during the third month of the session of 1840, not content with the declaration of ministers) (all that had ever been made in England (introduced certain Resolutions on the subject of Responsible government, the result was rather to secure the power of the monarchy than to advance the influence of the popular principle, as was evidently intended. For while in the amended resolutions (written by Lord Sydenham) the responsibility of ministers to the legislature was not more explicitly stated than it had been months before by Messrs. Draper and Harrison, another resolution explicitly provides for the Governor's responsibility to the imperial authority alone, had it not been for which, it is clear from the spirit of Mr. Blake and other Toronto Associationists, the responsibility of the governor to the Imperial authority would have been scouted in toto, and we would have been further towards the verge of independence than we are now.—Had not the new idol of party patronage and party policy been enshrined as the presiding deity of responsible government; and had the late Councillors conducted themselves towards Sir Charles Metcalfe in the same spirit of liberality and justice that characterized their profession under Sir Charles Bagot, and marked the spirit and proceedings of Upper Canada reformers in regard to Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Metcalfe would soon have proved as great a benefactor to Upper Canada as ever Lord Sydenham was, and as efficient a friend to Lower Canada as Sir Charles Bagot ever was, and we would now be in a happy and prosperous state, instead of being convulsed by agitations and torn to pieces by parties. Canada owes all its evils to immoderate counsels and extreme men, and all its improvements to moderate counsels and moderate men, and by moderate men, I mean practical men—men firm in principle—just in counsel—provident and safe in execution.—

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